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A
CRITICAL AND HISTORICAL
INTRODUCTION
TO THE
CANONICAL SCRIPTURES
OF THE
OLD TESTAMENT.

From the German
OF
WILHELM MARTIN LEBERECHE DE WETTE.

TRANSLATED AND ENLARGED
BY
THEODORE PARKER,
MINISTER OF THE SECOND CHURCH IN ROXBURY.

Πάταξον μὲν, ἀκουσον δέ.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

SECOND EDITION.

BOSTON:
CHARLES C. LITTLE AND JAMES BROWN.

1850.

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AUTHOR'S PREFACE

TO FIRST EDITION.

IN my public lectures in this department of study, I have long felt the pressing necessity of preparing this work ; and now I offer this *Manual of the Introduction to the Old Testament* to the great theological public, with the conviction that I have accomplished something for the students and friends of science. If this compendium contained nothing but a copious and condensed compilation of previous critical inquiries on the Old Testament, it might yet deserve a place beside that of Bauer, which is now somewhat old, or that of Augusti, which is not entirely complete, or that of Jahn, which is one-sided. And if no one should conclude to make it the basis of his academic lectures, — and, on account of its peculiar opinions, this is not to be expected, — yet the condensed style of a compendium renders it convenient for many to read in preparing such exercises ; and perhaps it may render this science — which is, besides, somewhat dry — attractive to such as have been frightened by the prolixity and breadth of other treatises. But I am myself persuaded that in some parts I have advanced the science, and in others have brought it back to the right way. However, it is not for me to determine how far I have succeeded in the first ; but I may rather take to myself, with some confidence, the negative merit of the second.

It is well known that, from the very beginning, in company with the good spirit of free inquiry, the pernicious fondness for vain and arbitrary combinations and hypotheses has been brought into the department of Biblical Introduction, and has

extended to such a degree, that some opinions have passed for undoubted truths, in the great theological world, which yet have no foundation, save what they receive from the wit and the persuasive power of their author; and that, by this means, some inquiries have passed over, almost entirely, from the historical ground into the department of hypothesis. Recently, too much deference has been paid to this spirit, which weakens the healthy force of genuine historical investigation; and thus the burden of hypotheses, under which Biblical Introduction languishes, has been much increased in recent times. In opposition to such a method of inquiry, I have endeavored, above all, to adhere firmly to the pure matter of fact, or to bring back inquiry to this point, when it had wandered therefrom. For example, the history of the canon — which, since Semler's time, has not been able to extricate itself from the confusion of ideas into which it has fallen — has been brought to the light for the first time; and the history of the Alexandrian version has been at least restored to the place whither Hody had previously advanced it. Since his time, no actual progress has been made in this department, though many vain hypotheses have been added. So, in the history of other versions, the reader will not find direct and new investigations, but this same adherence to what is a matter of fact, and capable of proof. Similar hints for conducting us back to the true path are also afforded by the history of the text, in its present new arrangement, which harmonizes with the results of Gesenius's investigations in the history of the Hebrew language and character.

In the inquiries on the separate books, I have often opposed the theory — which has been carried too far — that they are composed of separate portions. This is the case with the book of Daniel and the book of Wisdom.* I am indebted to the hints of my friend Gesenius for the reasons which induce me to abandon Bertholdt's view of the former; and, in offering the

* [Here the author refers to his introduction to the Apocrypha, not translated in the present work.]

theory that the book of Wisdom is composed of successive fragments, I have gratefully availed myself of a public lecture of my friend Lücke, delivered here in Berlin. With these exceptions, my readers may expect to find my views of some books of the Old Testament—which have long been decried—still unchanged in their essential features. And, since here they are given in connection with my views of the whole Old Testament, it will at least be conceded that they afford a connected historical picture, which is consistent with itself, and with the rest of history; and also that the valuable results of Gesenius's labors in the criticism of language coincide therewith in important points.

The highest point to which the historical criticism of the Bible aspires, and to which it should at least clear the way, is to render the productions of biblical literature intelligible in their historical relations and peculiarities. I have conscientiously endeavored to effect this. The point of view which I have taken for this end will not be preferred by all. Certainly it will surprise some, that, with the exception of a few spurious productions, I consider the predictions of the prophets—which have hitherto been commonly regarded as disguised historical descriptions—as actual presentiments of the future, though without denying their limited extent in history, or without attributing to their authors a superhuman degree of infallibility. It is certainly one-sided to judge these old seers by the spirit of our times, and to deny that they made even the attempt to foretell. It is self-evident that it is of great importance to the criticism and exposition of the prophets, which supposition is followed.

Since all literature must be conceived of as a whole, and taken in connection with other history, I have therefore endeavored to classify the books of the Old Testament according to the views of the Hebrews, and to observe the relation to their manner of life at different periods of history, and, to that effect, have considered each book in reference to the place it bears in the canon. On the supposition that there is the closest connection between form and substance, I have

attempted to designate accurately the rhythmical peculiarities of each book, and to connect them with the other peculiarities: I have also been attentive to their æsthetic value. I trust scholars acquainted with the subject will not overlook these and other attempts, and will examine them with candor.

Since I have often contradicted my predecessors, and without any circumlocution, so it is but candid here to declare that I am grateful to them, notwithstanding the contradiction, for the service they have rendered me. This is true especially of Bertholdt, whose opinions I often reject, but whose diligence in collecting has always afforded me a strong support, and whose critical sagacity, even when it has not conducted him to the truth, has yet excited and directed me. I have throughout referred to his manual, and those who possess it may profitably compare the passages where I contradict and correct him. That I am sensible of the merits of Eichhorn, no one will doubt, who knows how much the Introduction to the Old Testament rests on his previous labors. But I am not blind to his faults; I even reprove them. May his admirers forgive me. The friends of truth will justify the freedom I have taken.

THE AUTHOR.

BERLIN, at the end of June, 1817.

TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE.

THE translation of De Wette's Introduction to the Old Testament, now offered to the public, was undertaken several years ago, at the suggestion of an eminent theologian, of the Orthodox denomination, who thought the work would be valuable to the American public; though he by no means coincided with the author in all his opinions respecting the Scriptures. Dr. De Wette stands at the head of the liberal school of German critics. He is already known to a portion of American readers, by translations of two of his minor and less important works.*

The work here translated is his most laborious and most valuable production. The first edition was published in 1817, and the fifth, which has been followed in this translation, in 1840.^b It embodies the results of the critical labors of the whole world upon the Scriptures, and exhibits, in a brief space, the opinions of the great critics of past and present times. Besides this, it refers to all the most valuable literature, ancient and modern, respecting the Old Testament. In his successive

* Theodore, or the Skeptic's Conversion, translated by J. F. Clarke, (2 vols. 12mo., Boston, 1841;) Human Life, or Practical Ethics, translated by Samuel Osgood, (2 vols., Boston, 1842;) published in Ripley's Specimens of Foreign Standard Literature. For a brief account of the author and his works, see Encyclopædia Americana; Krug's Encyclopæd. und Philosophisch. Lexicon, article *De Wette*.

^b Lehrbuch der historisch-kritischen Einleitung in die kanonischen und apocryphischen Bücher des Alten Testaments, von Wilhelm Martin Leberecht de Wette, der Theologie Doctor und ordentlichem Professor an der Universität zu Basel; fünfte, verbesserte und vermehrte Ausgabe; Berlin, bei G. Reimer, 1840, p. xviii. and 444.

editions, the author has been aided by the friendly or hostile works of his contemporaries — the great critical scholars of Germany. As they contemplate the Bible from different points of view, and bring the conflicting prejudices of their several schools to the investigation of the subject, it is plain they must arrive at different results. But one corrects the other ; for, when many are running to and fro, knowledge will be increased. The successive editions of this Introduction show that the author has availed himself of the results of others continually, abandoning opinions as soon as their erroneous character was pointed out. He says himself, in the preface to the fifth edition, "In the seven years that have passed, since the publication of the fourth edition, so much has been written on the criticism and explanation of the Old Testament, that I have found enough to do in comparing, using, or refuting it. The results of this work, and of my own corrections, appear in various portions of this book. . . . I have often found myself constrained to alter my opinion. I have been aided by the investigations of my highly-esteemed friend and colleague, Stähelin, in tracing the document 'Elohim' through all the books of the Pentateuch. The conviction at which I have arrived — that the 'Jehovistic' portions of those books, with a few exceptions, never had an independent existence — has induced me, with Bleek, Tuch, and others, to place the date of the Pentateuch earlier than I had done before. It seems to me now that the critical investigation of the Pentateuch is brought much nearer to its proper conclusion. With the help of Stähelin, I have also traced the document 'Elohim' in the book of Joshua, and by this means a new light is shed upon that book. We may hope for still further explanations, from the analytical researches of the same critic in the books of Judges and Samuel. The works of Keil and Movers, in defence of the Chronicles, have not led me to any essential alteration of my former views ; but, as I had no other opportunity, I have here replied to their objections somewhat more in detail than the space of this text-book seemed to allow. In what relates to the books of Nehemiah and Ezra, I have, in

some respects, allowed myself to be taught by another. But my views, essentially, remain as before. I have not been convinced of the credibility of the book of Esther by Baumgarten's diligent defence of it. I have examined the acute inquiries of Movers on Jeremiah; have found them correct in the main, and have made use of them. I have felt obliged to adhere to Köster's view of the second part of Zechariah. Hirzel's profound view of the book of Job has led me to a repeated examination of the plan of the book; but I cannot entirely agree with him.

"The reader will easily see that, in many subordinate matters, I am indebted to the writings of Ewald, Grimm, Hitzig, Knobel, Von Lengerke, Tuch, and others. I will only add, further, that I have entirely rewrought the chapter on the outward form of the text, in conformity with the views of Hupfeld. I have made a comparison of Häverník's Introduction throughout, but have found in it little that was useful."

Perhaps it is worth while to say a few words about the method pursued in preparing this work for the American public. The original was designed as a sort of guide-book for both teachers and learners. If it were simply translated, it would be intelligible to but a few. I have found it necessary to supply much that the author took for granted; I have therefore made extracts from other writers, given essays of my own, or a compendious statement of the opinions of various critics. In all such cases, I have carefully distinguished these additions from the original by enclosing them in brackets []. De Wette often refers to the passages which prove a statement in the text. Sometimes I have printed the passages themselves, sometimes given a synopsis of their contents. He makes numerous extracts from other writers, especially the ancients, in their own language. I have translated these extracts, and also given the original in the margin. An example of the manner in which passages are wrought over, may be seen in § 145, 147—160, and, indeed, in the greater part of the second volume. Here I have, as I trust, faithfully given the author's

opinions, but in a form very different from his own.* In translating, I have aimed more to give the sense of the author than to render his language word for word. I have not hesitated, therefore, to condense or to expand the original, as the case seemed to require. I have removed notes into the text, or placed the text in the notes, as I found it convenient for my purpose. I have added an Appendix to the first volume, and had prepared numerous essays, — on the credibility of the Pentateuch, on the Hebrew Prophets, on several separate books of the Old Testament, — which are excluded for want of space. In quotations from the Bible, I have generally followed the common version; but in the Pentateuch, (§ 138—156,) I have used the Hebrew words “Elohim” and “Jehovah,” instead of “God” and “the Lord.” In the Prophets and Psalms, I have often followed the beautiful version of Dr. Noyes. Sometimes I have attempted a new translation of a passage.

I have translated the chapter relating to the canon of the New Testament, (§ 18—29,) though it may seem out of place in an Introduction to the Old. The author's entire work is divided into two parts, the first relating to the Old Testament — and Apocrypha, which I have not translated, — the second, to the New Testament; and therefore the inquiry on the canon of the New Testament is appropriate. I intend, at some future day, to prepare an Introduction to the New Testament, on a similar plan, and this chapter will serve to connect the two.

It is but fair to suppose that, in a work so large and so difficult, I have made mistakes. I leave them for the critic's sagacity to discover, and for his kindness to excuse; hoping that he will remember how often the spirit is willing, while the flesh is weak; and, while he exposes my errors, will do it in candor,

* I hesitated, for some time, whether to call the work a *Translation of De Wette's Introduction*, or an *Introduction on the Basis of De Wette*; but, as the former is the more modest, and as I have endeavored to translate the whole of his work faithfully, I have preferred this title.

and with only the love of truth. Perhaps I have sometimes mistaken the sense of the passages from the Fathers, in the first volume ; but I have done what I could, and have left the original in the margin, that the *scholar* may correct my mistakes, and not be led astray by any errors of mine. I have, so far as it was possible, removed all foreign words — Greek, Latin, and Hebrew — to the notes, or the Appendix, lest they should deter the general reader from these pages. I can only hope the work will direct critical inquirers to a faithful examination of the Bible, and that correct views of its origin and contents may at length prevail. If I can be instrumental in spreading the light of truth on this subject, I have my reward.

In conclusion, I would express my gratitude to Rev. Professors STUART of Andover, FRANCIS of Cambridge, SEARS and HACKETT of Newton, Drs. FROTHINGHAM and LAMSON, Rev. GEORGE RIPLEY, and other gentlemen, who have kindly aided me with their advice, or with books from their valuable libraries.

THE TRANSLATOR.

WEST ROXBURY, 24th August, 1843.

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TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE

TO THE

SECOND EDITION.

IN preparing this work for a new edition, I have corrected a few errors, discovered by myself or pointed out by others, and given a list of the most important works relating to the whole or parts of the Old Testament, which have appeared since 1842. In other respects, this does not differ from the first edition.

THEODORE PARKER.

WEST ROXBURY, 24th August, 1850.



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RECENT LITERATURE

RELATING TO THE OLD TESTAMENT.

THE following are believed to be the most important works which have recently appeared in the various departments of inquiry connected with the Introduction to the Old Testament : —

Hauff, Offenbarungsglaube u. Kritik d. bib. Geschichtsbücher ; Stuttgart, 1843.

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Kurzgefasst. exegetisch. Handbuch z. A. T. ; Leips. 1838—1850. (Pt. I. The Minor Prophets, by *Hitzig* ; II. Job, by *Hirzel* ; III. Jeremiah, by *Hitzig* ; IV. Samuel, by *Thenius* ; V. Isaiah, by *Knobel* ; VI. Judges and Ruth, by *Bertheau* ; VII. Proverbs, by *Bertheau*, and Ecclesiastes by *Hitzig* ; VIII. Ezekiel, by *Hitzig* ; IX. Kings, by *Thenius*.)

Ewald, Jahrbücher der bib. Wissenschaft, I. & II. Gött. 1849—1850.

XXVI RECENT LITERATURE OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.

- Studien u. Kritiken; Hamburg, 1842—1850.
Baur u. Zellers, Theologisch. Jahrbücher; Tüb. 1841—1850.
Kitto, Journal of Sacred Literature; London, 1848—1850.
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Reinke, Die Weissagung Jacobs; 1 Mos. XLIX; 8—12; Münster, 1849.
Stähelin, Krit. Unters. üb. Pentat., &c., üb. Genesis, &c.
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Jaynboll, Chronicon. Samaritanum, Arabice conscript, cui Titulus est *Liber Josua*, &c.; Lug. Bat. 1848, 4to.
Graf, De Librorum Sam. et Regum Compos., &c. &c.; Argent. 1842.
Fritzsche, ΕΞΘΗΡ. — Duplicem Libri Text. adopt. Codd., &c.; Turici, 1848.
Stickel, Das Buch Hiob; Leips. 1842.
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Magnus, Krit. Bearbeitung u. Erklar. des Hohenliedes Salomos; Halle, 1842.
Caspari, Beiträge zur Einleit. in d. Buch Jesaia u. z. Gesch. d. jesaianischen Zeit; Berlin, 1848.
Reinke, Die Weissagung um der Jungfrau u. um Immanuel. Jes. VII 14—16; Münster, 1848.
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Stier, Jesaia, nicht Pseudo-Jesaia. Auslegung seiner Weissagung. Kap. XL.—LXVI. Lieferung I. Barmen, 1850.
Movers, De utriusque Recens. Vat. Jeremiæ Indole et Origine; Vratisl. 1843.
Umbreit, Prakt. Comm. üb. d. Jeremias; 1842.
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G. Baur, Der Prophet Amos; Giessen, 1847.

INTRODUCTION.

§ 1.

OBJECT OF AN INTRODUCTION TO THE BIBLE.

UNDER the name Introduction to the Bible, *Introductio sive Isagoge in Scripturam Sacram*, or Introduction to the Old Testament and the New Testament, it has been found advantageous, for the study of the Bible, to collect into a whole certain preliminary information, which is necessary, both in books and academic lectures, to the right view and treatment of the Bible. This is indeed destitute of a true scientific principle, and of a necessary connection between its parts ; but yet, by referring it to its several departments, namely, the *history*, the *historical circumstances*, and the *peculiarities of the scriptural books*, both of the whole collection and of its separate parts, it is pretty accurately distinguished from the other studies which belong to an examination of the Bible, such as *biblical history*, (that is, a church history of the Old and New Testament,) from *biblical archæology*, with *biblical geography* and *chronology*, (which may be called *exegetic assistant sciences*,) and from *biblical hermeneutics*, — though these were formerly confounded with it. It serves as a special introduc-

tion to these studies, and to *exegesis* itself, and therefore it is rather to be classed with the latter than with the former.*

§ 2.

ITS CONTENTS.

When the question is asked, What is the Bible, and how has it become what it is? inquiries arise on the following subjects, which make up the contents of an introduction to the Bible:

1. On the origin of the collection indicated by the name BIBLE, or, on the canon.
2. On the original languages of the Bible.
3. On the versions of the Bible.
4. On the state of the text, its history and restoration.

In these inquiries, all the books are included under the title *general introduction*, because but little regard is paid to the difference between particular books. But, on the contrary, inquiries as to the names, authors, age, and peculiarities of the single books, belong to *particular introduction*.

§ 3.

DIVISIONS OF THE SUBJECT.

Since, in a Protestant and historical view, the Bible consists of three essentially different collections, (§ 8, 9,) introduction to the Bible is, likewise, threefold, and to be treated as such, namely :

* [*Havernik*, in his *Handbuch der historisch-kritischen Einleitung in d. A. T.*, (Erlangen, 1836,) § 3, affirms, in opposition to *De Wette*, that biblical introduction really possesses a *scientific principle*, to wit, "It must find the scientific principle and the development thereof in *itself*," meaning, I suppose, only that the introduction must be determined by the *character of the scriptural books*, and the *spirit of antiquity*.] See *Hagenbach*, *Encyclopädie*, § 43, sq.

I. Introduction to the canonical books of the Old Testament.

II. Introduction to the apocryphal books of the Old Testament.

III. Introduction to the canonical books of the New Testament.

The division into general and particular introduction is to be repeated in each of these departments. However, the apocryphal books do not, like the others, constitute an independent collection by themselves, but are rather an appendix to the canonical books. It seems convenient and proper to exempt the inquiry on the Bible, as a whole, and on its origin, from this division, and to treat all its parts in common.

§ 4.

ITS SCIENTIFIC CHARACTER.

Since the object of an introduction to the Bible is the history of the Bible, its scientific character is *historico-critical*; that is, the Bible is to be considered as an historical phenomenon, in a series with other such phenomena, and entirely subject to the laws of historical inquiry.* The consideration of it in a religious view — that is, according to the dogma of inspiration and revelation — falls within the department of introduction only so far as this dogma is connected with the history of the origin of the Bible. This dogma itself, therefore, is likewise to be treated historically. However, the introductory treatment of the history of the canon must turn

* See *Augusti*, *Histor.-dogmat. Einleit in d. h. S.*, (1832,) ch. 2, who shows that the historical and critical is compatible with the ideal and dogmatic view, though not when the latter is taken according to the traditional prejudice of the church.

out differently from the dogmatic history of the same, because the critical principle preponderates in the former.

[Häverník, and most of the English and American theologians with him, object to this method, and insist that the books of the Bible should be examined from a religious point of view, declaring that *dogmatic theology* is the touchstone, wherewith we are to decide between the true and the false, the genuine and the spurious. He, therefore, examines the Bible not simply as an historical production, but as the highest standard of human faith and life. Thus he considers these books as a peculiar phenomenon, not to be judged of by the same canons of criticism which apply to all other works. But the method which he and they propose strikes a death-blow at all criticism, and commits the Bible to a blind and indiscriminating belief.]

§ 5.

ITS UTILITY.

Its use is apparent from the fact that it serves as introductory to the exposition of the Bible; that is, it shows the proper stand-point of exposition, and furnishes the historical materials which are necessary to the explanation of the Bible. To treat it, then, as a peculiar theological exercise, has not only an external advantage in a literary and academic respect, but also an internal advantage for the science itself; because, on the one hand, these separate materials are closely connected, and mutually explain and support one another; and again, on the other, because the principles of inquiry are the same throughout, and are the more firmly established by their connected application to the whole

Bible and to its separate parts. If the introduction is treated in the genuine scientific spirit of criticism, it has, then, the further advantage of awakening* the spirit of historical investigation in theology.

§ 6.

ITS HISTORY AND LITERATURE.

Biblical introduction, in its present extent and character, is the product of modern critical Protestant theology, to which, however, an enlightened Catholic gave the first impulse. The several earlier works, both in regard to their extent and scientific spirit, answer but imperfectly the demands now made upon the science.[†]

* ["*Keeping awake*" (Wach zu erhalten) is the author's literal meaning; but it would scarcely apply in America, where this spirit is only known to be feared.]

† The following books do not properly belong here: — *Augustinus*, De Doctrina christ. lib. iv. vol. iv. of the Benedictine ed. *Cassiodorus*, De Institut. divin. Script. in *Garef's* ed. of his works; Rotom. 1679, 2 vols. fol. *Adriani*, Isagoge sacr. Literarum, Op. Dav. *Hoeschelii*; Aug. Vind. 1602, 4to.; also published in the Critici Sacri, ed. Frankfort, vol. vii. We must rather place here *Junilius*, De Partibus Legis div. l. ii. in *Gallandi* Biblioth. Patr. xii. p. 77, sqq., ed. Bas. 1546; published by itself, Par. 1556; Frcf. 1603, 8vo. The first Introduction to the Bible is, Biblioth. sac. a *Sixto Senensi* ex præcipuis cath. Ecclesiæ Auctoribus collecta; Venet. 1566, 2 vols. fol. Ed. *F. Hay*. L. B. 1591, 4to.; Neap. 1742. *Mich. Waltheri* Officina bibl., in qua perspicue videre licet, quæ scitu cognituque maxime sunt necessaria de sac. Scriptura in gen. et spec., de libris eius canon., apocryph., deperditis, spuris; Lips. 1636, 4to.; improved ed., Viteb. 1668, 4to. *J. H. Hottingeri* Thesaurus philologicus, sive Clavis Scripturæ sac.; Tigur. 1649; ed. 3, 1696, 4to. *J. Leusdeni* Philologus Ebræus; Ultraj. 1656; ed. 5, 1696, 4to. *Ej.* Philologus Ebræo-mixtus; ib. 1663; ed. 4, Bas. 1739, 4to. *Briani Waltoni* Angli Apparatus bibl., ed. *Heidegger*; Tigur. 1673, fol. (in London Polyglot. 1657.) *Br. Waltoni* in Biblia Polyglotta prolegomena, præf. est *J. A. Dathe*; Lips. 1777, 8vo., [ed. London, 1827, ed. *Wrangham*, 2 vols. 8vo.] *J. H. Heideggeri* Enchiridion bibl. *ἱστορικόν*; Tigur. 1681; ed. Jen. 1723, 8vo. *Salom. van Til*, Opus analyt. comprehendens Introduct. in sac. Scripturam ad *Heideggeri* Enchirid. bibl. concinnatam; Traj. 1720, 2 vols. 4to.; Bas. 1722. *Aug. Pfeifferi* Critica sac.; Dresd. 1680; em. et auct. a *J. M. Nagelio*, Altd. 1751, 8vo.

Richard Simon first conceived the idea of an historico-critical introduction to the Bible. This he also divided into an introduction to the Old and to the New Testament.*

These studies then began to be cultivated in Germany, in part, with great diligence, although they had still to contend with the spirit of illiberal adherence to traditional dogmas.^b Finally, under the hands of J. G. Eichhorn^c and of J. D. Michaelis,^d with the coöpera-

* *Histoire crit. du Vieux Test. par le Père R. Simon, Prêtre de la Congreg. de l'Oratoire*; Par. 1678, 4to.; Rott. 1685, 4to. *Historia crit. Vet. Test. Authore R. Simone. E Gallico in Lat. versa a Natali Alb. de Versé, juxta Exemplar impressum Parisiis*; Amst. 1681, 4to. *Comp. Sentimens de quelques Theologiens d'Hollande sur l'Hist. crit. du V. T.*; Amst. 1685, 12mo. *Histoire crit. du Texte du N. T., où l'on établit la Vérité des Actes sur lesquels la Relig. chrét. est fondée*; Rott. 1689, 4to. *Hist. crit. des Versions du N. T.*; Rott. 1690, 4to. *Nouv. Observations sur le Texte et les Verss. du N. T.*; Par. 1699, 4to. *Histoire crit. des principaux Commentateurs du N. T.*; Rott. 1693, 4to. *Rich. Simons krit. Hist. des Textes d. N. T. Aus d. Franzöz übers. v. Cramer u. m. Anmerk. begleitet v. Semler*; Halle, 1776. *R. S. krit. Hist. der Uebers. d. N. T. Aus d. Franz. übers. v. Cramer, m. Anmerk. v. Semler*; Halle, 1777-80, 2 vols. Both works are united, with the title *Rich. Simons krit. Schr. über das N. T.* 3 Bde. *Comp. H. Maji Examen Hist. crit. N. T. a R. Simone vulgatæ*; Giss. 1694; 4 ed. n. auct., Frcf. ad M. 1699, 1708, 4to. For the history and literature of this work, see *E. F. K. Rosenmüller, Handbuch f. d. Litteratur d. bibl. Kritik u. Exeg.* 1, p. 115, sq. p. 157, sq.

^b [I have paraphrased the author's language, — "Geist der Unkritik" *spirit of uncriticism*, — but I think the sense is preserved.]

J. G. Carpzovii Introductio ad Libros can. V. T.; Lips. 1721; ed. 3, 1741, 4to. *Ej. Critica sac. V. T.*; ib. 1728, 4to. *Introduct. ad Lectionem N. T. in qua quæ ad rem crit., Historiam, Chronolog., Geograph., varias Antiquit., tam sacr. quam profan., pertinent, exponuntur. Auctore J. G. Pritio*; Lips. 1704, 12mo. *Ueberius digessit, auxit novasque dissertt. adjecit C. G. Hoffmann*; ib. 1737, 8vo.; ed. nov. em. 1764. *J. W. Rumpel, Commentatio crit. ad Librr. N. T. in genere, cum præf. J. G. Carpzovii*; Lips. 1730, 4to.; ed. 2, 1757.

^c *Einl. in d. A. T.* 3 Thle.; Lpz. 1780-83; 3 A. 1803; 4 A. 1823, 24. *Einl. in d. apokryph. Schr. d. A. T.*; Lpz. 1795.

^d *Einleit. in d. göttl. Schr. d. n. Bundes*; Gött. 1750; 4 a. verm. u. geänd. A. 1788, 4to., 2 Bde. *Einl. in die göttl. Schr. d. A. B.* 1 Th.; Hamb. 1787, 4to.

tion of Semler,* they attained the form in which they have been embraced by the moderns, and in part further developed.^b A reaction took place on the side of the Catholic Church in the conservative criticism of J. Jahn^c and J. L. Hug.^d But Bertholdt^e followed in the path which had been broken by Eichhorn and others. He reunited all parts of the Bible, and treated it as a whole in his Introduction.^f The love of hypothesis, which prevails to excess in his book, is opposed to the more valuable negative criticism. K. A. Credner^g has attempted to satisfy the want of positive results in regard to the

* *Apparatus ad liberalem Vet. Test. Interpretationem*; Hal. 1773. *Appar. ad liberal. N. T. Interpretat.*; Hal. 1767. *Abhandl. von freier Untersuch. des Kanon.* 4 Thle.; Halle, 1771-75. *Vorbereit. zur theol. Hermeneutik.* St. 1-5, 1760-69.

^b *J. Fr. Güde*, Entwurf z. Einl. ins A. T.; Halle, 1787. *J. Babor*, allg. Einl. in die Schr. d. A. T.; Wien, 1794. *G. L. Bauer*, Entwurf e. histor.-krit. Einl. in d. Schr. d. A. T.; Nürnberg u. Altd. 1794; 3 verb. A. 1806. *Ej. Crit. sac. V. T.*; Lips. 1795. *J. Chr. W. Augusti*, Grundriss e. hist.-krit. Einl. ins A. T.; Lpz. 1806; 2 A. 1827. *H. K. A. Hanlein*, Handb. d. Einl. in d. Schr. d. N. T. 2 Thle.; Erl. 1794-1802; 2 verb. A. 1802-1809, 3 Thle. *His Lehrb. d. Einl. etc.*; Erl. 1802. *G. F. Griesinger*, Einl. in d. Schr. d. N. B.; Stuttg. 1799. *J. E. Chr. Schmidt*, hist.-krit. Einl. ins N. T.; Giess. 1804, 5, 2 Thle. *J. G. Eichhorn*, Einl. in d. N. T.; Lpz. 1 Thl. 1804; 2 A. 1820; 2 u. 3 Thl. 1810-14, 4to.; 5 Thl. 1827.

^c Einl. in d. göttl. Bücher d. A. B.; Wien, 1793; 2 g. umgearb. A.; Wien, 1802, 3, 2 Thle. in 3 Bden. *Introduct. in Libros sac. Vet. Fœd. in Compendium red.*; ib. 1805; ed. 2, 1815. *Ackermann*, *Introd. in Libr. V. Fœd.*; ib. 1826.

^d Einl. in d. Bücher d. N. T.; 1 Hft., Bas. 1797. Einl. in die Schr. d. N. T.; Tübing. 1806, 2 Thle.; 2 A. 1821; 3 A. 1826; [translated by *G. Wait*, Lond. 1827, 2 vols. 8vo.; also by *D. Fosdick*, Andover, 1836, 1 vol. 8vo., with notes by Prof. *Stuart*.] *Feilmoser*, Einl. in d. BB. d. N. B.; Tübing. 1830, 2 Aufl.

^e *Histor.-krit. Einleit. in sämt. Kanon und Apoc. Schriften d. A. und N. T.*; Erlangen, 1812-19, 6 parts.

^f [That is, Bertholdt did not treat each of the three divisions of the Bible, mentioned in § 3, independently, but proceeded as if those divisions did not exist.]

^g *Einleitung in d. N. T.*; 1 Thl. 1, 2 Abth. 1836. *Beiträge zur Einleit. in d. bibl. Schriften*, 1 B. 1832; 2, 1838.

New Testament, while H. A. Ch. Häverník* has sought to reëstablish the old prescriptive opinions respecting the Old Testament.

* Handbuch der hist.-krit. Einleitung in d. A. T.; 1 Thl. 1 Abth. 1836; 2 Abth. 1837; 2 Thl. 1 Abth. 1839. *Hengstenberg* preceded him, in this direction, by his *Beiträge*, 1 Thl. 1831; 2 Thl. 1836; 3 Thl. 1839. *Parreau*, Institut. interpret. V. T., (Traj., 1822,) contains much that pertains to the department of introduction to the Bible. *Cellérier*, Introduction à la Lecture des Livres saints, 1 vol. Anc. Test.; Geneva, 1832. *Horne*, Introduction to the Critical Study of the Holy Scripture; 2 vols. Lond. 1821, second edition. [Mr. *Horne's* work has reached several editions in America. We have used that of 1825, 4 vols. 8vo., and sometimes that of 1836, 2 vols. 8vo. *Häverník*, l. c., very properly calls it an unimportant book. It is, however, a tolerable compilation of much that has been written in Latin and English on one side of the subject. It has little merit, except as a guide to the literature of the subject. It takes the stand-point of superstitious reverence for the letter. The work of *Cellérier* is still less valuable.] See other less important works in *Rosenmüller's* Handbuch, vol. i. p. 96, sqq. *Bertholdt*, l. c. vol. i. p. 29, sqq. These, as well as other single contributions to introduction to the Bible, will be referred to in their proper place.

PART I.

OF THE BIBLE-COLLECTION IN GENERAL.

BOOK I.

NAME, CONSTITUENT PORTIONS, ORDER, AND DIVISION OF THE BIBLE.

§ 7.

NAMES OF THE BIBLE.

[A considerable time before the birth of Christ, the sacred writings of the Jews — much as they differ in respect to their authors, subjects, and the dates of their composition — were spoken of as a whole; but they were not mentioned under one definite, general title before the first century after Christ. Before this time, the writers yet remaining fluctuate between the most general terms — “The Book,” “The Scriptures,” in its loftiest sense, or the “Holy Scriptures.” Sometimes they indicate the whole collection by the parts of which it is composed, that is, by the “Law, Prophets, and Psalms:” sometimes they speak of credible books written by the prophets, sometimes of sacred writings preserved in the temple, and sometimes of a sacred library. Afterwards, following the example of Paul, as some suppose, these writings were named the “old cove-

nant," in opposition to the new, which Christ had established.*]

1. General names: — the Bible, τὰ Βιβλία, sc. θεία;^b the Holy Scriptures, or the Scriptures, ἱερὰ γραφή, θεία γραφή, ἁγία γραφή, Bibliotheca Sancta.^c

2. Names of the *first* part: — כְּתָבִים, Chaldee כְּתָבֵי, חֲתָבֵי, ἡ γραφή, (2 Pet. i. 20;) αἱ γραφαί, (Matt. xxii. 29, Acts xviii. 24;) כְּתָבֵי הַכְּתָבִים, γραφαί ἁγίαι, (Rom. i. 2;) ἱερὰ γράμματα, (2 Tim. iii. 15.) כְּתָבֵי הַתּוֹרָה, τὰ βιβλία,^d חֻמְרָה,^e ὁ νόμος, (John xii. 34;) ὁ νόμος, οἱ προφηταὶ καὶ οἱ ψαλμοί, (Luke xxiv. 44;) ὁ νόμος καὶ οἱ προφηταὶ, (Acts xxviii. 23;)^f ὁ νόμος καὶ οἱ προφηταὶ καὶ τὰ ἄλλα βιβλία, (Prologue to Jesus of Sirach;) כְּתָבֵי הַתּוֹרָה וְכְתָבֵי הַנְּבִיאִים וְכְתָבֵי הַפְּסָלִים, (see § 10;) כְּתָבֵי הַמִּשְׁנָה, (compare Neh. viii. 8, where the word is used in a different sense;) כְּתָבֵי הַמִּשְׁנָה, βιβλία τῆς παλαιᾶς διαθήκης, Vetus Testamentum sive Instrumentum.^g Compare ἡ παλαιὰ διαθήκη, in 2 Cor. iii. 14, with βίβλος τῆς διαθήκης (1 Mac. i. 57; 2 Kings xxiii. 2, in the Septuagint version.) It has this name on account of the biblical view of the religious life as a bond (communion) between God and man.

3. Names of the *second* part: — Απόκρυφα,^h sc. βιβλία,

* See Eichhorn, § 6.

^b Chrysostom, in *Suiceri* Thesaurus eccl. p. 696.

^c *Martianay*, Prolog. i. § 1, in *divin. Bibliotheca Hieronymi. Isidor. Origg.* iv. 3.

^d Chrysostom, in *Suicer.* p. 687.

^e Sanhedr. fol. 91, col. 2.

^f Josephus de Maccab. § 18.

^g Tertullian adv. Marcion, iv. 1. Augustin. De Civitate Dei, xx. 4.

^h Originally ἀπόκρυφος meant *secret, hidden, (geheim,)* i. e., in part *mysterious*, (*Epiphanius*, Hæres. i. 3, on the Apocalypse,) and in part *kept secret, not publicly used*. (*Origen*, Ep. ad Africanum, Opp. i. p. 26. See below, § 25. *Epiphanius*, Hæres. xxx. 3, who derives the word ἀπό τῆς κρύπτης — — δὲ οὐδὲ ἐν τῷ ἀσφῶν ἀντιέθυσαν, sc. libri apocryphi. — De Pond. et Mens. Opp. ii. p. 162.) Hence it was called by the Jews קְטָבִים

Libri apocryphi Veteris Testamenti, is commonly used by the Protestants who follow Jerome; βιβλία ἀναγινωσκόμενα, libri ecclesiastici, (§ 26, 27,) deuterocanonici, (§ 28.)

4. Names of the *third* part:—τὸ εὐαγγέλιον καὶ ὁ ἀπόστολος, τὸ εὐαγγέλιον καὶ τὸ ἄποστόλικον (§ 21, 23) ἢ καινὴ διαθήκη, Novum Testamentum sive Instrumentum.

§ 8.

CONSTITUENT PORTIONS OF THE FIRST AND SECOND PART.

The Old Testament is a collection of books, in the Hebrew and Chaldee languages,—which were accounted inspired and holy by the Jews, and the ancient Christian church, containing all the relics of the Hebrew Chaldee literature up to a certain period.* The Chaldee passages

(*Hottinger*, *Theol. Phil.* p. 515;) then from the secret writings of the heretics, (*Clemens* Alex. *Strom.* lib. i. p. 304, B. ed. Sylburg. *Origen*, *Prol.* ad Cant. Opp. iii. p. 36. *Comm.* in Matt. p. 916. See § 25, below, note,) it was called by the synonymous term *νόθος*, and *ψευδευληγραφος*, in opposition to the canonical writings of the Catholics. (*Irenæus*, i. 20. *Clem.* Alex. *Strom.* lib. iii. p. 437, § 24. *Cyril* of Jerusalem, *Cateches.* iv. *Athanasius*, *Ep. fest.* in § 26. *Augustin.* *cont. Faust.* xxii. 79, § 27.) *Jerome*, *Ep.* 7, ad *Lætam*, says, *Apocrypha* sciat non eorum esse, quorum titulis prænotantur. Finally, *Jerome* calls it the uncanonical books added by the LXX. See *Gieseler*, in *theol. Stud. u. Krit.* 1830, H. 2, p. 142, sqq.

Conf. *Chr. B. Michaelis*, *Diss.*, qua Nomina, Numerus, Divisio et Ordo Librorum Vet. Test. sistuntur; Hal. 1743. *Hottinger*, *Theol.* p. 88, sqq. p. 515. *Wahner*, *Antiqq. Ebr.* cap. i. § 6. *Pritii* *Introduct.* ed. *Hoffmann*, cap. i. *Jablonsky*, *Disp.* de genuina et propria Significatione τῆς διαθήκης in *Scriptis* N. T.; Frkf. 1733; *Opusc.* ed. *te Water*, vol. ii. p. 393. *Rosenmüller*, *De Vocabuli διαθήκη in Libris N. T. vario Usu*; Erlangen, 1778, 4to. *Kuinöl*, *Rupert*, et *Velthusen*, *Com. Theol.* vol. ii. *Stange*, *Theol. Symmikt.* vol. ii. p. 221.

* See the Hebrew translation of the Aramaic passages of Daniel in Kenicott's edition of the Hebrew Bible, and in the Chaldaicorum Danielis et Esræ Capitum Interpretatio Heb. ed. *J. L. Schultz*; Hal. 1782, 8vo. [*Huetius* (*Dem. Evang. Prop.* iv. p. 472) thinks the Hebrew portion of Daniel not genuine, but that Daniel wrote the whole book in Chaldee; but *Bertholdt*

are Daniel ii. 4—vii. Ezra iv. 8—vi. 18. vii. 12—26, and Jeremiah x. 11.^a

The apocryphal books are the product of the later Jewish literature, in part translated into Greek, and in part originally written in that language. They were recognized as sacred neither by the Jews nor by the ancient Christian church.

§ 9.

CONSTITUENT PORTIONS OF THE THIRD PART.

The New Testament contains the genuine writings—which are accounted *inspired* and *sacred*—of the first Christian times, composed by the apostles of Christ, and their assistants and pupils, relating to the history and doctrine of the Christian religion.^b

says this cannot be maintained. Ubers, d. B. Daniel, i. 50, sqq. Einleit, p. 136.]

^a For the writings which are lost, see § 12, *Hottinger*, Theol. Phil. p. 532. *Wolf*, Bibliotheca Heb. pt. ii. sect. 4, p. 211, sqq. [See Appendix, article A.]

^b Touching the question why Christ wrote nothing, see *J. G. Michaelis*, Exercitatt. Theol. Philol.; Lug. Bat. 1757. Exercitat. i. de eo num Christus Dominus aliquid scripserit, &c. See Christ's epistolary correspondence with Abgarus, prince of Edessa, in *Eusebius*, H. E. i. 13. The authenticity of this work is defended by *Richard Montacut*, Orig. Eccless. vol. i. p. 61—63. *Grabe*, Spicilegium Patr. vol. i. p. 1—12. *Cave*, Hist. Litter. i. 2. On the other hand, see *Nat. Alexander*, H. E. sec. i. pt. i. diss. iii. p. 266. *Lou. Ell. Dupin*, Nouv. Bib. des Auteurs Eccles. i. 1, sq. *Jac. Basnage*, Hist. des Juifs, i. 7. *Thom. Ittig*, Heptas Dissert. i. cap. 1, (§ 14), p. 106. *Fabricius*, Codex Apocryphus, N. T. vol. i. p. 320; iii. p. 516. *Semler*, De Christi ad Abgar. Epistola; Hal. 1768, 4to. Compare *Michaelis*, ubi sup. p. 14, sqq. [Eusebius professes to have taken the letters from the archives of Edessa, and to have translated them literally from the Syriac language, "opportunely," as he hopes, and "not without profit." p. 44, sqq. ed. Boston, 1836.]

On the other apocryphal writings of Christ, see *Augustin*. De Consensu Evangelist. i. 9. *Michaelis*, l. c. p. 25, sqq. *Fabricius*, l. c. vol. i. p. 308. *J. Andr. Schmid*, Diss. de Epistolis Cælo et Inferno delatis; Helmst. 1709.

§ 10.

ORDER AND DIVISION OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.

The division of the Old Testament into the Law, the Prophets, and the (other sacred) Writings, *תורה, נביאים, וכתובים*,* a division which occurs in the New Testament, (§ 7,) is as old as the collection itself.

Josephus (cont. Apion. i. 8. See below, § 15) differs from this, and gives a division according to the contents, though it can scarcely be true that he follows the manuscripts, as some have maintained.^b [This division into three parts, says Eichhorn, was observed in the copy used by the Son of Sirach, by Philo, and the writers of the New Testament; only they had no general name for the third part, — the Hagiographa. Therefore these writers must sometimes call the book which contained

* *Kimchi*, Pref. in Psalm. *Maimonides*, More Neb. ii. 45, p. 317. *Elias*, in Tisbi, says the word *כתוב* means "written by the Holy Spirit." Compare *Abarbanel*, Pref. in Proph. prior. fol. 2, c. 1. *Carpov*, Int. i. p. 25, and Crit. sac. p. 135. *Augusti*, Einleit. (§ 49,) [thinks that in the N. T. Genesis is taken for the first, and 2d Chronicles for the last book of the O. T.] *Bertholdi*, l. c. vol. i. p. 81, and Daniel, vol. i. p. 89, [thinks the term *כתובים* means "newly introduced into the canon," and supposes this part was added after the rest was completed.] See § 14. The Greeks call these books *γραφεῖα* and *ἁγιόγραφα*. *Epiphanius*, Hæres. xxix. 7, Opp. i. p. 122, ed. *Pelav*. De Pond. et Mens. c. iv. Opp. ii. p. 162. *Suiceri*, Thesaurus eccles. sub voce.

^b Such is the opinion *Storr* maintains in his disputation on the most ancient division of the books of the O. T. in *Paulus*, neu. Rep. ii. p. 225. On the other side, see *Eichhorn*, § 8. *Storr*, likewise, too confidently, connects the following passage of Philo with that of Josephus, and considers it decisive of the question: "Taking nothing with them, neither drink, nor food, nor any of those things necessary to the wants of the body, but only laws, and oracles uttered (*θεσπισθέντα*) by the prophets, and hymns, and the other [writings] by which knowledge and piety grow up together and become perfect." *Philo*, de Vita contempl. p. 893, ed. Frankfort; *μηδὲν εἰσκομιζόμεναι, μὴ ποιοῦν, μὴ σιτοῦν, μηδέτι τῶν ἄλλων δσα πρὸς τὰς τοῦ σώματος χρείας ἀναγκαῖα, ἀλλὰ λόγια θεσπισθέντα διὰ προφητῶν καὶ ὕμνων καὶ τὰ ἄλλα οἷς ἐπιστήμη καὶ εὐσέβεια συναρῶνται καὶ τελειοῦνται*.

the psalms, by the title "The Psalms," as it is done in the New Testament; sometimes they designated it as the "writings of a moral character," as the Son of Sirach, Philo, and Josephus, have done. The first trace of the name Hagiographa occurs in Epiphanius.*

It may seem that, after the birth of Christ, the Jews comprised many books in the Hagiographa, which were formerly reckoned among the Prophets; for Josephus places but four books in the Hagiographa, and enumerates thirteen Prophets, while Jerome, the Talmud, and the modern Jews, count eight Prophets and nine books in the Hagiographa. But without doubt this division of Josephus is a classification entirely peculiar to himself. It was not based on the order of the books in the manuscripts, but on the custom of his time, which ascribed to the prophets all the books that were not written by poets, in the proper sense of that term. But, though this division was generally received among the Jews and Christians, it was yet inadequate, as the Jews themselves were aware; for, since not only writers who had published predictions came under the rubric of prophets, but also the authors of the books of Joshua, Judges, and the Kings, they were forced to distinguish between prophets of the first and second class.†

The term קְהִיכִּיִּים (*writings*) was subsequently translated γραφαῖα and ἁγιογραφα, (*sacred writings*.)

Abarbanel dwells long in explaining this subject, and thinks the foundation and reason of the distinction made between these writings and the other books of the Old Testament arise from the different mode and measure of divine influence by which they were composed. The Jewish teachers assign to Moses the highest degree,

* Panario, p. 58.

† See Eichhorn, § 8.

for God spoke face to face with him, that is, without the intervention of visions and dreams. They ascribe the next degree to the prophets, who, either sleeping or waking, without the aid of the senses, heard a voice speaking to them, and in their ecstasy saw prophetic visions. The lowest degree of divine influence, which they call the Holy Spirit, (רוח הקודש,) they concede to those God-inspired men, who, with their senses remaining in perfect action, spoke like other men. Though they did not rejoice in dreams or prophetic visions, they, nevertheless, felt the divine Spirit resting upon them, exciting and suggesting words of praise and penitence, or thoughts relating to divine or civil affairs, and they spoke or wrote them. All the prophets prophesied through an opaque, but Moses through a transparent glass, says a Jewish writer.*]

The Prophets were divided into the *early Prophets*, (נביאים ראשונים,) that is, the books of Joshua, Judges, Samuel, and Kings; and the *later Prophets*, (נביאים מאוחרים,) that is, the Prophets properly so called. These latter were subdivided into the *major*, (נביאים גדולים,) namely, Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel; and the *minor Prophets*, (נביאים קטנים,) βιβλος τῶν δώδεκα προφητῶν, τὸ δώδεκαπροφητον.

Under the Writings (כתובים) were included the “five books,” (חמשה מגילות,) Canticles, Ecclesiastes, Ruth, Lamentations, and Esther, and the poetic books, (שירים,) namely, Job, Proverbs, and the Psalms, to which the Christians add Canticles and Ecclesiastes.^b Daniel belongs to the Hagiographa; only the Christians, who in this adhere to the division of the Septuagint, place this book among the Prophets.^c

* See *Carpzov*, l. c. pt. i. p. 25, and crit. s. pt. i. iv. 2.

^b *Epiphanius*, Pond. et Mens. l. c. *Gregor. Nazianz. Carm.* xxxiii.

^c See *Stange*, in *Keil* and *Tzschirners*, *Analekt.* vol. i. p. 28, sqq.

The enumeration of the books is various; that of Josephus, (§ 15, note,) and of the Christians, (§ 25, note,) who make the number *twenty-two*, is based upon the Hebrew alphabet; but it was never current among the Palestine Jews, and scarcely among the Greek Jews. By the arrangement of the Septuagint, the book of Ruth is united with that of Judges, and the Lamentations of Jeremiah with his prophecies.

The number *twenty-seven* is still more artificial. (§ 26, note, and Epiphanius in § 27.) The Talmud is not exact in its enumeration of *twenty-four* books. If we are to count the five books of Moses separately, the books of Samuel, Kings, and Chronicles, the twelve minor Prophets, and Ezra and Nehemiah, we shall have *thirty-nine* books. After the five books of Moses, the others were thus enumerated in Baba-Bathra,*—Prophets, Joshua and Judges, Samuel and Kings, Jeremiah and Ezekiel, Isaiah and the twelve, (Prophets;) in the Hagiographa, Ruth, Psalms and Job, and Proverbs and Ecclesiastes, Canticles and Lamentations, Daniel and the books of Esther, Ezra and Chronicles.

In regard to the order of succession among the single books, the Alexandrian translators, the Fathers, and Luther, differ from the Jews. Among the Jews themselves, the Talmudists and the Masorites, the German and the Spanish manuscripts, differ from one another. The Talmud places Isaiah after Ezekiel for this reason. Since the books of the Kings end in the Desolation, and Jeremiah is entirely occupied with the Desolation,—since Ezekiel begins in the Desolation, and Isaiah is totally occupied with consolation,—for this reason they connected

* Fol. 14, c. 2

the Desolation with the Consolation, and the Consolation with the Desolation.*

From Jesus the Son of Sirach, xlv.—xlix., scarcely any thing can be derived to favor the present arrangement of the biblical books. Something is rather to be gained from Luke xxiv. 44, and Matt. xxiii. 35; whence it appears the Psalms held the first, and Chronicles the last place in the Hagiographa.†

[The order, says Eichhorn, in which the writings of the Old Testament follow one another, seems to be very old; for Sirach the Elder mentions the famous men of the Old Testament in the same order they succeed one another in our editions. He makes one book of the twelve minor Prophets, and places it after Ezekiel. According to the New Testament, in the manuscripts used at Christ's time, the Psalms began the series of the Hagiographa, and the Chronicles finished the entire collection; for Jesus (Luke xxiv. 44) calls the Hagiographa the Psalms, which was the first book of that collection; and when he wished to select the first and the last instances of the shedding of innocent blood, mentioned in the Old Testament, he selects the case of Abel from Genesis, as the first book of the Old Testament, and that of Zacharias from the book of Chronicles, as the last of all. (Matt. xxiii. 35.)‡]

* *Elias Levita*, Præf. iii. ad Masor. Hammas, p. 46, of *Semler's* version. *Buxtorf*, Tib. c. 11. *Hottinger*, Thes. Phil. p. 454. Comp. § 110. See *Carpzov*, l. c. pt. iii. p. 88. *Eichhorn*, vol. i. § 7, p. 50, 4th ed., and *Bertholdt*, vol. i p. 74, note 5. [The latter thinks the Talmudic order of the Prophets above given is the oldest.]

† According to *Havernik*, (l. c. p. 78,) Luke called the whole Hagiographa by the name *Psalms*, not because the Psalms occupied the first place in the collection, but on account of the poetical character of several parts of the Hagiographa, just as *Philo* (De Vita cont. § 13) and *Josephus* (cont. Ap. § 23) call it the *Hymns*.

‡ See *Eichhorn*, § 7.

The apocryphal books were at first only an addition to the Alexandrian version. The Protestants were the first to regard them as a whole by themselves. In the Vatican Codex they succeed in the following order : — The books of Tobit and Judith are between Nehemiah and Esther ; the Book of Wisdom and Ecclesiasticus follow the Song of Songs ; Baruch and the Lamentations of Jeremiah succeed the prophecies of Jeremiah ; and the four books of Maccabees close the canon.

In the Alexandrian Codex, Tobit, Judith, the two books of Esdras, and the four books of Maccabees, follow immediately after the book of Esther ; and the Book of Wisdom and Ecclesiasticus follow after the Song of Songs. Luther's arrangement is peculiar to himself.

§ 11.

ORDER AND DIVISION OF THE NEW TESTAMENT.

From the manner in which the books of the New Testament were collected arose the division into the *Gospels* (τὸ εὐαγγέλιον) and the *Epistles*, (ὁ ἀπόστολος,) to which the Acts of the Apostles and the Apocalypse were added. By this means the books which would be properly divided into *historical*, *epistolary* and *didactic*, and *prophetic books*, are united together. The apostolic Epistles were subsequently divided into the *Pauline* and the *Catholic* ; whilst earlier, the First Epistle of Peter and the First of John were united in the same collection with the Epistles of Paul.

With respect to their acknowledgment by the church, they are divided into ὁμολογούμενα (the *acknowledged*) and ἀντιλεγόμενα, (the *contested*.) See § 24.

In reference to their authors, they are divided into the writings of the *apostles*, and of their *assistants*. The arrangement of particular books is various in various manuscripts;^a but the present order is established by ancient witnesses.^b

^a See *Marcion's* arrangement of the Pauline Epistles, in *Epiphanius*, *Hæres.* xlii. 9, *Opp.* i. p. 310. *Schmidt*, *Einleit.* in *N. T.* vol. i. p. 215.

^b *Pritii*, *Introductio*, p. 17. *Rumpæi*, *Com. crit.* p. 96, sqq. *Sixtus Senensis*, *Bibliotheca sac.* lib. i. p. 44. He divides the *N. T.* into *Libros legales, historiales, sapientiales, and prophetales.* *Rumpæi*, p. 97.

BOOK II.

HISTORY OF THE ORIGIN OF THE COLLECTION OF SCRIPTURE; OR, HISTORY OF THE CANON.

CHAPTER I.

HISTORY OF THE ORIGIN OF THE OLD TESTAMENT COL- LECTION; OR, HISTORY OF THE JEWISH CANON.

[§ 12, *a*.

IMPORTANCE AND VALUE OF THE HEBREW LITERATURE.

HE who would despise these relics of the Hebrews because they proceed from a nation which had not reached a high degree of culture, and had made but a one-sided use of their powers of mind, must either be ungrateful for their great merit, or so unjust as to demand the full light of high noon from the first faint glimmerings of morn. Much rather would every free, impartial reader, who, in general, has a taste for the writings of such early times, and of a country so foreign to us as Asia, be powerfully attracted to them by their contents and their old and original spirit; and he will never lay them down without reverence and gratitude for the fortunate destiny which has preserved them. Even if we do not contemplate them as ancient memorials of the most rational religion of antiquity, in which we can trace the gradual

ascent of the human understanding to the sublime doctrine of one God, and its struggle against polytheism for so many centuries, — there are yet various points of view from which the writings of the Jews appear as works of the greatest value.

In them we find a rich collection of genuine poesies of nature, which every lover of the poetic art will hold in high esteem; and amongst them we discover kinds of poetry of which nothing of similar excellence has survived amid the far richer relics of Greek literature.

At a certain stage of spiritual culture all nations have had oracles; and who had more of them than the oldest Greeks? Yet only inconsiderable fragments survive of their wealth; while, on the contrary, a great number of perfect prophecies from the Hebrew oracles still remain.

Who would not exchange a part of Pindar's hymns of victory for his lost religious odes, since almost all of the Grecian songs of this character have perished?

From the Hebrews we have primitive, old temple-songs, in a solemn, devout, and highly-original tone. These and other kinds of Hebrew poetry no man has ever read with poetic feelings, and with the power of recalling old times, without falling in love with the ancient Oriental spirit which they breathe, and rejoicing, at the same time, that we have specimens of at least one Oriental nation, although they are so very imperfect.

Besides, the Hebrew histories and poems, considered as primitive works of the human mind in Asia, are the most valuable documents for the history of human progress; for, if we follow tradition and other evidence, the human race originated in the regions of Asia, and long developed itself there.

They contain, then, not only the history of the Hebrews, and pictures of their civilization and culture, but, by the collection of legends from the old world, they serve as contributions to the history of all mankind. Where else were there such legends to be found for the childhood of the human race, which is lost in the mists of time; or where are the memorials which transmit to us so beautiful a philosophy on the origin of the universe; or which, in general, could supply the place of the Hebrew collection? Our history of the states and people of antiquity is still poor; but how much poorer would it be, in valuable and credible accounts, without the written relics of the Hebrews! If it would not lead us too far from the design of this work, the value of the existing fragments of the Hebrew literature might be placed in the clearest light by enumerating the great amount of the most various information which lies scattered in them, and for which we must thank them only. Goguet and Gatterer have made a fine beginning thereto, and these may serve instead of any remarks of mine.

Instead of ridiculing and despising these flowers, still living, of the Oriental spirit, we will rather thank Providence for them: instead of bewailing that time, which has passed lightly over so much literary rubbish, has destroyed so many of the most valuable treasures of literature, to which these Hebrew monuments most certainly belong, we will, on the contrary, wonder that even so much as we possess has escaped the destroying tooth of time.

The Egyptians, the Chaldees, the Phœnicians, and Hebrews,—the four oldest nations of the civilized world,—for a considerable time played together remarkable parts

on the theatre of nations, and left for their posterity many written monuments of their civilization and ancient splendor. None of them has passed through a course of greater, or more completely destructive, changes than the Hebrews. According to the old, savage custom, they were torn from their dwellings by their haughty conquerors, and transplanted to another land. Here, dispersed among foreign tribes, they ceased for a time to be a prosperous nation. Yet of the former, all but their name has vanished; while the latter have outlived their state, and, though scattered in all parts of the world, have yet been known for thousands of years. From the former, either all the monuments of their literature have perished to the last fragment, or only single melancholy ruins survive, which in nothing diminish the loss of the rest; while, on the contrary, from the latter there is still extant a whole library of authors, so valuable and ancient that the writings of the Greeks are in comparison extremely young.* In Egypt, Phœnicia, and Babylon, as well as among the Hebrews, all higher knowledge, and the most valuable writings, were deposited in the lap of the priest for preservation; and, in all the states, literature followed the fortunes of the sacerdotal order and the temple. Soon as the priesthood was removed, all the inherited knowledge of the nation, all the fruits of their diligence, and the experience of many centuries, at once shared their fate: when the temples were destroyed, all the works of literature were buried in their fall. The preservation of so many and such important fragments of the Hebrew literature under circumstances

* [This statement must be received with some qualification, as the date of the early writings of both Greeks and Hebrews is still uncertain.]

of this nature, and sometimes far worse, which this nation has passed through, seems certainly a miracle of time.^a]

§ 12, b.

ORIGIN AND PROGRESS OF HEBREW LITERATURE TILL THE EXILE.

The peculiar legends of the Hebrews ascribe the first use of the art of writing among them to Moses,^b the founder and lawgiver of their state; but we must not ascribe to him the foundation of a Hebrew literature, but only a feeble commencement of it; perhaps he wrote some of its laws.

Formerly, it was unexplained from what source Moses, while in Egypt, could have received the Shemitish writing character, unless, with Jahn and Bleek,^c we adopted the very improbable hypothesis, that nomadic nations, like the Hebrews at that time, were acquainted with the art of writing long before the time of Moses. Even if Abraham had brought it from Mesopotamia with him, it would have been lost by his posterity. [Jahn, in the passage referred to, and in § 85 of the 3d edition of the English version of his Latin work on Hebrew Archæology, maintains that books and writings were well known in the time of Moses. De Wette, on the contrary, in his Archæology, (§ 276,) says, "Although the origin of the art of writing, on account of its high antiquity, remains

^a See *Eichhorn*, § 2.

^b *De Wette*, Heb. und jüd. Archäol. § 277. *Jahn*, Archäol. vol. i. p. 415. *Hartmann*, hist. krit. Forschungen über die BB. Moses, p. 588. The proofs which *Havernik* brings for the use of writing, in the times of Moses and before him, are taken from the Jehovistic passages, which refer later customs to earlier times. § 150.

^c *Theol. Studien und Kritiken* for 1831, p. 495.

generally in obscurity, yet, on the contrary, it is certain that most of the Asiatic as well as the Occidental alphabets are descended from that of the Phœnicians, or may be referred to it. Now, it is nearly indifferent whether the first sources of this writing are to be sought among the Phœnicians, or, which is more probable, among the Babylonians; for, in either case, the Hebrews are found near the source. Then, in the following section, he says, *before Moses* there is no trace of a written document, not even in the legends which embellish the simple facts. With Moses we find the use of writing in inscriptions, particularly on the tables of the law, on the ornaments of the High Priest,^a and on Mount Ebal;^b though the latter is suspicious. Then larger written documents are ascribed to Moses,^c which is not improbable, since he received his education in Egypt.]

In the heroic age which succeeded that of Moses, legends and songs indeed flourished, but there was little or no literature. This first originated with the prophetic schools of Samuel, from which we see arise the flowers of gnomic and lyric poetry and of prophecy. At that time, the Mosaic laws and historical relations which are contained in the Pentateuch, — in the document Elohim, for example, and perhaps also in the original sources of the Jehovistic document, — and referred to in Numbers xxi. 14, (סֵפֶר מִלְחָמוֹת יְהוָה,) were first written down, as were likewise collections of songs like the סֵפֶר דִּבְרֵי (Josh. x. 13. 2 Sam. i. 18.) The kings had an historian, מִזְכִּיר, (2 Sam. viii. 16. 1 Kings iv. 3,) who kept the annals, out

^a Ex. xxviii. 9, 36.

^b Deut. xxvii. 12, sq. Josh. viii. 32.

^c Ex. xvii. 14. xxiv. 4. Num. xxxiii. 2. Deut. xxxi. 34. Josh. xviii. 9. xxiv. 26. [See the Biblical Repository for July, 1839, Article iv., "The Origin of Writing in Greece and Egypt," by the translator.]

of which extracts seem to have been made. Perhaps the historical works referred to in the books of Kings were of this character.

Our present four books of Moses originated in the time of Solomon ; perhaps also the book of Joshua at the same time ; the books of Judges and Samuel still later. Written oracles of the prophets began with the eighth century before Christ. The Salomonic Proverbs were collected during the time of Hezekiah and before it. The Pentateuch was completed about the time of Josiah. Thus the Law, — the first division of the Old Testament, — and the first half of the second division, came into being.

§ 13.

PROGRESSIVE FORMATION AND COMPLETION OF THE OLD TESTAMENT COLLECTION AFTER THE EXILE.

After the exile, also, the Hebrew literature continued to advance. Ezra and Nehemiah wrote memoirs, prophets predicted, and poets sung. At the same time, a zeal for collecting sprang up, and sought to preserve the relics of the ancient literature. As the last of the prophets departed with Malachi, their writings were collected together ; and thus arose the second half of the second division of the Old Testament, as a complete whole. It was in existence at the time of the Pseudo-Daniel, as it appears from ix. 2.* About this time, or a little earlier, the Pentateuch and the collection of historical writings may have received the last touch, and have been brought to their present form ; so that the first and

* *Von Lengerke*, in loc., on the other side, *Havernik*, in loc., and *Hitzig*, in *Studien und Krit.* for 1830, p. 153.

second division was closed some time after Nehemiah. (Compare 2 Maccab. ii. 13, § 14.)

A beginning had been made of a collection of Psalms; but it was not completed, for compositions of this character continued to be made. Considerably late, perhaps at the end of the Persian period, the Jews turned their hand to the formation of the third division, — the collection of the Hagiographa, — which, however, long remained changeable and open, so that even the book of Daniel, which was not written till the time of the Maccabees, could find a place in it.

The reception of historical and of some prophetical writings into the Hagiographa can be explained only on the hypothesis that both the former collections were closed when this was begun. Such is the opinion of Bertholdt;^a but Hengstenberg has revived the dogmatic view of the later Jews, according to which, the threefold division of the Old Testament is made to rest on the different relation in which their authors stood to God.^b According to Häverník, it is not the contents or the inspiration, but the composition of the book, which makes the difference. The second division was written by prophets; that is, by men of the proper prophetic calling. The third was composed by men who were inspired, it is true, but yet were not prophets. But the Lamentations of Jeremiah stand in the way of this theory.^c

^a L. c. vol. i. p. 70, sqq. [See *Spinoza*, Tractat. Theol. polit. ch. 8, 9.]

^b *Authentie der Daniel und Integrität des Sacharjah*, p. 25, sqq.

^c *Häverník*, l. c. p. 62, sq.

§ 14.

PRETENDED AUTHORS OF THE COLLECTION OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.

Christian writers have hitherto adduced a pretended Jewish tradition^a to this effect — that the books of the Old Testament were collected, and the canon formed by Ezra, and the other members of the great synagogue, (בְּנֵי־הַגָּדוֹלָה,) whose very existence is a matter of historic doubt.^b But this tradition vanishes as soon as we examine the ground on which it rests. It is not a subject for refutation. [Still it may be interesting to know the opinion of other distinguished scholars on this point. Eichhorn thinks the books were collected immediately after the return from exile, and were laid up in the temple library. He thinks Ezra laid the foundation for a library, which was enlarged by Nehemiah, and other Hebrew patriots. He then proceeds to treat of the great synagogue, and says, certainly no considerate investigator of history, who is possessed of a sense of historical probability, can believe, in their full extent, the fables of the later Jews relating to the great synagogue, and to the learned and unlearned vocations of that body. Rau has incontestably proved that most of the accounts we have relating to it bear marks of improbability. But the whole legend must have proceeded from some actual fact. In the accounts of it, as in most legends of the kind, does not a real fact lie at the bottom, — one

^a See *Buxtorf*, Tiberias, c. 10. *Hottinger*, Thes. Phil. p. 111. *Leusden*, Phil. Heb. diss. 9. *I. H. Majus*, Diss. sel. de Scrip., diss. 3. *Bartolucci*, Bib. Rabb. iv. 3. *Huet*, Demonstrat. evang. prop. 4, p. 535. *Carpzov*, Introd. pt. i. p. 1—9. *Wolf*, Bib. Heb. vol. ii. p. 2, and the authors he cites. *Hävernik*, l. c. vol. i. pp. 1, 39, sqq.

^b *F. E. Rau*, De Synagoga magna, (Traj. 1726, 12mo.,) pt. ii. p. 1, c. 2, p. 66, sqq.

which Jewish fancy has converted into a romance? I will not venture, he adds, to account for the origin of the Jews' fables about their great synagogue, if it is credible that they are based on a real foundation. If such is the case, then some confusion of persons may have taken place. The great synagogue is said to have closed with Simon the Just, whom their traditions make a contemporary of Alexander the Great. But, in that case, he lived so early that the last book in the Jewish canon cannot be referred to his time. But if Simon the Just has been confounded with Simon the Maccabee, the high priest, then the canon may have been closed under his direction. But why should we take all this trouble to explain the origin of silly fables, by means of hypotheses, in favor of which no formal and satisfactory arguments can be adduced against such as wish to contest the matter? But confusions of this kind might easily take place, since no one knows any thing of the great synagogue before the date of the book *Pirke Abot*. This will be admitted by those who ascribe to it the greatest antiquity, namely, that of the Mishna, 220 A. C. Consequently, the legends of the great synagogue were first collected from Jewish tradition at a recent date.*

Bertholdt refers the "company of scribes" (*συναγωγή γραμματέων*, 1 Macc. vii. 12) to the great synagogue, and says, (p. 69,) "Ezra seems actually to have laid the first foundation of the canon of the Old Testament; for, if he did nothing towards collecting the sacred books of his nation, it cannot be explained how this legend came into existence. It cannot be explained as a mere fiction of the later Jews, for it is quite natural that Ezra, who had found the Jewish colony in a very neglected

* *Eichhorn*, § 5.

state, should establish a permanent college of distinguished and learned men at Jerusalem, under the name of the great synagogue. The only fiction is the story which the later Jews give us of the personal continuance of this college. When they limit the office of this body to collecting the sacred writings, they make a mistake. The college founded by Ezra was the general and complete reorganization — as well political as religious and ecclesiastical — of the nation, now reassembled in their native land. The business of seeking after the sacred writings, and of collecting them into a whole, belonged to a particular deputation, or congregation — a special committee of that body. We may then find a trace of it in history: It is called ‘company of scribes,’ (Macc. i. c. ;) and then, for the first time, it becomes clear why Ezra has the surname of ‘the scribe,’ (Ezra vii. 6.) His other labors for the firm establishment of the religious constitution of his newly-animated people render it probable, that he shared the labor of this ‘company of scribes,’ and bore the name of ‘scribe,’ in common with all its members, or that he alone received this title because — as it is probable — he presided over the body.”*]

The following passages from the rabbins [have been relied upon as proof-texts, but they] contain not a word relating to the collection of the Old Testament.

Hieros. Megill. fol. 74, col. 2. Rabbi Phinehas said, “Moses appointed the formula of prayer that it might be

* [The above remarks of Bertholdt have little value in themselves, but are inserted because they present the opinion of English and American scholars generally, in its most favorable light. Dr. *Palfrey* (Academical Lectures, vol. i. p. 21) calls the whole story a Jewish fable, but is perhaps in error, when he makes the Talmudic use of the phrase include “the leading men for the first three centuries after the return from Babylon.” Abarbanel and others make the assembly consist of one hundred and twenty men.]

said, 'O God, great, mighty, and terrible.' (Deut. x. 17.) Jeremiah said, 'O God, great and mighty,' (xxxii. 18,) but he did not say 'terrible.' Daniel said, (ix. 4,) 'O God, great and terrible.' Why did he not say 'mighty'? But after the men of the great synagogue had arisen, they restored the magnificence to its pristine rank, so that it might be said, 'O our God, God great, mighty, and terrible, who keepest the covenant and mercy.' "

Babylon Joma. fol. 69, col. 2. "Why were they called 'men of the great synagogue'? Because they restored the canon to its primitive state."

Babylon Megill. fol. 20, col. 2. "By this tradition we have learned from the men of the great synagogue, that where it is said ויח, it presages nothing but evil."

Pirke Abot. c. 1. "Moses received the law from Sinai, and gave it to Joshua; Joshua to the elders; the elders to the prophets; the prophets to the men of the great synagogue. They uttered these precepts: 'Be slow in judgment. Make many disciples. Make a hedge for the law.' "

The following passages state merely the fact that some books of the Old Testament were reduced to writing by the great synagogue. — Baba-Bathra, fol. 14, c. 2; fol. 15, c. 1. "And who wrote them? Moses wrote his own book, and the sections Balaam and Job. Joshua wrote his own book, and eight books of the law. Samuel wrote his book, and Judges, and Ruth. David wrote the book of Psalms. Jeremiah wrote his book, and the book of Kings, and Lamentations. Hezekiah and his college wrote Isaiah, Proverbs, Canticles, and Ecclesiastes. The men of the great synagogue wrote Ezekiel, the twelve prophets, Daniel, and the book

of Esther. Ezra wrote his book, and the genealogy in the books of Chronicles, so far as himself.”^a

Bertholdt and Häverník’s explanation of the word כִּתְּבָה, (written,) as meaning *inserted in the canon*, finds no support in the foregoing extracts, as Häverník maintains, and is answered by the connection in which the word stands,^b and by the following declaration of Raschi, and the connection in which it stands. “The men of the great synagogue wrote the book of Ezekiel, for he prophesied in the exile. But I do not know why Ezekiel himself did not write, unless for the reason that it is not permitted that prophecy should be written out of the Holy Land. Therefore, after they returned thither, they wrote the book of Ezekiel, and in like manner the book of Daniel, — who had lived as an exile, — and also the book of Esther, and the twelve Prophets. These prophets did not write down their predictions, for they were short. Then came Haggai, Zachariah, and Malachi, and, when they saw the Holy Spirit was taken away, — for they were the last prophets, — they wrote down their predictions, and added these short predictions to them, and made a larger volume, lest it should perish on account of its smallness.” Rabbi Gedaliah (in *Shalshaleth Hakkabala*, fol. 21) ascribes a recension of the text to the great synagogue, and Elias the Levite (l. c. p. 45) speaks distinctly of the compilation of the Old Testament by the same body.

^a [All of the above extracts from the Talmud, except the two last, are omitted in the last edition of the author; but, as they have some value in the estimation of many scholars, I have thought proper to retain them. See more of similar nature in *Buxtorf’s Tiberias*, p. 94, sqq.]

^b What would this mean, *And Joshua “inserted in the canon”* (כִּתְּבָה) *eight verses in the law?*

^c See *Aurioll*, *De Synagoga vulgo dicta magna*, in his *Dissertations*, edited by *J. H. Michaelis*, p. 145.

The legend of the wonderful restoration of the books of the Old Testament by Ezra deserves scarce any regard.* [A tradition, which has gained ground even in modern times, asserts that, by various accidents, the sacred books of the Hebrews had become corrupt. Some passages had been added, others had been lost. But Ezra was inspired for the purpose of correcting the text. He expunged all that was spurious, and restored what was genuine.†]

The account in 2 Macc. ii. 13, which attributes the collection of the writings of the Old Testament to Nehemiah, is more credible in itself; but, from the character of the source whence it proceeds, it is of little value.‡ However, it is certain that the whole of the Old Testament collection came gradually into existence, and as it were of itself, and, by force of custom or public use, acquired a sort of sanction. The hypothesis that archives were kept in the temple at Jerusalem, receives powerful support from the customs of the ancients.‡

[Bertholdt,§ however, enlarges upon this hypothesis,

* 4 Ezra xiv. *Irenæus* adv. Hæres. iii. 25. *Clem. Alex.* Strom. i. p. 329. *Tertullian*, De Cult. Fem. i. p. 3, (in § 25.) *Theodoret*, Præf. Com. in Cant. *Chrysostom*, Homil. viii. in Ep. ad Heb. *Augustinus*, De Mirabilibus Script. ii. 33. Comp. *Buxtorf*, l. c. p. 103. *D'Herbelot*, Or. Bib. vol. iii. p. 728. See below, p. 47.

† [See the authorities in *Buxtorf*, l. c. c. xi.]

‡ Καὶ ὁ καταβαλλόμενος βιβλιοθήκην, ἐπισυνήγαγε τὰ περὶ τῶν βασιλέων καὶ προφητῶν, καὶ τὰ τοῦ Δαυὶδ καὶ ἐπιστολάς βασιλέων περὶ ἀναθημάτων. *Movers*, De utriusque recens. Vatic. Jerem. Indole et Origine, p. 49, by τὰ περὶ τῶν βασιλέων, understands the Chronicles (?), and by τὰ τοῦ Δαυὶδ, the first book of Psalms, [Ps. i.—xlv.,] and by the ἐπιστολάς, &c., the book of Ezra.

§ *Euseb.* Præp. Evang. i. 9. *Epiphanius*. De Pond. et Mens. c. 4, Opp. ii. p. 162. *Joan. Damasc.* De orthod. Fide, iv. 18. *Augustinus* l. c. ii. 33. *Huet* l. c. p. 542. *I. H. Majus*, Diss. sel. 2. *Eichhorn*, § 3, p. 21. *Ilgens*, Urkunden, Vorrede, p. viii. *Corrodi*, (Beleucht. d. Gesch. d. Bibelkanons, vol. i. p. 26,) and *Bauer*, (Einleit. p. 32,) have justly appreciated this theory.

¶ L. c. p. 406, sqq.

to a great extent, and utters some extravagant opinions. He says, "According to the common opinion, Moses, and the authors of the other canonical books of the Old Testament, deposited their autographs in the ark of the covenant; or, at least, the priests, who were the guardians of the national literature, as in other nations of the old world, took charge of them, so that one copy of every new literary or national work was taken for the holy place in the temple. The analogy of ancient times speaks decidedly in favor of the existence of holy writings in the temple at Jerusalem, and does not permit us to deny, that after the time of Ezra, or the second temple, the sacred national writings, collected by him, were preserved in the side of the ark of the covenant. But, on the other hand, there are no facts which warrant the assertion, or even the belief." "Now, Epiphanius (l. c. iv.) says the apocryphal books of the Old Testament were never deposited in the ark; and, on the other hand, we know, from Josephus, that Titus found the canonical books there. Irenæus thinks the sacred books perished, with the temple and city, at the burning of the first temple. He supposes, also, there were two sacred national archives in the first temple, of which Augustine speaks expressly. This supposition lies at the foundation of a story which circulated among the Jews a considerable time before the birth of Christ, and which contradicts the statement of Irenæus and Augustine, namely, that Jeremiah had secured the temple copy of the holy writings before the temple was burned. (2 Macc. ii. 4—8.) But there is sufficient ground for believing that this opinion — that there was a collection of all the holy writings of the nation in the first temple — arose from the state of things while the second temple was stand-

ing." He thus states the argument against the existence of a temple library before the captivity: —

"The example of other nations of antiquity could have little influence on the Hebrews before the exile, for they were completely isolated. Before the exile, — when they were thrown among the Babylonians and Chaldeans, and Assyrians and Medes, — they could not become acquainted with the civil and ecclesiastical institutions of other nations; and it may therefore be assumed, with greater probability, that the arrangement of Ezra, Nehemiah, and the succeeding members of the 'company of scribes,' to make faithful and accurate copies of all the sacred national writings, and to deposit them in the temple, had its origin in the acquaintance with the manners and customs of other nations, which they first made during the exile.* This is more probable than the opinion that he only restored the previous sacred archives of the temple. For, if all the sacred writings had been deposited in the temple anterior to the destruction of the state, accounts of that important literary and national depot must occur here and there in the old writings still extant. But there is no allusion to its existence."

This latter statement is wholly wrong; for the following passages speak distinctly of the preservation of legal writings before the exile, viz., 1 Sam. x. 25, where Samuel deposits the constitution of the kingdom in a holy place; Deut. xxxi. 26, where a command is given that the Law be kept in the ark. But compare 1 Kings viii. 9, and 2 Kings xxiii. 8, from which it appears the law was not kept in the ark. The following passages speak of the preservation of the Old

* [Certainly the Jews had intercourse with other nations, at least in the time of Solomon; but why did they, more than the Phœnicians, Egyptians, or Babylonians, need the example of other nations to teach them so obvious a contrivance?]

Testament in the temple after the exile, viz., Josephus, *Antiq.* iii. 1, § 7 ; v. 1, § 17 ; *Wars*, vii. 5, 5 ; and *Life*, § 75. Nothing was found in the holy of holies. (*Wars*, ch. v. 5, 5.) The existence, therefore, of such a collection, both before and after the exile, and its preservation in the temple, seem to be attested by all the evidence we could reasonably expect under the circumstances of the case. But no one can determine, from any of these passages referred to, how much, or how little, this temple library contained.]

§ 15.

TIME OF FINISHING THE OLD TESTAMENT.

The most ancient mention of the Old Testament collection, as a whole, is found in the Prologue of Jesus the Son of Sirach, about 130 B. C. But from this passage we cannot prove that the third division of the Old Testament had been finally closed in its present form.

The evidence of the New Testament (*Luke* xxiv. 44, and *Matt.* xxiii. 35) is also somewhat indefinite. (§ 10.) Philo, who flourished about 41 B. C., appears to cite the Old Testament as a whole ; but he does not mention all parts of it, and therefore he cannot be a competent witness.*

But, on the other hand, the existence of the Old Testament, in its present form, is authenticated by Josephus, who not only mentions and makes use of almost all the books it contains, but enumerates in all *twenty-two* books, and places the conclusion of the sacred literature of the Hebrews in the time of Artaxerxes Longimanus. He

* See *Hornemann*, *Observatt. ad illustrat. Doct. de Canone V. T.*, ex Philone ; 1775.

is probably led to this date by his erroneous view of the book of Esther.

The following is a translation of the passage in Josephus: "For we have not among us myriads of books inconsistent and conflicting, but only twenty-two books, containing the record of all past time, which are justly confided in as divine. Five of these belong to Moses, and contain the laws, and the tradition respecting the origin of mankind until his death. This time is little less than three thousand years. From the death of Moses to the reign* of Artaxerxes, king of the Persians after Xerxes, the prophets, who were after Moses, wrote the events of their times in thirteen books. The four remaining books contain hymns to God and rules of life. Every thing has been written from Artaxerxes to our time; but this later account is not esteemed of equal authority with the former, for there has not been a continual succession of prophets. From this fact it is evident how firmly we believe our books—that, during all this time which has passed, no one has dared to add to, to take from, or to change them. But it is natural to all Jews, from their very birth, to consider them doctrines of God, to abide by them, and, if need be, to die for them willingly."^b

* It is evident this word, ἀρχῆς, should be translated *reign*, and not *beginning*. See Müller, *Belehr. von d. Kanon*, p. 114, in opposition to Oeder, *freie Untersuch.* p. 63. See also Josephus, *Antiq.* book xi. c. 6, § 13: "And Mordecai wrote to the Jews, who live in the kingdom of Artaxerxes, to keep these days, and to celebrate the feast," &c.

^b Contra Apion. l. i. c. 8: Οὐ γὰρ μυριάδες βιβλίων εἰσι παρ' ἡμῖν, ἀσυμφώνων καὶ μαχομένων· δύο δὲ μόνα πρὸς τοῖς εἰκοσι βιβλία, τοῦ παντὸς ἔχοντα χρόνου τὴν ἀναγραφὴν, τὰ δικαίως θεῖα πεπιστευμένα. Καὶ τούτων πάντε μέν ἐστι τὰ Μωϋσέως, ἃ τοὺς τε νόμους περιέχει, καὶ τὴν τῆς ἀνθρωπογονίας παράδοσιν, μέχρι τῆς αὐτοῦ τελευτῆς· οὗτος ὁ χρόνος ἀπολείπει τρισχιλίων ὀλίγον ἐτῶν. Ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς Μωϋσέως τελευτῆς μέχρι τῆς Ἀρταξέρξου τοῦ μετὰ Ξέρξην Περσῶν βασιλείας ἀρχῆς, (γον-

The thirteen Prophets are,

- | | |
|------------------------------|--------------------------|
| 1. Joshua ; | 8. Isaiah ; |
| 2. Judges and Ruth ; | 9. Jeremiah and Lamen- |
| 3. Two books of Samuel ; | tations ; |
| 4. Two books of Kings ; | 10. Ezekiel ; |
| 5. Two books of Chronicles ; | 11. Daniel ; |
| 6. Ezra and Nehemiah ; | 12. The minor Prophets ; |
| 7. Esther ; | 13. Job. |

The four books of a moral character are,

- | | |
|---------------|-------------------|
| 1. Psalms ; | 3. Ecclesiastes ; |
| 2. Proverbs ; | 4. Canticles. |

Oeder, in his Free Inquiry on the Canon, p. 64, erroneously thinks the books of Esther, Chronicles, Ezra, and Nehemiah, were excluded.*

§ 16.

GROUND OF RECEPTION INTO THE OLD TESTAMENT COLLECTION.

The one opinion that the collection of the Old Testament was regarded merely as a collection of *national*

ernment, not *beginning*) οἱ μετὰ Μωϋσῆν προφηταὶ τὰ κατ' αὐτοὺς πραχθέντα συνέγραψαν ἐν τρισὶ καὶ δέκα βιβλίοις· (Antiqq. Jud. l. xi. c. 6, § 13: 'Ἐγραψε δὲ Μαρδοχαῖος τοῖς ἐν τῇ 'Αρταξέρξου βασιλείᾳ ζῶσιν 'Ιουδαίοις, ταύτας παραφυλάσσειν τὰς ἡμέρας καὶ ἑορτὴν ἄγειν αὐτάς, κτλ.) αἱ δὲ λοιπαὶ τέσσαρες ὕμνους εἰς τὸν Θεὸν καὶ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ὑποθήκας τοῦ βίου περιέχουσιν. 'Απὸ δὲ 'Αρταξέρξου μέχρι τοῦ καθ' ἡμᾶς χρόνου γέγραπται μὲν ἕκαστα· πίστει δὲ οὐχ ὁμοίως ἡξίωται τοῖς πρὸ αὐτῶν, διὰ τὸ μὴ γενέσθαι τὴν τῶν προφητῶν ἀκριβῆ διαδοχὴν. Ἀἷον δ' ἐστὶν ἔργῳ, πῶς ἡμεῖς τοῖς ἰδίῳις γράμμασι πεπιστεύκαμεν. Τούτου γὰρ αἰῶνος ἤδη παρρηχότος, οὐτε προσθεῖναι τίς οὐδὲν, οὐτε ἀφελεῖν αὐτῶν, οὐτε μεταθεῖναι τετόλμηκεν. Πᾶσι δὲ συμφυτόν ἐστιν εὐθὺς ἐκ τῆς πρώτης γενέσεως 'Ιουδαίοις τὸ νομίζειν αὐτὰ Θεοῦ δόγματα, καὶ τοῖτοις ἐμμένειν καὶ ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν, εἰ δεῖ, θνήσκειν ἡδέως.

* See, also, Eichhorn, § 43. [See Academical Lectures by J. G. Palfrey, (Boston, 1838), vol. i. p. 25, sqq.] See Müller, Beleh. von Kanon, p. 126. Compare Chr. F. Schmidt, Enarratio Sententiæ Flav. Josephi de Libris V. T.; Viteb. 1777.

writings, and the other that it was considered a collection of *sacred writings*,^a are properly the same, to judge from the contents of most of the books of the Old Testament and the theocratic spirit of Jewish antiquity; for what was truly national was religious likewise. In either case, the authors are regarded as inspired, and their writings as the fruits of a holy inspiration.^b

[Philo and Josephus had a high regard for the writers of the Old Testament as prophets, and for their writings as divine communications. The latter sets a limit to the extension of the prophetic spirit. (See the passage from Josephus in § 15.) They both formed sublime notions, though bordering upon superstition, of the manner of their inspiration, and attributed an unconscious state to that soul which was possessed by God. Moses stands above all the prophets; he is the greatest, and attained the highest degree of inspiration. His writings contain pure, divine revelations, inscrutable to human wisdom, and only intelligible to the inspired. But Philo likewise extends the divine inspiration to the Greek translators of the Old Testament; and both maintain that the gifts of prophecy and inspiration are not wholly extinct, though they are limited to individuals.^c]

The Talmud says, "What is that which is written — 'I will give thee tables of stone, and a law, and a commandment which I have written, that thou mayest teach them'?" (Ex. xxiv. 12.)^d The 'tables' are the Decalogue; the 'law' is the Pentateuch; the 'commandment' is the Mishna; 'what I have written' is the Prophets and Hagiographa; 'that thou mayest teach them,' means the Gemara. This shows that *all of these* were

^a *Eichhorn*, vol. i. § 3, p. 15, and *Corrodi*, vol. i. p. 8, do not stand in so determined opposition as *Bauer* pretends. *Einleit.* p. 40.

^b *Josephus*, cont. Apion. loc. cit. ^c *De Wette*, Bib. Dogmatik, § 144.

committed to Moses on Mount Sinai.”—*Berachoth*, p. 6, 5, c. 1.

Again, Rabbi Azariah says, (in *Meor Enaim*, p. 175, b,) “Ezra only applied his hand to books which were composed by prophets through the Holy Spirit, and written in the sacred tongue.”*

The writings of Moses, the prophets, and David, were considered inspired on account of the personal character of their authors. But the other writings, which are in part anonymous, derive their title to inspiration sometimes from their contents, and sometimes from the cloud of antiquity which rests on them. Some of the writings that were composed after the exile,—such, for example, as the Song of Solomon, Ecclesiastes, and Daniel,—were put in this list on account of the ancient authors to whom they were ascribed; others,—for example, Chronicles and Esther,—on account of their contents; and still others,—Ezra and Nehemiah,—on account of the distinguished merit of their authors in restoring the law and the worship of God.

But there must be a period in which the ancient, sacred literature,—whether written before the exile or after it,—wherein the holy spirit had lived, seemed to be separated from the modern, profane literature, in which this spirit was no longer living. According to the later Jews, this period took place after Malachi, the last of the prophets;† yet certainly it was some time before men became conscious that they were forsaken by that spirit. Jesus the Son of Sirach belongs to a more modern time; and yet he is more worthy of reception than several others that are admitted. According to

* See, also, *Maimonides*, *More Neboch*, ii. 45, p. 316. *Matt.* xv. 3, 4, 6; *xxii.* 43. *2 Tim.* iii. 16. *1 Pet.* i. 10. *2 Pet.* i. 21.

† *Eichhorn*, § 15, p. 98. *Bauer*, p. 40. *Bertholdt*, p. 85. See, also, *De Wette*, l. c. § 143, and *Raschi*, in § 15, above.

Hitzig, (on Psalm i. 18,) the writings of the Son of Sirach were not included, because the Hebrew original was lost.

[The unfortunate age which succeeded seems deserted by the holy spirit. The Jews supposed its efficacy ended when the Old Testament was closed, and that no prophet arose afterwards. (1 Macc. iv. 46; ix. 27; xiv. 41. Compare Psalm lxxiv. 9.) The authors of the Old Testament were considered prophets; but, in those times, the nation had less lofty views of their inspiration than of their miracles and visions. Moses was deemed the greatest prophet. His law was divine; it was the substance and sum total of all that was worth knowing. It was the source of life; it was eternal. Man was to become wise by searching the Law and the Prophets. He could even derive a certain inspiration from them.^a

The Talmudists maintain that, after the death of the later prophets, — Haggai, Zachariah, and Malachi, — the holy spirit was taken from Israel. Five things, say they, were wanting to the second temple: — the ark, the urim and thummim, fire from heaven, the shekinah, and the holy spirit of prophecy. There was no prophecy in the second temple, after it was finished, though it had continued as long as these prophets were alive, that is, for forty years after this temple was begun. They maintain, however, that revelations were sometimes made to individuals after this time, though the spirit of prophecy was imparted to them only in small measure.^b

Eichhorn says that, soon after the return of the He-

^a See *De Wette*, Dogmatik, § 144.

^b [See more on this subject in *Carpzov*, l. c. pt. iii. ch. xxv. This doctrine of the *exclusive and miraculous inspiration* of the writers of the Old Testament does not seem to have existed during the life of the writers themselves, still less to have been entertained by them. The same remark may be made of the writers of the New Testament, with equal truth.]

brews from the Babylonian exile, a collection was made of all the extant writings of the nation, which were rendered sacred, in the eyes of the new people, by their age, their character, or their authors. This sacred library, thus formed, was deposited in the temple; and for a considerable time before Christ, no further addition was made to it. After the time when the collection was made, there arose among the Jews writers of various classes,—historians, philosophers, poets, and writers of theological romances. Here, then, were books on very various subjects, and of different ages. The old were reckoned the works of the prophets; but the new were not so considered, because they were written in times when there was not an uninterrupted succession of prophets. They preserved the old, but not the new, in the temple. The former were used in a public collection; the latter, according to my judgment, in none, certainly in no public collection; and if the Alexandrian Christians had not been such great admirers of them, if they had not appended them to the manuscripts of the Septuagint, who knows that we should have a leaf remaining of all the modern Jewish writers? Subsequently, some time after the birth of Christ, these two kinds of writings were named according to the use made of them. The ancient were called the “canonical,” the modern the “apocryphal” books, and the whole collection was designated by the title Canon of the Old Testament.]*

§ 17, *a*.

SAMARITAN CANON.

Of all the books of the Old Testament, the Samaritans receive only the Pentateuch. They have not the

* Einleit. § 15.

original, but only a very recent recasting [*Uebersetzung*] of the book of Joshua, which therefore does not belong to their canon. (§ 171.) The reason of their disparaging the other books was, partly, their hostile position in respect to the Jews, and, in part, their distinguishing reverence for Moses, whom they exalted so far above the other writers of the Old Testament, that they despised all the rest.

Philo's classification of the books of the Old Testament may be compared with this. According to him, Moses is the only teacher of religious mysteries; only a general inspiration belongs to the other writers, and he even ascribes this to himself.^a [In the same manner, Josephus (*Antiq.* xiii. 10, 7) claims this inspiration for others, and says Hyrcanus possessed the three greatest privileges; viz., government of the nation, the priesthood, and prophecy; for God was with him, and enabled him to know futurities, to foretell, &c. Josephus ascribes this gift to himself. (*Wars*, iii. 8, 3.) "He called to mind the dreams which he had dreamed in the night time, whereby God had signified to him, beforehand, both the future calamities of the Jews, &c. Now, Josephus was able to give shrewd conjectures about the interpretation of such dreams as have been ambiguously delivered by God," &c. &c.]^b

§ 17, aa.

[CANON OF THE SADDUCEES.

"In the time of Christ, there seems to have been no disagreement among the various sects and parties, into

^a De Cherubino, p. 112.

^b [See *Joseph.* iv. 10, 7, and *Whiston's* note thereon. The Samaritan canon has been erroneously ascribed to the Sadducees.] See *Güldenapfel*, *Josephi Archæol. de Sad. Canone Sententia*; Jen. 1804, 4to.

which the Palestine Jews were divided, in respect to the number of their sacred books. The Fathers have sometimes stated that the Sadducees rejected all the writings of the Old Testament, except the five books of Moses. Some modern critics have thought the conjecture probable, because, on one occasion, Jesus attempted to confute the Sadducees, who doubted the resurrection from the dead, not out of the Prophets or the Hagiographa, where passages to the point could easily be found, but merely from the books of Moses, as if they had no regard for the former, or thought they had not sufficient weight to determine the question at issue. But if the school of the Sadducees had arisen in such remote times that only one part of the writings of the Old Testament was then in existence, the origin of a difference of opinion, in regard to the number of books belonging to it, could be explained. The Sadducees would admit the writings which were acknowledged as sacred before the separation from the other party, and would reject all the rest, because they were written by Jews who did not belong to their school. But, since they first separated from the great mass of their nation at a time when the limits of this sacred collection of books had long been determined, and the canon was closed, it would not be difficult for them to connect their doctrines with all the books of the Old Testament, as far as they agreed with the contents of the Mosaic books. So their departure from the other Jews, in this point, would be inexpedient, and its origin difficult to explain. Josephus, who was well versed in the principles of the Pharisees, knew of no doctrine on this point which was peculiar to them. He merely says that the Sadducees, rejecting all *tradition*, adhered only to the *written Law*, without determining how many books they reckoned in their sacred national writings. And when

he mentions the principles on which the Sadducees differ from the Pharisees, he never drops a single word from which it can be inferred that these two sects differed in regard to the number of their sacred books. How could the Sadducees fill the office of high priest if they differed on so important a point from the faith of the whole nation? And since, before and at the time of Christ, a Sadducean family had for a long time appropriated the office, how could they favor the reading of the *Haphtara* with the *Parasha*, if they did not consider the Prophets worthy of equal respect with Moses? And, if we may build any thing on the dialogues between Pharisees and Sadducees in the Talmud, R. Gedaliah proves the resurrection of the dead not only from Moses, but also from the Prophets, and the Hagiographa, while his opponents, the Sadducees, make no objection to the authority and value of the latter in theological controversies. Still further, on the supposition of their authority, they attempted by other arguments to weaken the force of the passages cited. Under such circumstances, the conjecture of the Fathers cannot destroy the opinion that the Sadducees and Pharisees were unanimous in respect to the number of the sacred national books; and if Christ, in a discussion with the Sadducees, proves the resurrection of the dead solely from the writings of Moses, the circumstance may be accidental.”]*

§ 17, b.

THE PRETENDED ALEXANDRIAN CANON.

The Alexandrian version, which was considered as inspired, was very early enlarged by the productions of

* [Eichhorn, § 35. *Barnage*, *Hist. des Juifs*, vol. ii. pt. i. p. 325, sqq., and *Brucker*, *Hist. crit. Phil.* vol. ii. p. 721.]

the later Jewish literature, both in translations^a and in the original writings. The Palestine Jews made a careful separation between some of them and the Old Testament; and part of them they did not read. Thus Josephus says, "But these books are not accounted of equal value with those before them, because there was no exact succession of prophets." They had a decided aversion to Greek literature: thus Josephus says, "For our nation does not encourage those that learn the languages of many nations, and so adorn their discourses with the smoothness of their periods, because they look upon this sort of accomplishment as common, not only to all sorts of free men, but to as many of the servants as please to learn them."^b

But there are no facts from which it can be inferred that the Egyptian Jews themselves ever formally acknowledged a peculiar canon of the Old Testament.^c Notwithstanding their jealousy, in a matter of such importance, they could not disagree with their Palestine brethren. Philo sufficiently proves that they did not; for he makes no use of the Apocrypha; and his authority is sufficient to balance that of the writers of the church who were not

^a Josephus had probably read them in this version. But scarce any thing with respect to this subject can be learned from the New Testament. See *Bertholdi*, vol. i. p. 90.

^b *Antiq.* xx. 11, 2. The decision of the modern Jews in respect to the Apocrypha may be seen in *Hottinger*, *Theol. Phil.* p. 516. See *Baba Kama*, fol. 82, col. 2. Compare *Bertholdi*, p. 92. [The Palestine Jews, says this writer, never admitted a Greek book into their canon; they even denounced a curse upon the use of the Greek language for sacred purposes.]

^c In favor of this opinion, see *Semler*, *Untersuch. d. Kanons*, vol. i. p. 5. *Apparatus ad Lib. V. T. interpret.* § 9. *Corrodi*, *Beiträge*, vol. v. p. 52. *Beleucht. d. Gesch. d. Kanons*, vol. i. p. 155. *Jahn*, *Einleit.* vol. i. p. 261. *Müncher, Dogmengeschichte*, vol. i. p. 257. *Augusti*, § 57.

On the other side, *Eichhorn*, § 23. *Bauer*, *Einleit.* p. 56. *Bertholdi* (vol. i. p. 94) takes the middle course. According to *Hävernik*, the Essenes had a collection of sacred books containing some of their own works; l. c. p. 75,

acquainted with Hebrew literature, and therefore confounded the apocryphal with the canonical books. The only concession which can be made is this: The apocryphal writings were more used, and held in higher esteem, among the Hellenist than among the Palestine Jews, who were far more rigorous upon this point; and, also, the unlearned might easily confound the two kinds of writings. The apocryphal book of Esdras, speaking of the composition of these books, (xiv. 44, sqq.,) says, "In forty days, they wrote two hundred and four books.* And it came to pass, when the forty days were fulfilled, that the Highest spake, saying, 'The first that thou hast written publish openly, that the worthy and unworthy may read it; but keep the seventy last, that thou mayest deliver them only to such as be wise among the people; for in them is the spring of wisdom and understanding, and the fountain of wisdom, and the stream of knowledge.' " But even this is rather against than in favor of the Alexandrian canon.⁴

[Eichhorn (§ 26) says that Philo was acquainted with the apocryphal writings of the Old Testament; for he borrows phrases from them, but he never quotes a single one of those books, [as authority;] still less does he allegorize them, or cite them as proofs. He takes no notice of them; but this is not because he is not acquainted with them,—a circumstance not to be expected in a man of such extensive reading,—but probably because he esteemed them slightly, and did not class them among those writings his contemporaries regarded as holy and divine. His contempt for them was very great. He

* Comp. *Corrodi*, *Beleuchtung d. Kanon*, vol. i. p. 174, and § 25 and 28, below. [See *Gfrörer*, *Prophetæ veteres pseudepigraphi*, &c.; Stutt. 1840, pp. 66 and 140.]

never does them the honor he confers upon Plato, Philolaus, Solon, Hippocrates, Heraclitus, and others, from whose writings he often extracts whole passages.

But, after all, the following conclusion, which is adopted by Bertholdt, appears the most reasonable, — that the truth lies between these two opinions. It is quite certain, as he says, that the Egyptian Jews never considered the apocryphal books as a part of the canon, properly so called; but it is equally certain they regarded and used them as an appendix to the Old Testament before the time of Christ. They were read as valuable religious and moral writings, and were neither placed in the canon nor treated as common books.^a They were deemed holy, but not perfectly holy, and so were placed *beside* the canon, not *in* it. The ancient Christians, who were not acquainted with the Hebrew, and therefore were dependent on the Egyptian Jews for their knowledge of the Scriptures, considered all the books of the Alexandrine Codex as genuine and sacred books, and accordingly made the same use of the Apocrypha and the Hebrew canon. But this practice was founded on a mistake; for the Alexandrian Jews themselves never viewed these writings in that light.]^b

^a [But see *Palfrey*, l. c. pp. 41, 42. See also *Jahn*, l. c. § 26—31.]

^b [See below, § 25, 26.]

CHAPTER II.

HISTORY OF THE ORIGIN OF THE COLLECTION OF THE
NEW TESTAMENT, AND OF THE BIBLE IN GENERAL;
OR, A HISTORY OF THE CHRISTIAN CANON.

§ 18.

EARLIEST TRACES OF THE USE OF THE BOOKS OF THE NEW
TESTAMENT BY THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS.

WITH the primitive Christians, the Old Testament was the only ancient religious book.^a Afterwards, the writings of the evangelists and apostles came gradually into use. But the citation of the Pauline Epistles in 2 Peter iii. 15, is an argument against the genuineness of that Epistle. The opinion that the apostle John formed the canon arises from misunderstanding a passage of Eusebius. (Hist. Eccl. iii. 24.)

I. Among the apostolic Fathers, *express citations* of the writings of the New Testament are extremely rare. Perhaps the following are the most remarkable: —

1. Clement of Rome, 1 Ep. ad Cor. c. 47. “Take the Epistle of the blessed Paul, the apostle. What did he first write to you in the beginning of [his preaching] the gospel? Certainly he wrote to you by the Spirit, [to admonish you] concerning himself, and Cephas, and Apollos, because, even then, you had become inclined” [that is, to honor men more than the truth.] See Paul, 1 Cor. ch. iv.^b

^a Photius, Bib. Cod. 254. Jo. Ens, Bib. Sac. ch. v. diss. 4, § 22. Pritii Introd. p. 27.

^b [See Norton, Evidences of the Genuineness of the Gospels; Boston, 1837, vol. i. p. cclviii.] Clem. Rom. 1 Ep. ad Cor. c. 47: ‘Αναλάβετε τὴν ἐπιστολήν μου.’

2. Ignatius, Epist. ad Ephesios, c. 12. "The fellow-ministers [rather the fellow-partakers of the mysteries] of sanctified Paul, who in every letter maketh mention of you in Christ Jesus." Again, in his Epist. ad Philad. c. 5, he says, "Fleeing for refuge to the gospel, as to the flesh of Jesus, and to the apostles, [that is, to the writings of the apostles,] as to the presbytery of the church, we love likewise the prophets, for they also announce the gospel." Here the word *gospel* does not refer to any written document.*

3. Polycarp, Ep. ad Philipp. c. 3. "Paul, who, being present with you, before the face of the men then living, taught, diligently and thoroughly, the word of truth; who, being absent, wrote letters to you." Compare c. 11, 12.^b

II. Evident *allusions* to the apostolical Epistles are more frequent.

1. Clement of Rome, 1 Ep. ad Cor. c. 35. "Putting away from themselves all unrighteousness and iniquity, covetousness, strife, evil manners, and fraud, whispering, calumny, hatred of God, haughtiness and pride, vain-glory and ambition, (or frivolity;) they who do these

λὴν τοῦ μακαρίου Παύλου τοῦ ἀποστόλου· τί πρῶτον ὑμῖν ἐν ἀρχῇ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου ἔγραψεν; ἐπ' ἀληθείας πνευματικῶς ἐπέστειλεν ὑμῖν περὶ αὐτοῦ τε καὶ Κηφᾶ καὶ Ἀπόλλου, διὰ τὸ καὶ τότε προσκλίσεις ὑμᾶς ποιησθαι.

* *Gieseler*, über die Evangelien, p. 157. *Ignat.* Ep. ad Ephes. c. 12: Παύλου συμύσταται τοῦ ἁγιασμένου ὃς ἐν πάσῃ ἐπιστολῇ μνημονεύει ὑμῶν ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ. In Ep. ad Philadelph. c. 5: προσφυγὼν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ ὡς σαρκὶ Ἰησοῦ, καὶ τοῖς ἀποστόλοις ὡς πρεσβυτερίῳ ἐκκλησίας· καὶ τοὺς προφῆτας δὲ ἀγαπῶμεν, διὰ τὸ καὶ αὐτοὺς εἰς τὸ εὐαγγέλιον κατηγγελέναι, κτλ.

^b [*Norton*, l. c. p. cclxxviii.] *Polycarp*, Ep. ad Philipp. c. 3: Παύλου, ὃς γενόμενος ἐν ὑμῖν κατὰ πρόσωπον τῶν τότε ἀνθρώπων, εἰδὼς ἀκριβῶς καὶ βεβαίως τὸν περὶ ἀληθείας λόγον· ὃς καὶ ἀπὸν ὑμῖν ἔγραψεν ἐπιστολάς.

things are haters of God, and not only they who do them, but such as approve them." Compare Romans i. 29—32.

Again, ch. 36. "Who, being the brightness of his greatness, is as much greater than the angels, as he has inherited a more excellent name than they. For this it is written, 'He maketh spirits his angels, and a flame of fire his ministers,' &c. Compare Hebrews i. 3—7. 'Who, being the brightness of his glory, became as much greater than the angels, as he has inherited a name more excellent than they.' And of the angels he says, 'Who maketh a flame of fire his angels,' " &c."

2. Ignatius, Ep. ad Eph. c. 2. "That in one obedience you be perfectly joined together in the same mind, and in the same judgment, and that you may all say the same thing upon the same subject." Compare 1 Cor. i. 10. "That you may all say the same thing that

* J. C. Orell, Sel. Pat. Eccl. capp. ad εισηγητικὴν pert. Tur. 1820, p. 6, sqq. See other allusions in Lardner, Credibility, Works, vol. ii. p. 41, sqq.; ed. Lond. 1831, 10 vols. 8vo. Clem. Rom. 1 Ep. ad Cor. c. 35: ἀποφρίψαντες ἀφ' ἑαυτῶν πᾶσαν ἀδικίαν καὶ ἀνομίαν, πλεονεξίαν, ἔρις, κακοηθείας τε καὶ δόλους, ψιθυρισμούς τε καὶ καταλαλιάς, θεοστυλίαν, ὑπερηφανίαν τε καὶ ἀλαζονείαν, κενοδοξίαν τε καὶ φιλοξενίαν (φιλοκενίαν). Ταῦτα γὰρ οἱ πράσσοντες στυγητοὶ τῷ θεῷ ὑπάρχουσιν· οὐ μόνον δὲ οἱ πράσσοντες ταῦτα, ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ συνευδοκοῦντες. Comp. Rom. i. 29—32: Πεπληρομένους πάσῃ ἀδικίᾳ, πορνείᾳ, πλεονεξίᾳ, κακίᾳ, μεστοὺς φθόνου, φόβου, ἐρίδος, δόλου, κακοηθείας ψιθυριστῶν, καταλάλους, θεοστυγῶν, ὕβριστῶν, ὑπερηφάνων, ἀλαζόνων οἵτινες τὸ δικαίωμα τοῦ θεοῦ ἐπιγινώσκεις (οἷοι οἱ τὰ τοιαῦτα πράσσοντες ἄξιον θανάτου εἶναι) οὐ μόνον αὐτὰ ποιοῦσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ συνευδοκοῦσι τοῖς πράσσουσιν. Car. 36: ὃς ὢν ἀπαύγασμα τῆς μεγαλωσύνης αὐτοῦ, τοσοῦτ' ἡμεῶν ἐστὶν ἀγγέλων, ὅσῳ διαφορώτερον ὄνομα κεκληρονόμηκεν. Γέγραπται γὰρ οὕτως, ὁ ποιῶν τοὺς ἀγγέλους αὐτοῦ πνεύματα καὶ τοὺς λειτουργοὺς αὐτοῦ πυρὸς φλόγα, κτλ. — Comp. Heb. i. 3—7: ὃς ὢν ἀπαύγασμα τῆς δόξης αὐτοῦ τοσοῦτ' κρείττων γενόμενος τῶν ἀγγέλων, ὅσῳ διαφορώτερον παρ' αὐτοῦ κεκληρονόμηκεν ὄνομα καὶ πρὸς μὲν τοὺς ἀγγέλους λέγει· ὁ ποιῶν τοὺς ἀγγέλους αὐτοῦ πυρὸς φλόγα, κτλ.

you be perfectly joined in the same mind, and in the same counsel.”^a

3. Polycarp, Ep. ad Philipp. c. v. “Neither fornicators, nor effeminate, nor abusers of themselves with mankind, shall inherit the kingdom of God.” See the same words in 1 Cor. vi. 9.^b

III. But the references and allusions to the evangelical writings are in part *vague and fluctuating*, and in part they *relate to the apocryphal Gospels*.

The following are of the first class : —

1. Barnabas, Ep. c. 4. “Let us therefore take heed, lest, as it is written, ‘Many of us shall be found called, but few chosen.’”

Chap. vii. “Thus he [Jesus] says, ‘Those who wish to see me, and to touch my kingdom, ought, when afflicted and suffering, to receive me.’” Compare Matt. xvi. 24. Mark viii. 34. Luke xvi. 23.^c

2. Clement of Rome, Ep. 1 ad Cor. c. 13. “Especially remembering the word of the Lord Jesus, which he spake, teaching gentleness and long-suffering; for thus he spake: ‘Pity that you may be pitied: forgive that it

^a *Ignat. Eph. c. 2*:.....*ἵνα ἐν μιᾷ ὑποταγῇ ᾗτε κατηρτισμένοι τῷ αὐτῷ νοῦ καὶ τῇ αὐτῇ γνώμῃ καὶ τὸ αὐτὸ λέγητε πάντες περὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ.* Comp. 1 Cor. i. 10: *ἵνα τὸ αὐτὸ λέγητε πάντες*.....*ᾗτε δὲ κατηρτισμένοι ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ νοῦ καὶ ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ γνώμῃ.* *Lardner*, ubi sup. p. 123, sqq. See *Lardner*, l. c. vol. ii. pp. 82, 83.

^b *Polycarp*, Ep. ad Philipp. c. 5: *Καὶ οὕτε πόρνοι, οὕτε μαλακοί, οὕτε ἀρσενοκοῖται βασιλείαν θεοῦ κληρονομήσουσι.* Comp. 1 Cor. vi. 9, sq. *Lardner*, p. 159. See *Lardner*, vol. ii. p. 101. See *Norton*, l. c. p. cclxii.]

^c See *Lardner*, vol. ii. 21. [See *Norton*, l. c. p. cclxviii. sqq., who denies the authenticity of this work of Barnabas.] Ep. *Barnab.* c. 4: *Attendamus ergo, ne forte, sicut scriptum est, multi vocati, pauci electi inveniamur.* The words *sicut scriptum est* are perhaps added by the translator. See *Credner*, Beiträge zur Einleit. in b. Schriften, vol. i. p. 28. Cap. 7: *Οὕτω, φησὶν* (‘*Ἰησοῦς*’), *οἱ θέλοντές με ἰδεῖν καὶ ἀψασθαι μου τῆς βασιλείας, ἀπειλонуσι θλιβέντες καὶ παθόντες λαβεῖν με.* Comp. Matt. xvi. 24. Mark viii. 34. Luke ix. 23. (?) *Lardner*, p. 10, sqq.

may be forgiven you : as you do, so shall it be done unto you : as you give, so shall it be given unto you : as you judge, so shall you be judged : with what measure you mete, with the same shall it be measured to you.' ” Compare Luke vi. 36—38, Matt. vi. 12—15, vii. 1. Compare chap. xlv. with Matt. xviii. 6, Mark ix. 42, and Luke xvii. 2.*

Clement of Rome, Ep. 2. “And another scripture says, ‘I am not come to call the righteous, but sinners.’ ” Compare Matt. ix. 13.

Again, chap. x. (viii.) “For the Lord says in the gospel, ‘If you have not kept the little, who shall give you the great? I say to you, He that is faithful in the least, is faithful also in much.’ Compare Luke xvi. 11, 12. ‘If you are not faithful in the unrighteous mammon, who will intrust you with the true? And if you are not faithful in another’s possessions, who will give you your own?’ ”

3. Ignatius ad Trall. c. 11. “These are not my Father’s planting.”

Again, ad Philad. c. 3. “Because they are not the Father’s planting.” Compare Matt. xv. 13.

* *Lardner*, vol. ii. p. 37. *Clem. Rom. Ep. 1 ad Cor. c. 13*: Μάλιστα μεμνημένοι τῶν λόγων τοῦ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ, οὓς ἐλάλησε διδάσκων ἐπιεικείαν καὶ μακροθυμίαν· οὕτως γὰρ εἶπεν· Ἐλεεῖτε, ἵνα ἐλεηθῇτε· ἀφετε, ἵνα ἀφεθῇ ὑμῖν· ὡς ποιεῖτε, οὕτως ποιηθήσεται ὑμῖν· ὡς διδότε, οὕτως δοθήσεται ὑμῖν· ὡς κρίνετε, οὕτως κριθήσεται ὑμῖν· ὃ μέτρον μετρεῖτε, ἐν αὐτῷ μετρηθήσεται ὑμῖν. Comp. Luke vi. 36—38, Matt. vi. 12—15, vii. 1. Comp. c. 46, with Matt. xviii. 6, Mark ix. 42, Luke xvii. 2. *Lardner*, p. 39, sq.

† *Lardner*, vol. ii. p. 36. *Clem. Rom. Ep. 2*: Καὶ ἑτέρα γραφὴ λέγει, ὅτι οὐκ ἦλθον καλεῖσαι δικαίους, ἀλλὰ ἀμαρτωλοὺς. Comp. Matt. ix. 13. Cap. 10 (8). Λέγει γὰρ κύριος ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ· Εἰ τὸ μικρὸν οὐκ ἐτηρήσατε, τὸ μέγα τίς ὑμῖν δώσει; λέγω γὰρ ὑμῖν, ὅτι ὁ πιστὸς ἐν ἐλαχίστῳ, καὶ ἐν πολλῷ πιστὸς ἐστίν. Comp. Luke xvi. 11, 12: Εἰ ἐν τῷ ἀδίκῳ μαμωνᾷ πιστοὶ οὐκ ἐγένεσθε, τὸ ἀληθινὸν τίς ὑμῖν πιστεύσει; καὶ εἰ ἐν τῷ ἄλλοτρίῳ πιστοὶ οὐκ ἐγένεσθε, τὸ ὑμέτερον τίς ὑμῖν δώσει; *Lardner*, p. 72.

Again, ad Smyrneas, cap. 1. "Baptized by John, that all righteousness might be fulfilled in him." Comp. Matt. iii. 15.*

4. Polycarp, c. 2. "Remembering what the Lord said when teaching, 'Judge not, that you be not judged: forgive, and it shall be forgiven you: pity, that you may be pitied: with what measure you mete, it shall be measured to you again.'" Compare Matt. vi. 12, vii. 1, and Clement, as above cited, Ep. 1 ad Cor. c. 13.^b

IV. The following refer to the *apocryphal Gospels*:—

1. Clement of Rome, Ep. 2, c. 12. "The Lord, being asked by some one when his kingdom should come, answered, 'When two shall be one; the outward as the inward; and the male with the female shall be neither male nor female.'"^c

2. Clement of Alexandria, Stromat. l. iii. p. 465. "For this reason Cassianus says, when Salome asked when the subject of her inquiry should be known, the Lord said, 'When you shall remove the covering of shame, and two shall be one, and the male with the female shall be neither male nor female.' We have not

* Lardner, vol. ii. p. 79, sqq. Ignat. ad Trall. c. 11: Οὗτοι οὐκ εἰσι φυτεία πατρός. Ad Philadelph. c. 3: διὰ τὸ μὴ εἶναι αὐτοὺς φυτεῖαν πατρός. Comp. Matt. xv. 13. Ad Smyrn. c. 1: βεβαπτισμένον ὑπὸ Ἰωάννου, ἵνα πληρωθῇ πᾶσα δικαιοσύνη ὑπ' αὐτοῦ. Comp. Matt. iii. 15. Lardner, p. 115, sqq.

^b Polycarp, c. 2: Μνημονεύσαντες δὲ ὧν εἶπεν ὁ κύριος διδάσκων· Μὴ κρίνετε, ἵνα μὴ κριθῆτε· ἀφίετε, καὶ ἀφεθήσεται ὑμῖν· ἐλεεῖτε, ἵνα ἐλεηθῆτε· ἐν ᾧ μέτρῳ μετρήτε, ἀντιμετρηθήσεται ὑμῖν. Comp. Matt. vi. 12, sqq., vii. 1, and Clem. Rom. Ep. 1 ad Cor. c. 13. Lardner, vol. ii. p. 102. Eichhorn's Einleit. in d. N. T. vol. i. p. 113, [where this subject is treated at length. See, also, Norton, l. c. vol. i. Appendix, p. cclviii. sqq.]

^c Clem. Rom. Ep. 2, c. 12: Ἐπερωτηθεὶς αὐτὸς ὁ κύριος ὑπὸ τινος, πότε ἤξει αὐτοῦ ἡ βασιλεία, εἶπεν· Ὅταν ἔσται τὰ δύο ἓν, καὶ τὸ ἔξω ὡς τὸ ἔσω, καὶ τὸ ἄρσεν μετὰ τῆς θήλειας, οὕτε ἄρσεν, οὕτε θῆλυ.

the first sentence in the four Gospels transmitted to us, but it occurs in *that according to the Egyptians*.”^a

3. Ignatius, Ep. ad Smyrn. “And when he came to the companions of Peter, he said to them, ‘Take, touch me, and see that I am not a bodiless demon;’ and immediately they touched him, and believed.” Compare Luke xxiv. 39.^b

4. Jerome says,^c “In that Epistle, (to the Smyrneans,) and the work on the Gospels, which has recently been translated by me, he [Ignatius] gives his testimony on the person of Christ, and says, After the resurrection, I saw him in the flesh, and believe that it was he. And when he came to Peter, and to those who were with Peter, he said to them, ‘Behold, touch me, and see that I am not an *incorporeal demon*;’ and immediately they touched him, and believed.”

Again, Jerome remarks,^d “For when the apostles thought him a spirit, — or, according to the Gospel which the Nazarenes call that of the Hebrews, an *incorporeal demon*, — he said to them, ‘Why are you troubled?’” &c.^e

^a Clem. Alex. Stromat. l. iii. p. 465: Διὰ τοῦτο τοι ὁ Κασσιανὸς φησι, πυνθανομένης τῆς Σαλώμης, πότε γνωσθήσεται τὰ περὶ ὧν ἤρετο, ἔφη ὁ Κύριος· “Ὅταν τὸ τῆς αἰσχρόνης ἐνδυμαῖ πατήσῃτε, καὶ ὅταν γένηται τὰ δύο ἐν, καὶ τὸ ἄρῃεν μετὰ τῆς θηλείας, οὕτε ἄρῃην, οὕτε θῆλυ. Πρῶτον μὲν οὖν ἐν τοῖς παραδεδομένοις ἡμῖν τέτταρσιν Εὐαγγέλοις οὐκ ἔχομεν τὸ ῥητὸν, ἀλλ’ ἐν τῷ κατ’ Αἰγυπτίους.

^b Ignat. Ep. ad Smyrn. c. 3: Καὶ ὅτε πρὸς τοὺς περὶ Πέτρον ἦλθεν, ἔφη αὐτοῖς· Ἀλβετε, ψηλαφήσατέ με, καὶ ᾤετε, ὅτι οὐκ εἰμι δαιμόνιον ἀσώματον· καὶ εὐθὺς αὐτοῦ ἤψαντο, καὶ ἐπίστευσαν.

^c Hieron. Catal. Scriptt. ecclesiast. n. 23, v. Ignat.: In qua epistola (ad Smyrneos) et de Evangelio, quod nuper a me translatus est, super persona Christi ponit testimonium, dicens: Ego vero et post resurrectionem in carne eum vidi et credo quia sit. *Et quando venit ad Petrum et ad eos, qui cum Petro erant, dixit eis: Ecce palpate me et videte, quia non sum demonium incorporeale. Et statim tetigerunt eum et crediderunt.*

^d Hieron. proœm. ad libr. 18, Jes.: Cum enim apostoli eum putarent spiritum, vel juxta Evangelium quod Hebræorum lectione Nazareni, *incorporeale demonium*, dixit eis: quid turbatis estis, etc.

^e Comp. Eusebius, Hist. Eccl. iii. 36.

§ 19.

TRACES OF THE USE OF THE NEW TESTAMENT IN THE
EARLY WRITERS OF THE CHURCH.

1. Justin Martyr, who died A. C. 166, was acquainted with our Gospels, as it appears from the following passages: "For the apostles, in the memoirs composed by them which are called Gospels, have thus informed us," &c. "And the memoirs by the apostles, or the writings of the prophets, were read," &c.^a

However, it has been conjectured that these writings referred to were different from our Gospels.^b Justin quotes none of the catholic Epistles, though sometimes he seems to allude to them.^c But, on the other hand, he considers the Apocalypse as the work of John the apostle.^d

2. Tatian, who died A. C. 176, makes use of the Gospel of John. He says, "It is this which was spoken: 'The darkness does not receive (or comprehend) the light.'" Compare John i. 5.^e He used some Epistles

^a Apol. i. c. 66, p. 83, (ed. Hag. Com.): *Οἱ γὰρ ἀπόστολοι ἐν τοῖς γενομένοις ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἀπομνημονεύμασι, ἃ καλεῖται εὐαγγέλια, οὕτως παρέδωκαν.* Cap. 67:..... *καὶ τὰ ἀπομνημονεύματα τῶν ἀποστόλων, ἢ τὰ συγγράμματα τῶν προφητῶν ἀναγινώσκεται, κτλ.*

^b *Eichhorn*, Einl. ins N. T. vol. i. p. 78, sqq. *Müncher*, Dogmengeschichte, vol. i. p. 295, sq. On the other hand, see *Winer*, Justinum Mart. Evangeliiis canonicis Usus fuisse ostenditur; Lips. 1819, 4to. See his Lehrbuch, vol. ii. § 66, 67. According to *Credner*, l. c. p. 268, sqq., besides our canonical Gospels, Justin made use of the Gospel of Peter.

^c See *Lardner*, vol. ii. ch. x., especially p. 137. [See, also, *Norton*, l. c. p. 195, 199, 201, 224, and his Appendix, note E, p. ccvii. and p. ccxxxi. sqq.]

^d Dialog. cum Tryphone, c. 81, p. 179.

^e Orat. c. Græcor., c. 13, p. 255: *Καὶ τοῦτο ἐστὶν ἄρα τὸ εἰρημένον· ἡ σκοτία τὸ φῶς οὐ καταλαμβάνει.*

of Paul, but rejected others.* His so called *Diatessaron* is supposed by some to be something different from a harmony of the Gospels.[†]

3. Athenagoras, who died A. C. 180, quotes Paul's First Epistle to the Corinthians: "The rest is manifest to every one, that, according to the apostle, this corruptible and perishable is to put on incorruption." Compare 1 Cor. xv. 54.[‡] He shows a general acquaintance with the Pauline writings, but his citation of passages from the Gospels proves nothing.[§]

4. Theophilus, who wrote about A. C. 180, mentions the sacred Scriptures in general, the Gospel of John, and the other Gospels. He says, "And so in regard to righteousness, of which the law has spoken, there is found to be an agreement between the remarks of the prophets and the Gospels, because all the inspired have spoken with the one spirit of God." "And in respect to holiness, the sacred word not only teaches us not to sin in act, but not even in thought." "The evangelical voice teaches us more expressly when it says of chastity, 'He that looketh on a woman, to lust after her, hath committed adultery,' " &c. Compare Matt. v. 28.

"Whence the sacred Scriptures, and all the inspired, teach us, among whom John says, 'In the beginning was the word,' " &c.[¶]

* *Lardner*, vol. ii. ch. xiii. p. 147, sqq.

† *Eichhorn*, Einleit. ins N. T. vol. i. p. 110, sqq. *Credner*, l. c. p. 443, sqq. On the opposite side, see *Olausen*, Aechtheit d. Kan. Evang. p. 336. See *De Wette's* Einleit. ins N. T. § 68.

‡ De Resurrectione, c. 18, p. 531: Εὐδελον παντὶ τὸ λευόμενον, οὗτι δεῖ κατὰ τὸν ἀπόστολον τὸ φθαγρὸν τοῦτο καὶ διασκηδαστὸν ἐνέουσασθαι ἀφθαρσίαν.

§ *Lardner*, vol. ii. ch. xviii. p. 193, sqq.

¶ Ad Autolyceum, iii. 12, p. 338: "Ετι μὴν καὶ περὶ δικαιοσύνης, ἧς ὁ νόμος εἰρηκεν, ἀκόλουθα εὐρίσκειται καὶ τὰ τῶν προφητῶν καὶ τῶν εὐαγγε-

He refers also to the Epistle to the Romans, and the First Epistle to Timothy: "And also the divine word commands us respecting submission to governments and authorities, and prayer for them, that we may lead a quiet and peaceable life." Compare 1 Tim. ii. 2, and Rom. xiii. 7, 8.^a

He may have used the Apocalypse.^b

5. Dionysius, bishop of Corinth, who died about A. C. 170, refers to Christian writings under the title of "The Scriptures of the Lord."^c

§ 20.

EARLIEST TRACES OF A COLLECTION OF THE WRITINGS OF THE NEW TESTAMENT.

In the middle of the second century, we find in the hands of Marcion a collection of ten Pauline Epistles,^d and a Gospel besides. This, according to the Fathers, was the Gospel of Luke.^e It would not be im-

Μὴν ἔχειν, διὰ τὸ τοῦ πάντας πνευματοφόρους ἐν πνεύματι Θεοῦ λελαληκέναι. § 13. *Καὶ περὶ σεμνότητος οὐ μόνον διδάσκει ἡμᾶς ὁ ἅγιος λόγος τὸ μὴ ἁμαρτάνειν ἔργῳ, ἀλλὰ καὶ μέχρις ἐννοίας, κτλ. Ἡ δὲ εὐαγγέλιος φωνὴ ἐπιτακτικώτερον διδάσκει περὶ ἀγνείας λέγουσα· Πᾶς ὁ ἰδὼν γυναῖκα, κτλ. Comp. Matt. v. 28. L. ii. c. 22, p. 365: Ὅθεν διδάσκουσιν ἡμᾶς αἱ ἔργα γραφαί, καὶ πάντες οἱ πνευματοφόροι, ἐξ ὧν Ἰωάννης λέγει, κτλ.*

^a *Ἐτι μὴν καὶ περὶ τοῦ ὑποτάσσεσθαι ἀρχαῖς καὶ ἐξουσίαις καὶ εὐχεσθαι ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν κελεύει ἡμᾶς ὁ Θεὸς λόγος, κτλ. [See Lardner, vol. ii. ch. xx. p. 203, sqq.]*

^b See Eusebius, Hist. Eccl. lib. iv. c. 24. The account of Theophilus's Harmony or Commentary on the Gospels is uncertain. See Jerome, Epist. ad Algasiam, quest. 5. Opp. iv. pt. i. p. 197. Mart. Proleg. in Com. sup. Matt. Catal. Scriptt. eccl. c. 25. See Lardner, vol. ii. p. 214.

^c *Γραφαὶ κυριακαί.* See Eusebius, l. c. lib. iv. c. 23. [Lardner, vol. ii. ch. xii. p. 144, sqq.] Comp. § 22.

^d See Bertholdt, l. c. p. 104, sqq.

^e See Irenaeus, adv. Hæres. lib. i. c. 27; lib. iii. c. 12, 12. Tertullian, cent. Marcion, iv. 2-7; v. 21. Epiphanius, Hæres. xlii. 9, 10.

probable that this collection originated in Galatia and Pontus, and was the first and original collection,* if Marcion had not lost all claim to credibility by his critical caprice.[†]

[We have no reason, says Bertholdt, for supposing Marcion was the author of the collection of epistles called "The Apostle," which contained his "Gospel" also. It is much more probable that he found the collection already made in Pontus, and carried it to Italy. But if this is doubtful, it is certain, on the other hand, that, in his collection, which was not known in Italy before his arrival, the following Epistles of Paul were included, namely, the Epistle to the Romans; the two to the Corinthians; those to the Galatians, Ephesians, and Philippians; two to the Thessalonians; that to the Colossians; and the Epistle to Philemon. It may be asked why he inserted the unimportant Epistle to Philemon, and omitted the far more valuable letters to Timothy and Titus. This question can be easily answered, without bringing any serious objection to the hypothesis that the collection of the writings of the New Testament was begun in Pontus, and only continued by Marcion. The Christians in Pontus would naturally receive the Epistles from Galatia and Colosse; the geographical position of the places leads us to this inference. Now, Philemon lived at Colosse. The Epistle to him would therefore be well known in that place, and would naturally be read also in Pontus, and added to the collection of

* The word *ἀποστόλος*, which subsequently became the common term to designate the apostolical Epistles, is derived, by *Bertholdt*, l. c. p. 103, sqq., from Marcion. See also *Suiceri*, *Thesaurus Eccl.* p. 477. But *Ordl*, l. c. p. 11, has shown that the term does not occur in writings of the first and second century.

† See *De Wette's* *Einleit.* ins N. T. § 34. [This subject will be treated at length in the translator's Introduction to the New Testament.]

Paul's more valuable writings. But the letters to Timothy and Titus would come later into circulation, because they were directed to private individuals living in places which had little intercourse with the Christians of Galatia or Colosse.

He thinks, at first, the Gospel of Luke was a volume by itself, with this title, "The Gospel." The ten Epistles of Paul were then added in another volume, with the title "The Apostle." This collection was first made in Pontus, and brought to Italy about the middle of the second century.]^a

§ 21.

TWO COLLECTIONS OF THE BOOKS OF THE NEW TESTAMENT.

About the end of the second and the beginning of the third century, the writings of the New Testament had spread and been received so widely, that about that time, in different countries, we find the principal teachers, Irenæus, Clement of Alexandria, and Tertullian, all agree in receiving the four Gospels, the Acts of the Apostles, the thirteen Epistles of Paul, the First Epistles of Peter and John, and the Apocalypse.

1. However, there is a difference among them in respect to the Epistle to Philemon, which Irenæus and Clement do not quote, though it is probable they were acquainted with it.

2. There is a difference in respect to the Epistle to the Hebrews, which Clement receives,^b but which Ire-

^a [See *Bertholdt*, l. c. p. 104, sqq., and *Lardner*, vol. vi. p. 142, sqq., 347, sqq.; viii. 489, sqq.; ii. 275, sqq.; and elsewhere.]

^b See *Stromat.* vi, 14, and *Eusebius*, *Hist. Eccl.* vi. 14.

næus and Tertullian do not.* [Eichhorn says that Irenæus never cites this Epistle in his genuine writings, though he might have made a fine use of it, had he deemed it a canonical and apostolical work, for it contains the most striking arguments against the Gnostics, and in favor of his proposition that the God of the Old and New Testament is the same.]

3. There is another difference in regard to the Second Epistle of John, which Irenæus alone quotes,^b although Clement appears to have known it.^c

4. And in respect to the Epistle of Jude, which is quoted only by Clement and Tertullian.^d

Clement quotes the apocryphal writings of the Christians, sometimes with distinct reference to a particular work, — for example, the Gospel according to the Egyptians,^e — and sometimes without referring to the particular book.^f

The Fathers agree, likewise, in the use of two collections. The one, called the *Evangelion*, (Ἐυαγγέλιον, Instrumentum Evangelicum,) contained the four Gospels. The other, called the *Apostle*, (Ἀπόστολος, Instrumentum Apostolicum,^g) contained the Epistles of Paul,

* Photius, Biblioth. Cod. 232, p. 477. Compare Eichhorn, Einleit. in N. T. vol. iii. p. 519, sqq. Tertullian, De Pudicit. c. 20.

^b Lib. i. c. 16, § 3; lib. iii. c. 16, § 8.

^c Stromat. lib. ii. p. 389. Comp. Eichhorn, l. c. vol. ii. p. 322. [Clement speaks of the *greater* Epistle of John, whence it would seem he was acquainted with the *less* also.]

^d Stromat. lib. iii. p. 431. Pædagog. iii. p. 239. Tertullian, De Habitu Mulierum, c. 3.

^e Stromat. lib. iii. p. 465.

^f L. c. lib. i. p. 356; lib. ii. p. 375; lib. v. p. 577; lib. vi. pp. 635, 636, 644, 678. Lardner, vol. ii. p. 245.

^g Irenæus, lib. i. c. 3, 6. Clem. Stromat. lib. v. p. 561; lib. vi. p. 659; lib. vii. p. 706. Tertullian, De Pudicit. c. 11, 12. De Baptismo, c. 15. Contra Marcion, iv. 2. Comp. his Epistle ad Diognetum, c. 11, p. 240.

and the others, which were already united together under a common name.*

The old Syriac collection, in the Peshito, is enlarged by the addition of the Epistle to the Hebrews, and that of James, though it does not contain the Apocalypse, which was likewise rejected by the Alogi and by Caius of Rome.†

There is a catalogue of the books of the New Testament contained in the fragment discovered by Muratori.‡ If we may judge from its testimony respecting the Shepherd of Hermas, it was written at the end of the second, or the beginning of the third century, though Zimmermann thinks it was not written before the fourth century.§ In respect to the Gospels, the Acts, and the Epistles of Paul, this catalogue agrees with that of the Fathers above mentioned; but, in other respects, it differs from them, and is obscure in some places.

[The following is a translation of a part of the catalogue : —

“The Epistle to the Laudenses (Laodiceans?), another to the Alexandrians, and many others, which are not received in the Catholic church, were forged in the name of Paul, for the sake of supporting Marcion’s heresy. But gall cannot be mingled with honey. The Epistle of Jude, and the two inscribed with the name of John, are admitted in the Catholic church, and so are the Book of Wisdom, which was written by the

* *Clem. Stromat.* iii. p. 455: *Νόμος τε δμου καὶ προφῆται σὺν καὶ τῇ εὐαγγελίᾳ ἐν ὀνόματι Χριστοῦ εἰς μίαν συνάγονται γινώσκον.* (?) *Tertull. c. Prax.* c. 15. *Novum Testamentum.*

† *Epiphanius, Hæres.* lib. v. l. i. 3. *Eusebius, Hist. Eccl.* lib. iii. 28. *Gieseler, Text-Book of Ecclesiastical History*, [translated by *F. Cunningham*; Phil. 1836, 3 vols. 8vo.] vol. i. p. 91, sqq.

‡ *Antiquit. Ital. Med. Æv.* vol. iii. p. 854.

§ *Dissertatio Scriptoris incerti de Canone Librorum, sive Fragmentum a Muratorio repertum, exhibens*; Jenæ, 1805, p. 36, sqq.

friends of Solomon, in honor of him, and the Apocalypse of John: of Peter, we receive only one, (Epistle,) which some of us are unwilling to have read in the church." But very recently, in our own times, Hermas wrote the Shepherd, while his brother Pius, the bishop, occupied the seat of the church of the city of Rome." This catalogue was originally written in Greek, and has suffered sadly at the hands of the translator. If genuine, it is, undoubtedly, the oldest catalogue now extant.]^c

§ 22.

GROUNDS ON WHICH THESE BOOKS WERE RECEIVED.

These books were regarded as sacred and divine. Thus Irenæus calls them "The Divine Scriptures;"^d "The Oracles of God; the Lord's Scripture." He says, "The Scriptures, indeed, are perfect, since they are dictated by the Logos of God and his Spirit."^e

* [See the above translation of this ambiguous passage justified by Hug, Introduction to the N. T. pp. 76, 77, Fosdick's translation. Bertholdt, p. 114, sqq., would render the whole passage as follows:—"We likewise receive the Apocalypse of John and Peter," &c. Perhaps this is the true version.] See Guericke, zur hist. krit. Einleit. ins N. T. p. 11, sqq.

^b Fertur etiam ad Laudenses (Laodicenses?), alia ad Alexandrinos, Pauli nomine fictæ ad hæresem Marcionis, et alia plura, quæ in Catholicam ecclesiam, recipi non potest. Fel enim cum melle misceri non congruit. Epistola sane Judæ et superscripti Johannis duas (duæ) in Catholica habentur. Et Sapientia, ab amicis Salomonis in honorem ipsius scripta. Apocalypsis etiam Johannis et Petri tantum recipimus: quam quidam ex nostris legi in ecclesia nolunt. Pastorem vero superrime temporibus nostris in urbe Roma Herma conscripsit, sedente cathedra urbis Romæ ecclesiæ Pio episcopo fratre ejus. Et ideo legi eum quidem oportet; se publicare vero in ecclesia populo, neque inter Prophetas completum numero, neque inter apostolos in finem temporum potest.

^c Hug places it in the beginning of the third century.

^d Lib. ii. 27, 1: *Θείας γραφάς*.

^e Lib. i. 8, 1: *Τὰ λόγια τοῦ Θεοῦ*. Lib. v. 30, 2: *Δοκίμιον Σcripturæ*.

Again, Clement of Alexandria says of them, "According to the God-inspired Scriptures. The Holy Spirit speaks in the Apostle, [that is, in the writings of the apostles,] and likewise the Scriptures, in which we trust—having shown that they are divine from their surpassing excellence—to show that there is one God, who is truly proclaimed by the Law and the Prophets, and also by the blessed Gospel."^a

Tertullian says, "The Spirit of the Lord declared by means of the apostles," &c.^b

[Irenæus always claims a high degree of inspiration for the writers of the Bible. "Matthew," says he, "in the beginning of his Gospel, would have written the birth of *Jesus*. But the Holy Spirit, knowing a deceiver would arise, and represent Jesus as different from the *Christ*, writes, by means of Matthew, 'The birth of *Jesus Christ* was on this wise.'c

Scripturæ quidem prophetæ sunt, quippe a Verbo Dei et Spiritus ejus dictæ.

^a *Clem. Alex. Strom. vii. p. 761: Κατὰ τὰς θεοπνεύστους γραφάς. Pæd. i. p. 106: Τὸ ἐν τῷ ἀποστόλῳ ἄγιον πνεῦμα λέγει. Strom. iv. p. 475: 'Ὡς καὶ τὰς γραφάς, αἷς πεπιστεύκαμεν κυρίας οὐσας ἐξ ἀθθεντίας παντοκρατορικῆς ἐπιδειξαντες . . . ἵνα δεικνύται θεὸν . . . τὸν διὰ νόμον καὶ προφητῶν πρὸς θεὸν καὶ τοῦ μακαρίου εὐαγγελίου γνησίως κεκηρυγμένον.* [The above translation differs somewhat from that in *Lardner*, vol. ii. p. 247, and in *Potter's* edition of Clement, vol. i. p. 564; but the difference is not important in the present connection.]

^b *Tertullian, De Patientia, c. 7: Spiritus Domini per apostolum pronunciat. Comp. c. 12.*

^c See *Müncher*, l. c. p. 343, sqq.

These books were likewise regarded as the true source of the doctrines and history of Christianity, as the canon, (*κανὼν*.) Thus Irenæus says, "We have understood the condition of our salvation through no others than these very men by whom the gospel came down to us, which, indeed, they did then orally publish, but afterwards, by the will of God, delivered to us [written] in the Scriptures, to be the foundation and column of our faith. If any one assents not to these, he despises the fellow-workers of the Lord. Yea, he despises Christ the Lord himself. Yea, he despises even the Father, and is condemned by himself, resisting, and conflicting with his own faith, as all the heretics do."

"Therefore the disciple of the Lord, (John,) wishing to write of all such things, and to establish a standard of truth in the church, that there is one omnipotent God," &c.

"But we, following the Teacher, the one and only true God, and having his words as the standard of truth," &c.*

Again, Clement of Alexandria says, "What then? Do not they who assent to all things rather than to the evangelical standard of truth take the rest of what was spoken to Solomon?"†

* *Irenæus*, lib. iii. 1: Non per alios dispositionem salutis nostræ cognovimus, quam per eos, per quos evangelium pervenit ad nos, quod quidem tunc præconaverunt, postea vero per Dei voluntatem in Scripturis nobis tradiderunt, *fundamentum et columnam fidei nostræ futurum*.

Quibus si quis non assentit, spernit quidem participes Domini, spernit autem et ipsum Christum Dominum, spernit vero et Patrem, et est a semet ipso damnatus, resistens et repugnans fidei suæ; quod faciunt omnes hæretici.

Lib. iii. 11, 1: Omnia igitur talia circumscribere volens discipulus Domini (Johannes) et *regulam veritatis* constituere in ecclesia, quia est unus Deus omnipotens, etc.

Lib. iv. 35, 4: Nos autem unum et solum verum Deum doctorem sequentes et *regulam veritatis* habentes ejus sermones.

† *Clem. Alex. Stromat. l. iii. p. 453: Τι δέ; οὐχὶ καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς τῶν προέ-*

Tertullian says the Roman church “mingles the Law and the Prophets with the evangelical and apostolical writings. Thence it receives (drinks) faith. Now if the writings of the apostles have come down to us uncorrupted, and Luke, which is in our hands, agrees so well with their standard that it remains with them in the churches, then it appears that Luke also has come down to us uncorrupted.”*

These books were regarded in this light for the following reasons:—

1. On account of their internal truthfulness. Irenæus appeals to this, and says, “Neither can they show that Luke is a liar; but he proclaims the truth to us with all diligence; and, perhaps, God caused many things in the gospel to be related by Luke, that all might have what is necessary to use; so that all—following the regular and consecutive evidence which he gives in relation to the actions and doctrines of the apostles, and having the unadulterated standard of the truth—might be saved. His testimony, therefore, is true, and the doctrine of the apostles is made manifest, and firmly established, &c. But if any one would refute Luke, [accusing him,] as if he had not understood the truth, it is evident [such a one] rejects the gospel; for Luke is esteemed the disciple of it. The most important and the most necessary things in the gospel we know through him [alone;] for example, the generation of

Σαλώμην ειρημέων επιφέρουσιν, οί πάντα μάλλον ἢ τῷ κατὰ τὴν ἀληθειαν εὐαγγελικῷ στοιχήσαντες κανόνι;

* *Tertull. De Præscript. Hæret. c. 36: Legem et Prophetas cum evangelicis et apostolicis litteris miscet (ecclesia Romana). Inde portat (potat) fidem.*

C. Marc. iv. 5: Si enim apostolica integre decucurrerunt, Lucas autem, quod est secundum nos, adeo congruit *regulæ* eorum, ut cum illis apud ecclesias maneat: jam et Lucæ constat integrum decucurrisse.

John, the history of Zachariah, &c. All things of this kind we learn from Luke alone, and many actions of the Lord we learn from him, which we all make use of. And there are many others that can only be learned from Luke, which both Marcion and Valentine have made use of.”^a

2. On account of their authors. Thus Tertullian says, “In the first place, we determine that the gospel has the apostles for its authors, upon whom the duty of publishing the gospel was imposed by the Lord himself; so it has for its authors, not only apostolic men, [that is, disciples of the apostles,] but also men who lived with the apostles, and after the apostles; since the preaching of the disciples might have been suspected of a desire of glory, if it had not been asserted by the authority of masters, even by Christ himself, who had appointed the apostles as masters. Finally, John and Matthew, two of the apostles, inspire us with faith; Luke and Mark, two of the apostolic men, relying on the

* *Iren.* iii. 15, 1: Neque Lucam mendacem esse possunt ostendere, veritatem nobis cum omni diligentia annunciantem. Fortassis enim et propter hoc operatus est Deus plurima evangelii ostendi per Lucam, quibus necesse haberent omnes uti, ut sequenti testificationi ejus, quam habet de actibus et doctrina apostolorum, omnes sequentes et regulam veritatis inadulteratam habentes salvari possint. Igitur testificatio ejus vera et doctrina apostolorum manifesta et firma, etc.

Lib. iii. 14, 3: Si quis autem refutet Lucam, quasi non cognoverit veritatem, manifestus erit projiciens evangelium, cujus dignatur esse discipulus. Plurima enim et magis necessaria evangelii per hunc cognovimus, sicut Joannis generationem et de Zacharia historiam, &c.

Et omnia hujus modi per solum Lucam cognovimus et plurimos actus Domini per hunc didicimus, quibus omnes utuntur. . . . Et alia multa sunt, quæ inveniri possunt a solo Luca dicta esse, quibus et Marcion et Valentinus utuntur. — Here, however, the question relates merely to the credibility, not to the genuineness. See *Süsskind's Essay*, “On what Grounds did Irenæus maintain the Genuineness of our four Gospels?” in *Flatt's Magazin f. christl. Dogmat.*, &c. vol. vi. p. 95, sq. Here he opposes *Eckermann's Theol. Beiträge*, B. v. st. 2. See *Tertull. c. Marc.* iv. 2. See below, No. 2.

same standards, afford us a supplement to the Law and the Prophets, so far as it relates to the only God, the Creator, and his Christ, born of a virgin.”^a

Eusebius, quoting from Clement of Alexandria, says, “It is said the apostle, [Peter,] knowing what was done, authenticated the writing, [the Gospel of Mark,] that it might be read in the churches.”^b

3. On account of the confidence felt in the tradition by which these writings were supported. So Clement of Alexandria writes, “The first statement is not in the four Gospels delivered to us, but in that according to the Egyptians.” Tertullian declares, “If it is admitted that what is earliest is the truest, and that is earliest which is from the beginning, and that which is from the beginning proceeds from the apostles, it must likewise be admitted that that is transmitted from the apostles which has been held as most sacred in the churches of the apostles. Let us see what milk the Corinthians drew from Paul; by what standard the Galatians were corrected; what the Philippians, the Thessalonians, and the Ephesians, read, and what the Romans recite, [sound forth,] to whom Peter and Paul have left the gospel, sealed with their blood. We have churches that are

^a *Tertull. c. Marc. iv. 2*: Constituimus imprimis, evangelicum instrumentum *apostolos auctores* habere, quibus hoc munus evangelii promulgandi ab ipso Domino sit impositum; si et *apostolicos*, non tamen solos, sed *cum apostolis et post apostolos*; quoniam prædicatio discipulorum suspecta fieri posset de gloriæ studio, si non assistat illi *auctoritas magistrorum*, imo Christi, quæ magistros apostolos fecit. Denique nobis fidem ex apostolis Johannes et Mathæus insinuant, ex apostolicis Lucas et Marcus instaurant, *iisdem regulis exorsi*, quantum ad unicum Deum attinet Creatorem, et Christum ejus, natum ex virgine, supplementum legis et prophetarum. See *Lardner*, vol. ii. p. 373.

^b *Euseb. H. E. ii. 15*, from *Clem. Alex. Hypotyp.*: Γνόντα δὲ τὸ παλαιόν, φασί, τὸν ἀπόστολον (Πέτρον) κυρώσαι τὴν γραφὴν (τοῦ Μάρκου) εἰς ἑν-
τεξιν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις, *Comp. Tertull. c. Marc. iv. 5.*

the pupils of John. I say, also, that not only in the apostolical, but in all the churches that are confederated with them by sharing the same sacrament, the Gospel of Luke, which we especially regard, has continued ever since its first publication."

He says in another place, "But come, examine the apostolical churches, in which the very chairs of the apostles still preside; in which the very authentic letters are read, sounding forth the voice and representing the face of each of them."*

§ 23.

THE CANON OF ORIGEN.

Origen occupies the same ground;† but, while he acknowledges the above works, generally received, he has doubts, more or less strong, respecting each of the following books, namely: 1. The Epistle to the Hebrews; 2. the Epistle of James; 3. the Second Epistle of Pe-

* *Clem. Strom.* l. iii. p. 465: *Πρῶτον μὲν οὐκ ἐν τοῖς παραδεδομένοις ἡμῖν τέτταρσιν εὐαγγέλοις οὐκ ἔχομεν τὸ ῥητόν, ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ κατ' Αἰγυπτίους.*

Tertull. c. Marc. iv. 5: Si constat, id verius quod prius, id prius quod et ab initio, ab initio quod ab apostolis: pariter utique constabit, id *esse ab apostolis traditum, quod apud ecclesias apostolorum fuerit sacrosanctum.* Videamus, quod lac a Paulo Corinthii hauserint; ad quam regulam Galatæ sint correcti; quid legant Philippenses, Thessalonicenses, Ephesii; quid etiam Romani de proximo sonent, quibus evangelium et Petrus et Paulus sanguine quoque suo signatum reliquerunt. Habemus et Johannis alumnas ecclesias. Dico itaque apud illas, nec solas jam apostolicas, sed apud universas, quæ illis de societate sacramenti confœderantur, id evangelium Lucæ ab initio editionis suæ stare, quod cummaxime tuemur. De *Præscript. c. 36*: Age eam percurrere *ecclesias apostolicas*, apud quas ipsæ adhuc cathedræ apostolorum suis locis præsententur, *apud quas authenticæ literæ eorum recitantur*, sonantes vocem, representantes faciem. See *Lardner*, vol. ii. p. 284.

† On the subject of his canon, see *Eusebius*, *Hist. Eccl.* l. vi. 25. *Lardner*, vol. ii. p. 493, sqq.

ter ; 4. the Second and Third of John ; 5. the Epistle of Jude.

1. Of the Epistle to the Hebrews he says, "The style of the Epistle to the Hebrews has not the apostle's vulgarity of diction, for he confesses himself to be rude in speech, that is, in phraseology. But every one, who is able to distinguish the diversities of style, must confess that this Epistle is more purely Greek in the composition of its sentences." And again, "The thoughts of this Epistle are admirable, and not inferior to any of the writings acknowledged to be apostolic. Every one will confess the truth of this, who reads the writings of the apostle." To these remarks he subsequently adds, "And I would agree that the thoughts are the apostle's, but the style and arrangement belong to some one who remembered the thoughts of the apostle, and wrote commentaries on the words of his teacher. If, then, any church receives this as the Epistle of Paul, let it be commended therefore, since the men of old time did not without cause deliver it to us as Paul's. But who it was that wrote the Epistle, of a truth God only knows. But before our time, it was the prevalent opinion of some, that Clement, who was bishop of Rome, wrote the Epistle, and of others that it was written by Luke, who wrote also the Gospel, and the Acts."^a

^a *Eusebius*, l. c.: "Οτι ὁ χαρακτήρ τῆς λέξεως τῆς πρὸς Ἑβραίους ἐπιγεγραμμένης ἐπιστολῆς οὐκ ἔχει τὸ ἐν λόγῳ ἰδιωτικὸν τοῦ ἀποστόλου, ὁμολογῶσαντος ἑαυτὸν ἰδιώτην εἶναι τῷ λόγῳ, τουτέστι τῇ φράσει· ἀλλ' ἐστὶν ἡ ἐπιστολὴ συνθέσει τῆς λέξεως ἑλληνικωτέρα, πᾶς ὁ ἐπιστάμενος κρίνειν φράσεως διαφορὰς ὁμολογήσαι ἂν. Πάλιν τε αὖ· ὅτι τὰ νοήματα τῆς ἐπιστολῆς θαυμάσια ἐστὶ, καὶ οὐ δεύτερα τῶν ἀποστολικῶν ὁμολογουμένων γραμμάτων, καὶ τοῦτο ἂν συμφέσαι εἶναι ἀληθές, πᾶς ὁ προσέχων τῇ ἀναγνώσει τῇ ἀποστολικῇ. Τούτοις μεθ' ἕτερα ἐπιφέρει λέγων· 'Εγὼ δὲ ἀποφαινόμενος εἶποιμ' ἂν, ὅτι τὰ μὲν νοήματα τοῦ ἀποστόλου ἐστὶν, ἡ δὲ φράσις καὶ ἡ σύνθεσις ἀπομνημονεύσαντός τινος τὰ ἀποστολικά καὶ ὥσπερ ἐν σχολιογραφίᾳ-

2. Epistle of James. He says, "As we read in the Epistle attributed to James."^a

3. Epistles of Peter. "And Peter left one acknowledged Epistle; grant that he wrote a second, but it is doubted."^b

4. Epistles of John. "He [John] left an Epistle of a very few verses. Grant that he wrote the Second and Third Epistles also; but all do not say that they are genuine."^c

5. The Epistle of Jude. "Jude wrote an Epistle consisting of but few verses, yet filled with words of heavenly grace." Again he says, "If any one should ascribe the Epistle to Jude," &c.^d

He does not distinguish, with sufficient clearness, the apocryphal from the canonical writings of the New Testament. This appears from the following sentences: "I think Hermas was the author of that book which is called the Shepherd. It seems to me a very useful writing, and, as I think, is divinely inspired." And yet again he speaks of it in a different way: "If any one may venture to quote such a saying, from a writing which is

σαντος τὰ εἰρημένα ὑπὸ τοῦ διδασκάλου. Εἴ τις οὖν ἐκκλησία ἔχει ταύτην τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ὡς Παύλου, αὕτη εὐδοκίμειτω ἐπὶ τούτῳ, οὐ γὰρ εἰκὴ οἱ ἀρχαῖοι ἀνδρες ὡς Παύλου αὐτὴν παραδεδώκασι. Τίς δὲ ὁ γράψας τὴν ἐπιστολὴν, τὸ μὲν ἀληθὲς Θεὸς οἶδεν. Ἡ δὲ εἰς ἡμᾶς φθάσασα ἱστορία, ὑπὸ τινων μὲν λεγόντων, ὅτι Κλήμης ὁ γενόμενος ἐπίσκοπος Ῥωμαίων ἔγραψε τὴν ἐπιστολὴν, ὑπὸ τινων δὲ, ὅτι Λουκᾶς ὁ γράψας τὸ εὐαγγέλιον καὶ τὰς πράξεις.

^a 'Ὡς ἐν τῇ φερομένῃ Ἰακώβου ἀνέγνωμεν. Origen, Comm. in Johan. vol. iv. p. 306.

^b Πέτρος δὲ μίαν ἐπιστολὴν ὁμολογουμένην καταλείπειν· ἔστι δὲ καὶ δευτέραν· ἀμφιβάλλεται γὰρ. Euseb. l. c.

^c Καταλείπει (Ἰωάννης) δὲ καὶ ἐπιστολὴν πάνυ ὀλίγων στίχων· ἔστι δὲ καὶ δευτέραν καὶ τρίτην· ἐπεὶ οὐ πάντες φασὶ γνησίους εἶναι ταύτας. Euseb. l. c.

^d Ἰούδας ἔγραψεν ἐπιστολὴν, ὀλιγόστιχον μὲν, πεπληρωμένην δὲ τῶν τῆς σφραγίου χάριτος ἐρρωμένων λόγων. Comm. in Matt. vol. iii. p. 463. Εἰ δὲ καὶ τὴν Ἰούδα πρόσσιτό τις ἐπιστολὴν. Ib. p. 814.

indeed admitted into the church, but is not acknowledged by all to be divine, this may be taken from the Shepherd." Again, "In the book of the Shepherd, if any one thinks that writing is to be received."

He thus refers to other apocryphal writings: "Now, it is written in the Catholic Epistle of Barnabas." "Since that book [the Doctrine of Peter] is not reckoned among the ecclesiastical books, the reason whereof can be shown, namely, because it is neither the writing of Peter, nor of any other man, who was inspired by the spirit of God."*

Origen recognizes both of these collections, the Gospel and Apostle, and also that of the New Testament as a whole.^b He bases his acknowledgment of the books of the New Testament as divine, and as the sources of truth, upon the inspiration of their authors, and the tradition of the church. He says, "As formerly, among the Jewish people, many pretended to prophecy, and were indeed false prophets, . . . so likewise in the New Testament many have attempted to write Gospels, but all are not received. And so you must know that not only *four*, but *many* Gospels have been written, from which those that we have are selected, and handed down by the churches. We may learn this fact from

* Puto, quod Hermas iste sit scriptor libelli illius, qui Pastor appellatur, quæ scriptura valde mihi utilis videtur, et, ut puto, divinitus inspirata. Comm. in Ep. ad Rom. vol. iv. 683. On the contrary, *Εἰ χρη τολμήσαντα καὶ ἀπό τινος φερομένης μὲν ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ γραφῆς, οὐ παρὰ πᾶσι δὲ ὁμολογουμένης εἶναι θείας καὶ τοιοῦτον παραμυθῆσασθαι, ληφθεὶν ἂν καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ ποιμένου.* Comm. in Matt. vol. iii. p. 644. — In libello Pastoris, si cui tamen scriptura illa recipienda videtur. Homil. viii. in Num. vol. ii. p. 294. — *Γέγραπται δὲ ἐν τῇ Βαρνάβα καθολικῇ ἐπιστολῇ.* C. Cels. i. 63. vol. i. p. 378. — Quoniam ille liber (Petri Doctrina) inter libros ecclesiasticos non habetur, et ostendendum est, quia neque *Petri est scriptura, neque alterius cujusquam, qui spiritu Dei fuerit inspiratus.* De Princ. Præf. vol. i. p. 49. [See, also, *Müncher*, l. c. § 51, 52.]

^b Hom. xix. in Jerem. vol. iii. p. 264.

the exordium of Luke ; for the remark he makes, they ‘have taken in hand,’ contains a latent accusation against those who rushed to the writing of Gospels, without the grace of the Holy Spirit. Matthew, Mark, John, and Luke, indeed, have not ‘taken in hand’ to write, but, full of the Holy Spirit, they wrote the Gospels. The church (following the ecclesiastical standard mentioned by Eusebius) receives four Gospels ; the heretics have many, among which are those according to the Egyptians, and according to the twelve Apostles. But of all three, we approve nothing, except what the church approves ; that is, only four Gospels are to be received.” Again : “But now it were tedious to stop and inquire, concerning this book, (the Doctrine of Peter,) whether it is genuine, or spurious, or mixed.”^a

[Origen makes use of but two specific terms to designate the religious writings of the Christians, namely, the Gospel and the Apostle.^b But, as these two separate collections seem gradually to have united into one,

^a Sicut olim in populo Judæorum multi prophetiam pollicebantur, et qui dem erant pseudoprophetae : ita et in Novo Testamento multi conati sunt scribere Evangelia, sed non omnes recepti. Et ut sciatis non solum quatuor Evangelia, sed plurima esse conscripta, ex quibus hæc, quæ habemus, electa sunt et tradita ecclesiis, ex ipso procemio Lucæ — cognoscamus Hoc, quod ait, conati sunt, latentem habet accusationem eorum, qui absque gratia spiritus sancti ad scribenda Evangelia prosilierunt. Matthæus quippe et Marcus et Johannes et Lucas non sunt conati scribere, sed spiritu sancto pleni scripserunt Evangelia. Ecclesia (κατὰ τὸν ἐκκλησιαστικὸν κανόνα Euseb. vi. 25) quatuor habet Evangelia, hæreses plurima; e quibus quoddam scribitur secundum Ægyptios, aliud juxta duodecim Apostolos. Sed in his omnibus nihil aliud probamus, nisi quod ecclesia, i. e. quatuor tantum Evangelia recipienda. Homil. i. in Luc. iii. p. 933. — Πολὺ δὲ ἐστὶ νῦν ἱστασθαι πρὸς αὐτὸ ἐξετάζοντας καὶ περὶ τοῦ βιβλίου (Πέτρου κηρύγματος), πότερόν ποτε γνήσιον ἐστὶ, ἢ νόθον, ἢ μικτόν. Com. in Johan. iv. p. 226.

^b See Origen, Hom. in Jerem. Opp. iii. p. 164. De Princ. iv. c. i. Opp. i. p. 156.

he calls their collected writings the New Testament. He is the first writer who divides all the religious writings common amongst the Christians into three classes — genuine, spurious, and mixed.* Among the mixed writings, we are probably to place such as were received by some catholic churches, and rejected by others, or those which Eusebius afterwards called the *contested writings*. Origen has not expressly informed us what books he enumerated in either class, but it may be determined from remarks he has elsewhere made. The four Gospels, the Acts, the twelve Epistles of Paul, the First Epistle of Peter, and the First of John, were incontestably genuine and divine writings. Probably, also, he reckoned the Apocalypse among them. But on the other hand, the following were of less value, and belonged to the mixed writings, namely, the Epistles of Jude, Barnabas, the Second and Third of John, and perhaps the Epistle of James, and the Second of Peter. Finally, he considers as spurious the Preaching of Peter, and several of the Gospels then current. He determined the rank and value of writings by their genuineness, and the fact that they were the work of *inspired* men. But his opinion about inspiration is fluctuating. At one time he says, all the apparent contradictions of the Bible arise from the interpreter's ignorance; that the Old and New Testament contain the same doctrine, only veiled in the one and unveiled in the other; and yet says the writings of the apostles are not equal to those of the prophets, which begin, "Thus saith the Almighty God," and doubts whether Paul included his own writings when he said, "All Scripture given by

* Origen, Com. in Johan. iv. Opp. iv. p. 226.

inspiration, and profitable ;” for the apostle sometimes writes, “ I say, and not the Lord,” &c.]^a

The Apocalypse was doubted by Dionysius of Alexandria.^b

§ 24.

THE CANON OF EUSEBIUS.

Eusebius, the diligent investigator and learned historian of the church, treats in detail of the canon of the New Testament in the following celebrated passage: “And here it seems proper to give a summary enumeration of the writings in the New Testament previously mentioned.^c And here, among the first, must be placed the holy quaternity of the Gospels, which are followed by the book of the Acts of the Apostles. After this, the Epistles of Paul are to be reckoned, and immediately after these the acknowledged First Epistle of John, and the Epistle of Peter, which is likewise to be received. After these, if it appears proper, the Apocalypse of John is to be placed, concerning which we shall present the current opinions in due season. All these belong to those which are *acknowledged* as genuine.”^d

^a See Com. in Matt. Opp. iii. p. 441, Com. in Johan. Opp. iv. p. 8, and on the other hand, *ibid.* p. 4 and 5. See *Münscher*, l. c. vol. i. § 52 and 63.

^b See *Eusebius*, lib. vii. c. 25.

^c See *Vogel*, Com. de Canone Euseb., (Erlangen, 1809—11,) pt. i. p. 4, note 2. *Bertholdt*, p. 120, note 3. *Hug*, Introduction, § 20, p. 78, sqq., *Fosdick's* translation.

^d Hist. Eccl. iii. 25: Εὐλογον δ' ἐνταῦθα γενομένους, ἀνακεφαλαιώσασθαι τὰς δηλωθείσας τῆς καινῆς διαθήκης γραφάς. Καὶ δὴ τακτέον ἐν πρώτοις τὴν ἀγίαν τῶν Εὐαγγελίων τετρακτὴν ὡς ἔπεται ἢ τῶν πράξεων τῶν Ἀποστόλων γραφῇ μετὰ δὲ ταύτην τὰς Παύλου καταλεκτέον ἐπιστολάς αἷς ἐξῆς τὴν φερομένην Ἰωάννου προτέραν, καὶ ὁμοίως τὴν Πέτρου κυρωτέον ἐπιστολήν ἐπὶ τούτοις τακτέον, εἴ γε φανείη, τὴν ἀποκάλυψιν Ἰωάννου

"Among the books which are *disputed*, though well known to the many, are that Epistle ascribed to James, and that of Jude, the Second of Peter, and the Second and Third of John, whether they belong to the evangelist or to some other of the same name with him.

"Among the *spurious* must be reckoned the book of the Acts of Paul, that called the Shepherd, and the Apocalypse of Peter, and besides these, the Epistle ascribed to Barnabas, the books called the Institutes of the twelve Apostles, and also, as I said before, if it appears proper, the Apocalypse of John, which some, as I said, reject, but which others class with the acknowl-

περὶ ἧς τὰ δόξαντα κατὰ καιρὸν ἐκθησόμεθα· καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ἐν ὁμολογουμένοις.

Τῶν δ' ἀντιλεγόμενων, γνωρίμων δ' οὖν ἡμῶς τοῖς πολλοῖς, ἡ λεγομένη Ἰακώβου, φέρεται καὶ ἡ Ἰούδα· ἦτε Πέτρου δευτέρα ἐπιστολὴ καὶ ἡ ὀνομαζομένη δευτέρα καὶ τρίτη Ἰωάννου· εἴτε τοῦ Εὐαγγελιστοῦ τυγχάνουσα, εἴτε καὶ ἑτέρου ὁμωνύμου ἐκείνου.

Ἐν τοῖς νόθοις κατατετάχθω καὶ τῶν Παύλου πράξεων ἡ γραφὴ, ὃ, τὸ λεγόμενος ποιμὴν, καὶ ἡ ἀποκάλυψις Πέτρου. Καὶ πρὸς τούτοις ἡ φερομένη Βαρνάβα ἐπιστολὴ, καὶ τῶν Ἀποστόλων αἱ λεγόμεναι διδασκαλίαι· εἰτε, ὡς ἔφην, ἡ Ἰωάννου ἀποκάλυψις, εἰ φανείη, ἦν τινες, ὡς ἔφην, ὕπερ-τούτοις, ἕτεροι δὲ ἐγκρίνουσι τοῖς ὁμολογουμένοις. Ἡδὴ δ' ἐν τούτοις τινὲς καὶ τὸ καθ' Ἑβραίου Εὐαγγέλιον κατέλεξαν, ᾧ μάλιστα Ἑβραίων οἱ τὸν Χριστὸν παραδεξάμενοι χαίρουσι. Ταῦτα μὲν πάντα τῶν ἀντιλεγόμενων ἂν εἴη. Ἀναγκάως δὲ καὶ τούτων ἡμῶς τὸν κατάλογον πεποιήμεθα, διακρίναντες τίς τε κατὰ τὴν ἐκκλησιαστικὴν παράδοσιν ἀληθεὺς καὶ ἀπλάστους καὶ ἀνωμολογημένας γραφάς, καὶ τὰς ἄλλας παρὰ ταύτας, οὐκ ἐνδιαθήκους μὲν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀντιλεγόμενας, ἡμῶς δὲ παρὰ πλείστοις τῶν Ἐκκλησιαστικῶν γινωσκομένας· ἵν' εἰδέναι ἔχοιμεν αὐτάς τε ταύτας, καὶ τὰς ὀνόματι τῶν Ἀποστόλων πρὸς τῶν αἰρετικῶν προφερομένας· ἦτοι ὡς Πέτρου, καὶ Θωμᾶ, καὶ Ματθαίου, καὶ τινων παρὰ τούτους ἄλλων Εὐαγγέλια περιεχούσας· ἡ ὡς Ἀνδρέου, καὶ Ἰωάννου, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Ἀποστόλων πράξεις· ὧν οὐδὲν οὐδαμῶς ἐν συγγράμματι τῶν κατὰ διαδοχὰς Ἐκκλησιαστικῶν τις ἀνὴρ εἰς μνήμην ἀγαγεῖν ἤξισεν. Πόρρω δὲ πού καὶ ὁ τῆς φράσεως παρὰ τὸ ἥθος τὸ ἀποστολικὸν ἐναλλάττει· χαρακτὴρ ἡ τε γνώμη καὶ ἡ τῶν ἐν αὐτοῖς φερομένων προαίρεσις, πλείστον ὅσον τῆς ἀληθοῦς ὀρθοδοξίας ἀπ᾿ ἑαυτῆς, ὅτι δὴ αἰρετικῶν ἀνδρῶν ἀναπλάσματα τυγχάνει, σαφῶς παρίστησιν· ὅθεν αὐτὸ δ' ἐν νόθοις αὐτὰ κατατακτέον, ἀλλ' ὡς ἄτοπα πάντα καὶ δυσσεβεῖς παρατητέον.

edged books. But there are some who place among these the Gospel according to the Hebrews, with which the Hebrew Christians are especially pleased. These, then, are all of the disputed books ; we, however, have made this catalogue, necessarily distinguishing those writings which, according to the tradition of the church, are true, and genuine, and acknowledged, from those others which do not belong to the New Testament, but are disputed, though they are known to most of the ecclesiastical writers, — that we might be able to know these writings themselves, and those also adduced by the heretics in the name of the apostles, such as contain the Gospel of Peter, Thomas, and Matthias, and others beside them ; or those which contain the Acts of Andrew and John, and the other apostles, of any one of which no one in the series of ecclesiastical teachers has ever thought it worth while to make mention in his works. And, still further, the style differs widely from that of the apostles ; and the opinions and doctrines contained in them, differing as far as possible from the true orthodoxy, prove clearly that they are the production of heretics. Therefore they are not only to be classed among the *spurious*, but to be rejected, as utterly absurd and impious.”

In preparing this catalogue, Eusebius follows the tradition of the church, as he tells us himself. By this tradition of the church, he does not understand merely what was current in *his* church,^a not merely the opinion prevalent in the Christian communities,^b nor the oral tradition,^c nor merely the written tradition contained in

^a See *Schmidt*, on the Canon of Eusebius, in *Henke's Magazin*, vol. v. p. 455. *Vogel* also approaches this opinion.

^b See *Münscher*, l. c. vol. i. p. 321, sq.

^c See *K. C. Flatt*, on the Canon of Eusebius, in *Flatt's Magazin*, vol. viii. p. 79, sqq.

ecclesiastical writers, but both the oral and the written, so far as he could ascertain it, in the historical investigations he made for the sake of answering the question, Which of the writings that pretend to belong to the New Testament really do belong to it?

However, Lücke, in his Inquiry on the Canon of Eusebius, thinks he refers only to the written tradition, and cites the following passage as proof: "One Epistle of Peter, which is called his First, is acknowledged; and anciently the elders used it in their writings as undoubtedly genuine. We have not learned from tradition that what is called his Second Epistle belongs to the New Testament; but, as it appears useful to many, it is eagerly read with the other Scriptures. But concerning the work called his Acts, and that named the Gospel according to him, that styled his Preaching, and the work denominated the Apocalypse, we do not know that they have been handed down as catholic writings. For no ecclesiastical writer of the ancients, or of our times, has ever made use of testimony derived from them. But, in the course of this history, I shall attempt to show, in

* Hist. Eccl. iii. 3: Πέτρου μὲν οὖν ἐπιστολὴ μία, ἡ λεγομένη αὐτοῦ προτέρα, ἀνωμολόγηται. Ταύτη δὲ καὶ οἱ πάλαι πρεσβύτεροι ὡς ἀναμφιλέκτω ἐν τοῖς σφῶν αὐτῶν κατακέχρηται συγγράμμασι· τὴν δὲ φερομένην αὐτοῦ δευτέραν οὐκ ἐνδιέθηκον μὲν εἶναι παρειλήφαμεν· ὅμως δὲ πολλοῖς χρήσιμος φανείσα μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἐσπουδάσθη γραφῶν. Τό γε μὴν τῶν ἐπιεκκλημένων αὐτοῦ πράξεων, καὶ τὸ κατ' αὐτὸν ὠνομασμένον εὐαγγέλιον, τό, τε λεγόμενον αὐτοῦ κήρυγμα, καὶ τὴν καλουμένην ἀποκάλυψιν, οὐδ' ὅλως ἐν καθολικοῖς ἔσμεν παραδεδομένα· οἷοι μὴ τε ἀρχαίων, μὴ τε τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς τις ἐκκλησιαστικὸς συγγραφεὺς ταῖς ἐξ αὐτῶν συνεχρήσατο μυριυρίαις. Προϊούσης δὲ τῆς ιστορίας, προδρῶγον ποιήσομαι σὺν ταῖς διωδοχαῖς ὑποσημηνᾶσθαι, τίνες τῶν κατὰ χρόνους ἐκκλησιαστικῶν συγγραφέων, ὅποιας κέχρηται τῶν ἀντιλεγόμενων· τίνα τε περὶ τῶν ἐνδιεθῆκων καὶ ὁμολογουμένων γραφῶν, καὶ ὅσα περὶ τῶν μὴ τοιοῦτων αὐταῖς εἴρηται. Ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν ὀνομαζόμενα Πέτρου, ὡς μίαν μόνην γνήσιαν ἔργον ἐπιστολὴν, καὶ παρὰ τοῖς πάλαι πρεσβυτέροις ὁμολογουμένην, τοιαῦτα. For the oral tradition, comp. iii. 3, 31.

their order, what disputed writings were used by any of the ecclesiastical authors, in conformity with the spirit of their time, and what they have said upon the canonical and acknowledged writings, and upon such as were not of that class. Such, then, are the alleged works of Peter ; but I know only one Epistle which is genuine and acknowledged by the most ancient Fathers.”

In his judgment upon the style and contents of these writers, Eusebius, for the most part, follows the earlier authorities.

In respect to their apostolical character, which was made more or less certain by the traditions of the church, he divides the books of the New Testament into three classes. Some, however, think he makes but *two* classes ;^a others, *four* ; while some other writers think there are *three* classes, with two subdivisions.^b This division may be gathered from the following passages : “ Let it be classed with the *spurious* writings, ” “ All these belong to the *disputed* books.”

^a C. F. Schmidt, Hist. crit. Can. p. 356. Bertholdt, p. 129. But these two authors make a different division.

^b Weber, Beit. Gesch. d. Kanons, (Tub. 1791,) p. 142, sqq. Münscher, l. c. p. 323, sqq. J. E. C. Schmidt, l. c. p. 453, Einleit. p. 12. Stroth's German version of Eusebius. Hug, Introd. § 20. Eichhorn, Einleit. in N. T. vol. iv. p. 54. Hänlein, Einleit. vol. i. p. 112. Rössler, Bibliothek. d. Kirchenväter, vol. iv. p. 74. Flatt, l. c. vol. viii. p. 28, very justly, takes a different view. Lücke, l. c. p. 6. Vogel, vol. ii. p. 7. [It may be thought surprising that such various opinions should prevail on this point. To me it appears Eusebius makes *four* classes of books in use among the Christians, and peculiar to them, viz. I. *Writings of undoubted genuineness and value*, (ὁμολογούμενα.) II. *Writings generally, but not universally received*, (ἀντιλεγόμενα.) Both of these are in the present New Testament. III. The *spurious writings*, (ᾠδοί,) which seem to have been written by good men, with a good design, and ascribed to some historical person, who was not their author. IV. *Aburd and impious writings*, (ἄτοπα πάντα καὶ δυσσεβῆ.) His *mixed* writings belong to the second class. Here, then, are two classes of canonical, and two of uncanonical writings.]

"And among them, he [Clement] uses even testimony from the disputed books, from the Epistle to the Hebrews, from that of Barnabas, and Clement, and Jude." "Not passing over the disputed writings, I mean the Epistle of Jude, and the other catholic Epistles, that of Barnabas and the book called the Apocalypse of Peter." "*Sacred* writings disputed, indeed, but read by many in most of the churches. Some utterly spurious and foreign to the apostolical orthodoxy." "Let it be understood that the Epistle of James is spurious." "Let it be understood that this [the book of the Shepherd] is disputed by some, on whose account it is not placed among the *acknowledged* books. But by others, especially such as need elementary instruction, it is judged most necessary; for which reason, it is now publicly used in the churches, and I have understood that some of the most ancient writers used it."^a

I. THE ACKNOWLEDGED WRITINGS.

The first class comprises the writings of the New Testament which were universally acknowledged as the

^a Eusebius, Hist. Eccl. iii. 24: 'Εν τοῖς νόθοις κατατετάχθω καὶ ταῦτα μὲν πάντα τῶν ἀντιλεγόμενων εἰη. vi. 13: Κέχρηται δ' ἐν αὐτοῖς (Κλήμης) καὶ ταῖς ἀπὸ τῶν ἀντιλεγόμενων γραφῶν μαρτυρίαις τῆς πρὸς Ἑβραίους ἐπιστολῆς, τῆς τε Βαρνάβα καὶ Κλήμεντος καὶ Ἰούδα. vi. 14: Μὴ τὰς ἀντιλεγόμενας παρελθὼν τὴν Ἰούδα λέγω καὶ τὰς λοιπὰς καθολικὰς ἐπιστολάς, τὴν τε Βαρνάβα καὶ τὴν Πέτρου λεγομένην ἀποκάλυψιν. iii. 31: Ἐρὰ γράμματα ἀντιλεγόμενα μὲν, ὅμως δ' ἐν πλείστοις ἐκκλησίαις παρὰ πολλοῖς δεδημοσιευμένα τὰ τε παντελῶς νόθα καὶ τῆς ἀποστολικῆς ὀρθοδοξίας ἀλλότρια. ii. 23: Ἰστέον ὡς νοθεύεται (Ἰακώβου ἐπιστολῇ). iii. 3: Ἰστέον ὡς καὶ τοῦτο (τοῦ ποιμένος βιβλίον) πρὸς μὲν τινῶν ἀντιλέλεκται, δι' οὗ οὐκ ἂν ἐν ὁμολογουμένοις τεθεῖη. Ὑφ' ἐτέρων δὲ ἀναγκαῖοι τῶν οἷς μάλιστα δεῖ στοιχειώσεως εἰσαγωγικῆς, κέκριται ὅθεν ἤδη καὶ ἐν ἐκκλησίαις αὐτὸ δεδημοσιευμένον, καὶ τῶν παλαιωτάτων δὲ συγγραφέων πεποιημένους τινὰς αὐτῷ κατελλεῖν.

genuine productions of the apostles.* Here belong the four Gospels, the Acts, fourteen Epistles of Paul, the First of John, and the First of Peter.

Respecting the Pauline writings, he says, "The Epistles of Paul, fourteen, were known and undoubted." But his judgment varies respecting the Epistle to the Hebrews. "It is not right to conceal that some reject the Epistle to the Hebrews, saying it is disputed by the church of the Romans as not being Paul's. (See vi. 20. Compare vi. 13, and iii. 38.) For, as Paul had written a letter of instruction to the Hebrews in the language of their mother country, some say that Luke the evangelist, others that Clement, translated that writing. The latter appears the rather to be true, inasmuch as the Epistle of Clement and that to the Hebrews have a similar style." From this it appears that Eusebius actually ascribes this to Paul. Vogel finds here a reference to the canon of Eusebius's own church.^b

* The term *acknowledged* (ὁμολογούμενος) is to be understood in reference to the New Testament, (καινὴ διαθήκη,) and so is the term *canonical*, (ἐκ-διάθετος.) But he uses *genuine* (γνήσιος) in relation to the authors. (Compare iii. 3, and vi. 13, in the note of this §, with iii. 16.) One *acknowledged* Epistle is, indeed, ascribed to this Clement, iii. 38: "and the Epistle of Clement, which is, indeed, *acknowledged* by all."

^b iii. 3: Τὸν δὲ Παύλου πρόβηλοι καὶ σαφεῖς αἱ δεκατέσσαρες. See his wavering judgment on the Epistle to Hebrews, iii. 3: "Οὐ γὰρ μὲν τινες ἡθετήκασιν τὴν πρὸς Ἑβραίους, πρὸς τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἐκκλησίας ὡς μὴ Παύλου οὔσαν αὐτὴν ἀντιλέγεσθαι φήσαντες, (see vi. 20,) σὲ δὲ δικαίον ἀγνοεῖν. (Comp. vi. 13, vi. 25, § 23.) iii. 38: Ἑβραίοις διὰ τῆς πατρῆου γλώττης ἐγγράφως ὁμιληκότις τοῦ Παύλου, οἱ μὲν τὸν εὐαγγελιστὴν Λουκᾶν, οἱ δὲ τὸν Κλήμεντα ἐρμενεύσαι λέγουσι τὴν γραφὴν. Ὁ καὶ μᾶλλον εἶην ἀν ἀληθείας, τῷ τὸν ὅμοιον τῆς φράσεως χαρακτῆρα τὴν τε τοῦ Κλήμεντος ἐπιστολὴν καὶ τὴν πρὸς Ἑβραίους ἀποσώζειν. See Flatt, vol. viii. p. 88, sq. Vogel, vol. i. p. 19, sq.

[See the valuable articles of Mr. Norton on the authorship of the Epistle to the Hebrews, in the Christian Examiner, vol. iv., v., and vi. Stuart's Commentary on the Epistle to the Hebrews. Hug's Introd. § 144—147, and

II. THE DISPUTED AND SPURIOUS WRITINGS.

The second class comprised such as were not received with universal consent as genuine and apostolical, and admitted into the New Testament, but which were yet used and esteemed by many, and read in the churches.*

Among these disputed and spurious writings, the Epistles of James and Jude, the Second of Peter, the Second and Third of John, held the first place. This is evident from the term *catholic Epistles*, which he applies to them, and from the whole history of the canon, though in this also Vogel finds a reference to the canon of his own church at Cæsarea.

The Acts of Paul, the book of the Shepherd, the Revelation of Peter, the Epistle of Barnabas, and the Doctrines of the Apostles, appear to have held the second rank. Here he does not include the Epistle of Clement, as he does vi. 13. But this arises not from carelessness, as Flatt supposes, (viii. 90,) nor because it was not contained in the canon of Cæsarea, as Schmidt (p. 455) and Vogel (vol. i. p. 22) suppose, but, perhaps, because no claim was made for its reception into the canon, (*διαθήκη*,) inasmuch as no one thought the apostle had any share in it.

Eusebius is doubtful to which of the above classes he

his notes. *Schott's* Isagoge historico-critica in libros N. T.; Jenæ, 1830. He maintains that Paul is not the author of this Epistle, in which he is joined by most of the eminent modern critics of Germany.]

* *Disputed* (*ἀντιλεγόμενος*) is opposed to *canonical* (*ἐνδιαθήκος*;) (see iii. 3,) and is equivalent to *οὐκ ἐνδιαθήκος*: so *νόθος* is the opposite of *γνήσιος*, though *νόθος* is equivalent to *νοθευόμενος*, and means *held not to be genuine*, but only received by some. (Comp. ii. 13, and iii. 3.) To this class belong the writings *known to many*, (*γνώριμος τοῖς πολλοῖς*;) (iii. 25,) *read publicly in the churches*, (*δεδημοσιευμένος ἐν ἐκκλησίαις*;) (ii. 23, iii. 3, 31.)

shall reckon the Apocalypse of John, probably on account of the partiality with which he judged this book.*

III. THE ABSURD AND IMPIOUS WRITINGS.

This class contains books forged by heretics, which in no respect can claim a place in the New Testament. Irenæus (i. 20) and Clement of Alexandria (Strom. iii. p. 437) call them *apocryphal* and *spurious*.

§ 25.

USE AND CANON OF THE OLD TESTAMENT AMONG THE CHRISTIANS OF THE FIRST CENTURIES.^b

The holy Scriptures of the New Testament were placed in the same rank with those of the Old Testament, which also were read. This fact appears from the writings of Ignatius, Justin Martyr, Theophylact, Irenæus, and others. The latter writes, "Since all the Scriptures, both the *Prophets* and the *Gospels*, are well known." To the same purpose Origen says, "Let not any one depreciate the *writings*, which are received and believed to be *divine*, by all the church of God, who say the *Law of Moses* was the first-born, and the *Gospel* the first-fruit; for the perfect Logos continued to grow after all the fruits of the *Prophets*, until the time of the Lord Jesus." "The fact that the Logos wishes us to be wise, may be shown from the *ancient and Jewish*

* Münscher, p. 326. Flatt, vol. viii. p. 92. Eichhorn, in N. T., vol. ii. p. 421, sqq. — Schmidt (in Henke's Mag. l. c. p. 456, sq.) erroneously finds the cause in the Cæsarean canon, to which Vogel, also, (p. 21,) supposes he referred. Eusebius does not decide upon the Gospel of the Hebrews. Flatt, l. c. p. 96. Michaelis, Einleit. in N. T. vol. ii. p. 1033, sqq.

^b [See Appendix, B.]

writings which we use, and which are believed by the church to be no less *divine* than those written *after the time of Jesus*.”^a

But the Jewish Scriptures could only be read in the Alexandrian version; and therefore all the writings contained in that version were naturally made use of. Hence it comes to pass that Christian writers frequently cite the apocryphal as if they were canonical writings. For example, Irenæus says, “Jeremiah the prophet said,” and cites a passage as Jeremiah’s which is found only in Baruch iv. 36. Again, he cites Daniel the prophet, but refers to the apocryphal additions to Daniel, in the Septuagint, xiv. 4, 5.^b

Clement of Alexandria cites a passage from Solomon, which is only found in the apocryphal book, the Wisdom of Solomon, xv. Again he writes, “The *divine Scripture* says,” referring to words not found in the canonical books, but in Baruch iii.^c

Tertullian mentions the Wisdom of Solomon, that is, the apocryphal book, as if it were canonical. He cites a passage from Ecclesiasticus, as if the book were a

^a *Ignat. Ep. ad Philad.* c. 5, (§ 18.) *Justin. M. Apol.* i. c. 67, (§ 19.) *Theophil.* ad Autol. iii. 12. *Iren.* ii. 27, 2: Cum itaque universæ Scripturæ, et Prophetiæ, et Evangelia in aperto sint, etc. *Clem. Alex. Strom.* i. iii. p. 455, (§ 21;) iv. p. 475, (§ 22;) v. p. 561; vi. p. 659. *Tertull. De Præscript.* c. 36, (§ 22.) *Origen, Com. in Joh. T.* i. § 4. *Opp.* iv. p. 4: Τῶν φερομένων γραφῶν καὶ ἐν πάσαις ἐκκλησίαις θεοῦ πεπιστευμένων εἶναι θεῶν οὐκ ἂν ἀμάρτοι τις λόγων πρωτογέννημα μὲν τὸν Μωυσέως νόμον, ἀπαρχὴν δὲ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον. Μετὰ γὰρ τοὺς πάντας τῶν προφητῶν καρπὸς, τῶν μέχρι τοῦ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ, ὁ τέλειος ἐβλάστησε λόγος. *Cont. Cel.* iii. p. 45. *Opp.* i. p. 476: Ὅτι βούλεται ἡμῶς εἶναι σοφὸς ὁ λόγος, δεικνέον καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν παλαιῶν καὶ Ἰουδαϊκῶν γραμμάτων, ἃ οἷς καὶ ἡμεῖς χρῶμεθα, οὐχ ἥτιον δὲ καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν μετὰ τὸν Ἰησοῦν γραφέντων καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις θεῶν εἶναι πεπιστευμένων.

^b *Iren.* v. 35; iv. 5.

^c *Clem. Alex. Stromat.* lib. v. p. 583. *Pædag.* ii. p. 161.

part of the divine Scriptures, introducing it with the phrase, "It is written." He speaks as follows on this theme: "I know the book of Enoch is rejected by some because it is not admitted into the Jewish collection. I believe they have supposed this book, written before the deluge, could not have survived that calamity of the earth which destroyed all things. But if this is their argument, let them remember that Noah, the great-grandson of Enoch himself, survived the deluge. He might have heard it [the substance of the book] as a family story, and hereditary tradition, and have remembered what is said about his favor with God, and all his sayings, if Enoch had done no more than to command his son Methuselah to transmit a knowledge thereof to his posterity. Noah may, without doubt, have followed in transmitting this tradition, in consequence of this command, or else because he could not be silent respecting either the kindness of God the preserver towards him, or respecting the honor of his own family. If he could not so readily have received the command, the other cause would have led him to preserve the statement of that book. And then, even if the original writing was destroyed by the violence of the deluge, he could reproduce it in his mind; as, after Jerusalem was destroyed by the Babylonians in the siege, the whole body of Jewish literature was restored by Ezra. But since Enoch prophesies of the Lord in that same writing, we are by no means to reject any thing that belongs to us. And as we read that Scripture good for edification is divinely inspired, it seems for this reason [because it predicted Jesus] to have been subsequently rejected by the Jews, as also have some other writings which speak of Christ. Nor is it to be wondered at, that they have not received other writings which speak of him; for

they were not willing to receive him, himself speaking openly among men. To this it may be added, that Enoch had some value as an evidence with the apostle Jude.”*

As soon as the learned turned their attention to this subject, they adhered to the tradition and decision of the Jews in respect to the apocryphal writings, and thus returned to the true canon.

This appears from the writings of Eusebius, who says, “In the selections made by him, [Melito, bishop of Sardis, about 170 A. C.] the same author, beginning in his preface, makes a catalogue of the acknowledged books of the Old Testament. . . . ‘Melito sends greeting to his brother Onesimus. Since, in thy zeal for the word, thou hast often desired to have selections from the Law and the Prophets concerning the Savior and the whole of our faith, and hast also wished to obtain an

* De Cultu Fem. i. 3: Scio Scripturam Enoch non recipi a quibusdam, quia nec in armarium Judaicum admittitur. Opinor, non putaverunt, illam ante cataclysmum editam, post eum casum orbis, omnium rerum abolitorem, salvam esse potuisse. Si ista ratio est, recordentur, pronepotem ipsius Enoch fuisse superstitem cataclysmi Noë, qui utique domestico nomine et hæreditaria traditione audierat et meminerat de proavi sui penes Deum gratia et de omnibus prædicatis ejus: cum Enoch filio suo Metusale nihil aliud mandaverit, quam ut notitiam eorum posteris suis traderet. Igitur sine dubio potuit Noë in prædicationis delegatione successisse, vel quia et alias non tacuisset tam de Dei conservatoris sui dispositione, quam de ipsa domus suæ gloria. Hoc si non tam expedite haberet, illud quoque assertio-nem Scripturæ illius tueretur. Perinde potuit abolefactam eam violentia cataclysmi in spiritu rursus reformare, quemadmodum et Hierosolymis Babylonia expugnatione deletis, omne instrumentum Judaicæ literaturæ per Eedram constat restauratum. Sed cum Enoch eadem Scriptura etiam de Domino prædicarit, a nobis quidem nihil omnino rejiciendum est, quod pertinet ad nos. Et legimus omnem scripturam ædificationi habilem divinitus inspirari, a Judæis postea jam videri propterea rejectam, sicut et cætera fere, quæ Christum sonant. Nec utique mirum hoc, si Scripturas aliquas non receperunt de eo locutas, quem et ipsum coram loquentem non erant recepturi. Eo accedit, quod Enoch apud Judam apostolum testimonium possidet.

exact statement of the ancient books, how many they were in number, and what was their arrangement,—I took pains to effect this, understanding thy zeal for the faith, and thy desire of knowledge in respect to the word, and that, in thy devotion to God, thou esteemest these things above all others, striving after eternal salvation. Therefore, having come to the East, and arrived at the place where these things were preached and done, and having accurately acquainted myself with the books of the Old Testament, I have subjoined and sent them to thee, of which the names are these: Of Moses, five,—namely, Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, and Deuteronomy; Joshua, son of Nun, Judges, Ruth; four of Kings, two of Chronicles; a book of Psalms of David, the Proverbs of Solomon, and the Wisdom,* Ecclesiastes, the Song of Songs, and Job;—of Prophets, books of Isaiah and Jeremiah; writings of the twelve Prophets in one book; Daniel, Ezekiel, Ezra, from which I have made selections, distributing them into six books.’”^b

* [Others read, “which, also, is called Wisdom.” See *Heimichen’s* note on the passage, vol. i. p. 404, of his ed. of Eusebius; Lips. 1827. *Stevens*, in his edition of 1544, reads ἡ σοφία.]

^b Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.* iv. 26: ‘Ἐν ταῖς γραφαῖσιν αὐτῶν ἐκλογαῖς ὁ πατὴρ (Μελλίων) κατὰ τὸ προοίμιον ἀρχόμενος τῶν ὁμολογουμένων τῆς παλαιᾶς διαθήκης γραφῶν ποιεῖται κατάλογον. “Μελλίων Ὀνησίμῳ τῷ ἀδελφῷ χαίρειν. Ἐπειδὴ πολλάκις ἤξιωσας σπουδῇ τῇ πρὸς τὸν λόγον χροόμενος γενέσθαι σοι ἐκλογὰς ἔκ τε τοῦ νόμου καὶ τῶν προφητῶν περὶ σωτηρίας καὶ πάσης τῆς πίστεως ἡμῶν ἔτι δὲ καὶ μαθεῖν τὴν τῶν παλαιῶν βιβλίων ἐβουλήθης ἀκριβείαν, πόσα τὸν ἀριθμὸν καὶ ὅποια τὴν τάξιν εἶεν, ἐσπούδασα τὸ τοιοῦτο πράξαι, ἐπιστάμενός σου τὸ σπουδαῖον περὶ τὴν πίστιν καὶ φιλομαθῆς περὶ τὸν λόγον διτι τε μάλιστα πάντων πόθῳ τῷ πρὸς Θεὸν ταῦτα προορίσεις, περὶ τῆς αἰωνίου σωτηρίας ἀγωνιζόμενος. Ἀνελθὼν οὖν εἰς τὴν ἀνατολήν, καὶ ὥς τοῦ τόπου γενόμενος ἔνθα ἐκηρύχθη καὶ ἐπράχθη, καὶ ἀκριβῶς μαθὼν τὰ τῆς παλαιᾶς διαθήκης βιβλία, ὑποτάξας ἐπεμψά σου ὧν ἐστί τὰ ὀνόματα· Μωϋσέως πέντε· Γένεσις, Ἔξοδος, Λευιτικόν, Ἀριθμοί, Δευτερονόμιον· Ἰησοῦς Ναυὴ, Κριταί, Ῥούθ, Βασιλειῶν τέσσαρα, Παρτεμιονίωνος δύο· Ψαλμῶν Δαβὶδ, Σολομῶνος Παροιμίαι, ἡ καὶ Σο-

The question now arises, Why were *Nehemiah* and *Esther* omitted in the above catalogue? [Eichhorn answers the inquiry, by asserting that the books were mentioned in the supposed order of their composition; that several books are referred to under one title; and that *Nehemiah* and *Esther* are both included under the general head of *Ezra*.^a But, even if we make this gratuitous admission, the conclusion does not follow that *Nehemiah* and *Esther* are included in the book of *Ezra*; for though Melito actually classes several books together, yet he gives us warning of the fact. Thus he mentions the *four books* of Kings, and the *twelve Prophets in one book*. Eichhorn says, and truly, that it was usual to unite *Nehemiah* and *Ezra* in one book, as Josephus had done, and then asks, Why should not *Esther* also be included? But it might be asked, with equal propriety, Why should not the apocryphal book of *Ezra*, and even of *Esther*, be included? It seems more reasonable to suppose that these books were omitted by Melito, because they were disputed, or were not found in the canon most commonly regarded in the "East." This remains certain, that it

φία, 'Εκκλησιαστής, ἔσμα ἁσμάτων, 'Ιώβ· Προφητῶν, 'Ησαίου, 'Ιερεμίου, τῶν δώδεκα ἐν μονοβιβλίῳ, Δανιήλ, 'Ιεζεκιήλ, "Εσθρας· ἐξ ὧν καὶ τὰς ἐκλογὰς ἐποίησάμην, εἰς ἕξ βιβλία διελών."

[The translation of the above passage, so faithful and beautiful, is from *Palfrey's Acad. Lect.* vol. i. p. 32, sq. His lecture on the Canon of the Old Testament, spite of its briefness, as it appears to me, is by far the best treatise on that subject in the English tongue; though I can by no means agree with all his conclusions. See, who will, the superficial and inaccurate remarks of Mr. *Horne*, l. c. chap. ii. sect. 1, on the Genuineness, &c. of the Old Testament.]

* See *Eichhorn*, § 52. *Münscher*, l. c. vol. i. p. 267, sqq. [*Jahn* says, "It is remarkable that *Athanasius*, *Gregory of Nazianzen*, *Amphilochius*, *Leontius*, and both the *Nicephori*, omit the book of *Esther*. *Athanasius* expressly places it among those which we call apocryphal." *Einleit.* § 28. But all these writers may have followed Melito. *Horne*, as usual, passes over the matter *siccissimis pedibus*.]

was not easy for a Christian bishop, in the latter part of the second century, to determine the canon of the Old Testament.]^a

Eusebius gives us the canon of Origen, as follows :
 “ In expounding the first psalm, he [Origen] has given a catalogue of the sacred books in the Old Testament, writing as follows : ‘ Let it not be unknown that the canonical books, as the Hebrews transmit them, are twenty-two ; for such is the number of letters among them.’ After making some further remarks, he adds, ‘ These are the twenty-two books of the Hebrews : the book called Genesis with us, but among the Hebrews, from the beginning of the book, *Bresith*, which means In the Beginning ; Exodus, *Walmoth*, that is, These are the Names ; Leviticus, *Waikra*, And he called ; Numbers, *Ammesphekodeim* ; Deuteronomy, *Ellah-had-debarim*, These are the Words ; Jesus the son of Nave, *Joshua Ben Nun* ; Judges, Ruth, with them united in one book, called *Sophetim* ; Kings, First and Second, with them in one called *Samuel*, The Called of God ; the Third and Fourth of Kings, in one book, *Wahammelech Dabid*, that is, The Kingdom of David ; the First and Second of Chronicles, in one book, and called *Dibre Haiamim*, that is, The Records of Days ; the First and Second of Esdras, in one book, called *Ezra*, that is, the Assistant ; the book of Psalms, *Sopher Thillim* ; the Proverbs of Solomon, *Misloth* ; Ecclesiastes, *Kohleth* ; the Song of Songs, *Sir Hasirim* ; Esaias, *Iesata* ; Jeremiah, with the Lamentations and his Epistle, in one volume, *Jeremiah* ; Daniel, *Daniel* ; Ezekiel, *Ieeskell* ; Job, *Job* ; Esther, *Esther*. Besides these, there are

^a [See *Palfrey*, l. c. p. 35, sqq.]

also the Maccabees, which are inscribed *Sarbeth Sarbaneel*.’ ”*

Valesius, commenting on the above, says, “ In this catalogue Origen has omitted the book of *the twelve minor Prophets*; and, since this is omitted, we find but *twenty-one* of the *twenty-two* books he had promised to enumerate. In Rufinus’s version, this book of the minor Prophets is enumerated immediately after the Song of Songs. Hilary assents to the same in the Prologue to his *Enarratio in Psalmos*. Cyril of Jerusalem is of the same opinion; but yet Hilary, in his commentary on the Psalms, agrees with Origen, which is not wonderful, since almost all of the Prologue of Hilary is taken from the commentary [of Origen] on the Psalms, as Jerome testifies.”

Origen calls these books *Canonical Scriptures*. Other books—not comprised in our Apocrypha, but heretical and obscure works—he calls *apocryphal Scriptures*.

* Eusebius, Hist. Eccl. vi. 25: Τὸν μὲν τοιγὲ πρῶτον ἐξηγουόμενος Ψαλμὸν, ἔκθεσιν πεπολιῆται (᾽Ωριγένους) τοῦ τῶν ἱερῶν γραφῶν τῆς παλαιᾶς διαθήκης καταλόγου, ὧδε πως γράφων κατὰ λέξιν. “Ὅτε ἀγνοητέον δ’ εἶναι τὰς ἐνδιαθήκους βιβλους, ὡς Ἑβραῖοι παραδιδόσασιν, δύο καὶ εἴκοσι, ὅσος ὁ ἀριθμὸς τῶν παρ’ αὐτοῖς στοιχείων ἐστίν.” Ἐπὶ μετὰ τινα ἐπιφέρει λέγων· “Εἰσι δὲ αἱ εἴκοσι δύο βιβλοὶ καθ’ Ἑβραίους αἰθε· ἡ παρ’ ἡμῖν Γένεσις ἐπιγεγραμμένη, παρὰ δὲ Ἑβραίοις ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς τῆς βίβλου Βρησιθ, ὅπερ ἐστὶν ἐν ἀρχῇ· Ἐξοδος, Οὐαλεσμῶθ, ὅπερ ἐστὶ ταῦτα τὰ ὀνόματα Λευιτικόν, Οὐϊκρά, καὶ ἐκάλεσεν Ἀριθμοὶ, Ἀμμεσφεκωδεῖμ· Δευτερονόμιον, Ἐλλε ἀδδεβαρμ, οὗτοι οἱ λόγοι· Ἰησοῦς υἱὸς Ναυῆ, Ἰωσοῦς βεν Νοῦν· Κριταὶ, Ρουθ, παρ’ αὐτοῖς ἐν ἐνὶ Σωφστιμ· Βασιλειῶν πρώτη, δευτέρα, παρ’ αὐτοῖς ἐν Σαμουήλ, ὁ θεόκλητος· Βασιλειῶν τρίτη, τετάρτη, ἐν ἐνὶ Οὐαμμέλεχ Δαβιδ, ὅπερ ἐστὶ βασιλεία Δαβιδ· Παραλειπομένων πρῶτον, δεύτερον, ἐν ἐνὶ Διβρη· Ἀιαμμ, ὅπερ ἐστὶ λόγοι ἡμερῶν· Ἐσθρας πρῶτος καὶ δεύτερος, ἐν ἐνὶ Ἐζρά, ὁ ἐστὶ βοηθός· Βιβλος Ψαλμῶν, Σέφερ Θιλλίμ· Σολομῶντος Παροιμίαι, Μισλῶθ· Ἐκκλησιαστής, Κωέλεθ· ᾠσμα ᾠμάτων, Σίρ ἀσσιρμ· Ἡσαῖας, Ἰεσαῖα· Ἱερεμίας σὺν Θρήνοις καὶ τῇ ἐπιστολῇ, ἐν ἐνὶ Ἱερεμια· Δανιήλ, Δανιήλ· Ἱεζεκιήλ, Ἱεζεκιήλ· Ἰώβ, Ἰώβ· Ἐσθῆρ, Ἐσθῆρ. Ἐξω δὲ τούτων ἐστὶ τὰ Μακκαβαϊκὰ, ἀπερ ἐπιγέγραπται Σαρθῆθ Σαρθανὲ ἔλ.”

He calls the former *regular* books, that is, such as were received in the churches, or to be traced back to the Jews; the latter he names also *secret* books.*

[Some writers think Origen includes the books of Maccabees in the above canon. But he expressly excludes them.^b As the list now stands, it is true there are but twenty-one books enumerated. But the omission of the minor Prophets may be explained as the mistake of a transcriber. This conjecture is strengthened by the testimony of Rufinus and Jerome, and still more by the fact that Origen included these Prophets in the Hexapla, wrote a commentary upon them in twenty-five volumes, and himself quotes these Prophets, as if he considered them canonical, and of the same authority with the other books of the Old Testament.^c This he would not have done, if he assigned them no place in the canon. But even if this omission could not be explained, we are not justified in interpreting his words so as to include the books of Maccabees merely to make up the promised number.

In reference to this canon, it may be asked why Origen gives a place to the book of Baruch, "the Epistle" of Jeremiah; for there is no evidence, says Eichhorn, to show that it was ever admitted into the Jewish canon. But, in the Alexandrine version, it is appended

* [See his Prol. ad Cant. Cant. Opp. iii. p. 36, and his Com. in Matt. vol. iii. p. 916.]

^b [Ἐξω δὲ τούτων ἐστὶ τὰ Μακκαβαϊκὰ, κτλ. See Münscher, l. c. vol. i. p. 248. But see Palfrey, l. c. vol. i. p. 35, sq.]

^c [The fact that they were included in the Hexapla alone, does not prove he esteemed them canonical, if it be true, as Bahrt maintains, (Origenis Hexapl. quæ supersunt, vol. i. p. 168,) that it contained likewise the apocryphal books. His twenty-five volumes of commentaries on these Prophets were extant in the time of Eusebius. See Cave, Historia literaria, &c. (Lond. 1688,) vol. i. p. 80.]

to the prophecies of Jeremiah. In this instance, it seems, Origen followed that authority. Münscher supposes he followed the advice of some partial Jew. But, from the expression of Origen, it would appear that he included only the pretended letter of Jeremiah, which is but a part of the present apocryphal book of Baruch. He may have had private reasons for supposing it the genuine work of the prophet.]*

Although Origen excludes the apocryphal writings from the canon, yet he did not abandon the use of them, as it appears from several passages of his writings.

Thus he quotes the Maccabees: "We think this is so, *on the authority of Scripture*; for I have heard, also, *in the book of Maccabees*."†

Of the Story of Susannah and the Apocrypha in general, he says, writing to Julius Africanus, "If these things do not deceive me, it is now time to lay aside those copies received in the churches; to impose rules upon the brotherhood, and reject these sacred books admitted by them; time, indeed, to flatter the Jews, and persuade them to give us, instead of these, genuine writings, free from all that is fictitious! For now has not that Providence, — which in the holy Scriptures gives edification to all the churches of Christ, — has not he despised those who are bought with a price, for whom Christ died?"‡

* [See Münscher, l. c. vol. i. p. 249. Eichhorn, § 54. Bertholdt, vol. i. p. 93, sqq.]

† Origen, De Princip. ii. 1. Opp. i. p. 79: Ut ex Scripturarum auctoritate hoc ita se habere credamus, audi quoque in Maccabæorum libris.

‡ Opp. i. p. 16: Ὅρα τοίνυν, εἰ μὴ λανθάνει ἡμᾶς τὰ τοιαῦτα, ἀθροεῖν τὰ ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις φερόμενα ἀντίγραφα, καὶ νομοθετῆσαι τῇ ἀδελφότητι, ἀποθίσθαι μὲν τὰς παρ' αὐτοῖς ἐπιφερομένας ἱερὰς βιβλούς, κολακεύειν δὲ Ἰουδαίους καὶ πείθειν, ἵνα μεταδώσιν ἡμῖν τῶν καθαρῶν καὶ μηδὲν πλάσμα ἐχόντων. Ἄρα δὲ καὶ ἡ πρόνοια ἐν ἀγλαῖς γραφαῖς

“But, in addition to these things, consider if it is not well to remember [that saying of Scripture,] ‘Thou shalt not remove the ancient landmarks, which thy fathers have set up.’ Therefore, it seems to me, nothing could have been more convenient, than for those who are called wise men, rulers, and elders of the people, to remove [from the canon] all such things as might furnish an accusation against themselves before the people. It would not be surprising, therefore, if this Story of Susannah contained some truth and if they [the Jewish elders] had pirated and stolen it away from the Scriptures.”^a

“The Hebrews do not use the book of *Tobit*, nor that of *Judith*. Neither do they have in Hebrew those others which are in our apocryphal books, as we have learned from them. But since the churches use *Tobit*,” &c.^b

[Origen cites also the book of *Ecclesiasticus* as genuine Scripture. “Accordingly the *divine logos* says,

δεδωκὶα πάσαις ταῖς Χριστοῦ ἐκκλησίαις οἰκοδομήν, οὐκ ἐφρόντισε τῶν τιμῆς ἀγορασθέντων, ὑπὲρ ὧν Χριστὸς ἀπέθανεν.

[I have not followed the text of Origen, given by De Wette, but the peculiar reading of the Codex Regius, as represented in *De la Rue's* edition. Some others read, in the first line, *δρα τολῶν*. I have translated as if it was *ᾧρα τολῶν*, &c. Of course, Origen speaks ironically, as it is evident from the next sentence, and from the whole epistle, in which he rebukes and laughs at his friend Africanus.]

* Πρὸς ταῦτα δὲ σκόπει, εἰ μὴ καλὸν μεμνηθῆναι τοῦ οὐ μεταθήσεις ἔργα αἰώνια, & ἔστησαν οἱ πρότεροί σου. διὸ οὐδὲν οἶμαι ἄλλο οἰκονομεῖσθαι, ἢ τοὺς νομιζομένους σοφοὺς καὶ ἀρχοντας καὶ πρεσβυτέρους τοῦ λαοῦ ὑπεξελεῖν τὰ τοιαῦτα, ὅσα περιεῖχεν αὐτῶν κατηγορίαν παρὰ τῶ λαῷ. οὐδὲν οὖν θαυμαστὸν εἰ δὲ ἀληθῇ τυγχάνουσιν τὴν περὶ Σωσάνναν. ἱστορίαν. ‘Οἱ. ἐξέκλεψαν θ’ ὑφείλον ἀπὸ τῶν γραφῶν. p. 16—22.

^b Origen, Op. i. p. 26: ‘Εβραῖοι τῷ Τωβίᾳ οὐ χρῶνται, οὐδὲ τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ οὐδὲ γὰρ ἔχουσιν αὐτὰ καὶ ἐν ἀποκρύφοις Ἐβραϊστί· ὥς ἀπ’ αὐτῶν μαθόντες ἐγνώκαμεν· ἀλλ’ ἐπεὶ χρῶνται τῷ Τωβίᾳ αἱ ἐκκλησίαι, κτλ.

‘What seed is honorable? The seed of man. What seed is dishonorable? The seed of man.’ Here the quotation is from Ecclus. x. 19, sqq.^a His opinion on the Wisdom of Solomon is fluctuating.^b He speaks of it as attributed to Solomon, yet not received by all.

Now, after weighing these testimonies, there can be no doubt that the most celebrated teachers of the second and third centuries made frequent and public use of the writings which we commonly call *apocryphal*; that they pronounce them inspired and divine, quote them as authorities, and regard them with the same esteem as the canonical writings. The Wisdom of Solomon and of Sirach, the books of Maccabees, Tobit, and Judith, are most frequently appealed to.]^c

§ 26.

CANON OF THE GREEK CHURCH, IN THE FOURTH CENTURY.

We have, still extant, several catalogues of the books in the Bible of the Greek church, written during the fourth century. For these we are indebted to the anxiety of the orthodox to prevent the reading of the apocryphal books. The following are some of the most remarkable:—

I. CANON OF THE COUNCIL OF LAODICÆA.

This council was held between 360 and 369 A. C., and its decision upon the books of the canon is as follows:—

^a [Φησὶ γοῦν καὶ ὁ θεῖος λόγος· σπέρμα ἔντιμον ποῖον; σπέρμα ἀνθρώπου, κτλ. Cont. Celsum, viii. Opp. i. p. 778.]

^b [The late Dr. *Mayhew* pertinently asks, “Why was the *Wisdom* of Solomon excluded, and the *Song* of Solomon admitted?”]

^c See Prolog. ad Cant. Cant. Opp. iii. p. 29.

Canon 59. "That private psalms ought not to be read [or repeated] in the church ; nor the uncanonical books, but only the canonical books of the New and Old Testament."

Canon 60. "These books of the OLD TESTAMENT are to be read :—

- | | |
|-------------------------------|--|
| 1. The Genesis of the World ; | 13. A book of 150 Psalms ; |
| 2. Exodus ; | 14. Proverbs of Solomon ; |
| 3. Leviticus ; | 15. Ecclesiastes ; |
| 4. Numbers ; | 16. Song of Songs ; |
| 5. Deuteronomy ; | 17. Job ; |
| 6. Joshua ; | 18. Twelve Prophets ; |
| 7. Judges and Ruth ; | 19. Isaiah ; |
| 8. Esther ; | 20. Jeremiah, Baruch, Lamentations, and Epistle ;* |
| 9. Kings, 1st and 2d ; | 21. Ezekiel ; |
| 10. Kings, 3d and 4th ; | 22. Daniel. |
| 11. Chronicles, 1st and 2d ; | |
| 12. Ezra, 1st and 2d ; | |

" These are the books of the NEW TESTAMENT : —

Four Gospels, namely,

According to Matthew ; According to Luke ;

" " Mark ; " " John.

Acts of the Apostles.

Seven Catholic Epistles, namely,

One of James ; two of Peter ; three of John ; one of Jude.

Fourteen Epistles, namely,

To the Romans, one ; To the Ephesians, one ;

" " Corinthians, two ; " " Philippians, one ;

" " Galatians, one ; " " Colossians, one ;

* [Here are *two* apocryphal books declared canonical.]

To the Thessalonians, two; To Titus, one;
 “ “ Hebrews, one; “ Philemon, one.”^a
 “ Timothy, two;

II. THE APOSTOLICAL CANON.^b

The eighty-fifth canon says, “ Let these books be revered and holy among you all, the clergy and laity. Of the OLD TESTAMENT,

Five books of Moses;	One of Ezra;
One of Jesus the Son of	One of Esther;
Nave;	One of Judith; ^c
One of the Judges;	Three of Maccabees;
One of Ruth;	One of Job;
Four of Kings;	One Psalter;
Two of Chronicles;	Three of Solomon;

^a *Mansi*, *Consiliorum nov. et ampliss. Collectio*, vol. ii. p. 574: “Οτι οὐ δὲ ἰδιωτικοῦς ψαλμοὺς λέγεσθαι ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, οὐδὲ ἀκανόνιστα βιβλία, ἀλλὰ μόντα τὰ κανονικὰ τῆς καινῆς καὶ παλαιᾶς διαθήκης. Can. 60: “Ὅσα δὲ βιβλία ἀναγινώσκεισθαι τῆς παλαιᾶς διαθήκης· α. Γένεσις κόσμου· β. “Ἐξοδος ἐξ Αἰγύπτου· γ. Λευιτικόν· δ. Ἀριθμοί· ε. Δευτερονόμιον· σι. Ἰησοῦς Ναυῆ· ζ. Κριταί, Ρούθ· η. Ἑσθήρ· θ. Βασιλειῶν α, β· ι. Βασιλειῶν γ, δ· ια. Παραλειπομένα α, β· ιβ. Ἑσθρας α, β· ιγ. βιβλος ψαλμῶν ρν· ιδ. Παροιμιαὶ Σολομῶντος· ιε. Ἐκκλησιαστής· ιστ. Ἰσθμ. ἱζ. Ἰώβ· ιθ. Δώδεκα προφῆται· ιθ. Ἡσαίας· κ. Ἰερεμίας, Βαρούχ, Θρηνοὶ καὶ ἐπιστολαί· κδ. Ἰεζεκιήλ· κβ. Δανιήλ. Τὰ δὲ τῆς καινῆς διαθήκης ταῦτα· Εὐαγγέλια τέσσαρα, κατὰ Ματθ., κ. Μάρκ., κ. Λουκ., κατὰ Ἰωάν· Πράξεις· Ἀποστόλων· Ἐπιστολαὶ καθολικαὶ ἑπτὰ, οὕτως· Ἰακώβου μία, Πέτρου δύο, Ἰωάννου τρεῖς, Ἰσίδω μία· Ἐπιστολαὶ δεκατέσσαρες, οὕτως· πρὸς Ρωμ. μία, πρὸς Κορ. δύο, πρὸς Γαλ. μία, πρὸς Ἐφεσ. μία, πρὸς Φιλ. μία, πρὸς Κολ. μία, πρὸς Θεσσ. δύο, πρὸς Ἐβρ. μία, πρὸς Τιμόθ. δύο, πρὸς Τιτ. μία, πρὸς Φιλήμ. μία. See *Spittler's* doubts of the genuineness of this canon in his *Kritisch. Untersuch. d. 60. Laodic. Kanons*; *Bremen*, 1777, 8vo. See them examined and shown not to be decisive, in *Stud. und Krit.* for 1830, p. 591, sqq. [See *Dailly*, *On the right Use of the Fathers*, &c.; *Lond.* 1841, p. 44, sqq.]

^b [Its date is uncertain. See *Lardner*, vol. iv. p. 230, sqq., and the authorities he cites.]

^c This book is omitted in many MSS.

One of the twelve Prophets ; Ezekiel, one ;
Isaiah, one ; Daniel, one.
Jeremiah, one ;

Besides, let it be commanded you to teach your children the Wisdom of the learned Sirach.

Our books of the NEW TESTAMENT are,
Four Gospels ; One Epistle of James ;
Fourteen Epistles of Paul ; One of Jude
Two of Peter ; Two of Clement ;
Three of John ;

And the directions from me Clement, to you bishops, delivered in eight books, (which are not to be read publicly before all, on account of the mysteries in them,) and the Acts of us the Apostles.”*

III. CYRIL'S CANON.

Cyril of Jerusalem [about 348 A. C.] thus writes :
“ Learn diligently from the church what are the books of the Old Testament, and what of the New, but read me none of the apocryphal. For if you do not know the books acknowledged by all, why do you vainly

* *Mansi*, l. c. vol. i. p. 47, and *Patrum Apostolicorum Opera*, ed. *Cotel-
rius*, vol. i. p. 448: “Εστω πᾶσιν ὑμῖν κληρικοῖς καὶ λαϊκοῖς βιβλία σεβάσματα
καὶ ἅγια, τῆς μὲν παλαιᾶς διαθήκης Μωσέως πέντε Ἰησοῦ υἱοῦ Ναυῆ
ἐν, τῶν Κριτῶν ἐν, τῆς Ῥούθ ἐν, Βασ. τέσσαρα, Παραλειπομένων τοῦ
βιβλίου τῶν ἡμερῶν δύο, Ἑσθρα δύο, Ἑσθῆρ ἐν, Ἰουδαίῳ ἐν (wanting in
many MSS.) Μααβαϊκῶν τρία, Ἰώβ ἐν, Ψαλτήριον ἐν, Σολομῶντος τρία
..... Προφητῶν δεκάδυο ἐν, Ἡσαίας ἐν, Ἰερεμ. ἐν, Ἰεζ. ἐν, Δαν. ἐν. Ἐξ-
ωθεν δὲ προσιστορεῖσθαι ὑμῖν, μαρθάνειν ὑμῶν τοὺς νέους τὴν σοφίαν τοῦ
πολυμαθοῦς Σεράχ. Ἡμέτερα δὲ, τ. ε., τῆς καινῆς διαθήκης Ἑδᾶγγ. τέσ-
σαρα Παύλου ἐπιστολαὶ δεκατέσσαρες, Πέτρου ἐπ. δύο, Ἰωάννου
τρεις, Ἰακώβου μία, Ἰούδα μία, Κλήμεντος ἐπιστολαὶ δύο καὶ αἱ διαταγαὶ
ὑμῖν τοῖς ἐπισκόποις δι’ ἐμοῦ Κλήμεντος ἐν ὁκτὼ βιβλίοις προσπεφωνη-
μέναι (ὥς οὐ δεῖ δημοσιεύειν ἐπὶ πάντων, διὰ τὰ ἐν αὐταῖς μυστικά) καὶ
αἱ πράξεις ἡμῶν τῶν Ἀποστόλων.

trouble yourself about the disputed books? Read, then, the divine Scriptures, the twenty-two books of the OLD TESTAMENT, which have been translated by the seventy-two interpreters. Of the Law, the first are the five books of Moses; then Jesus the Son of Nave; and the book of Judges, with Ruth, which is numbered the seventh; then follow other historical books, the First and Second of the Kingdoms, (one book, according to the Hebrew;) the Third and Fourth are also one book. The First and Second of the Chronicles are in like manner reckoned as one book by them. The First and Second of Ezra are counted as one book. The twelfth is Esther. These are the historical books. The books written in verse are five; Job, and the book of Psalms, Proverbs, and the Ecclesiastes, and the Song of Songs, making the seventeenth book. After these are the five prophetical books, one of the twelve Prophets, one of Isaiah, one of Jeremiah, with Baruch and Lamentations, and an Epistle; then Ezekiel, and the book of Daniel, the twenty-second book of the Old Testament.

“The books of the NEW TESTAMENT are the four Gospels; the rest [that is, the other Gospels] are apocryphal [or falsely inscribed] and hurtful. The Manicheans wrote the Gospel according to Thomas, which, as the sweet savor of the evangelical name, destroys the souls of the impure. Receive, likewise, the Acts of the twelve Apostles; as also the seven catholic Epistles, of James and Peter, John and Jude, and the seal of all, and the last work of the apostles, the fourteen Epistles of Paul. Let all the others, besides, be held in the second rank.”^a

^a *Cyri], Hierosol. Cateches. iv. 33—36, pp. 67—69, ed. Tuttlei: Φαλομαθῶς ἐπιγινώθαι παρὰ τῆς ἐκκλησίας, ποῖαι μὲν εἰσιν αἱ τῆς παλαιᾶς δια-*

IV. CANON OF GREGORY OF NAZIANZEN.

He gives the following canon of the OLD TESTAMENT, about 370 A. C.:—

["Meditate and discourse much on the word of God. But as there are many falsely ascribed writings, tending to deceive, accept, my friend, this certain number. There are twelve historical books of the most ancient Hebrew wisdom. Then the five books in verse. The prophetic books, five; the twelve Prophets are one book." Under these heads he enumerates all of the present canonical books of the Old Testament, except Esther and the Lamentations. Nehemiah is probably included in Esdras, though he mentions but one book.]"

θήκης βιβλοι, ποῖαι δὲ τῆς καινῆς, καὶ μοι μηδὲν τῶν ἀποκρύφων ἀναγίνωσκε. Ὁ γὰρ τὰ παρὰ πᾶσιν ὁμολογούμενα μὴ εἰδώς, τί περὶ τὰ ἀμφιβαλλόμενα ταλαιπωρεῖς μέλην; Ἀναγίνωσκε τὰς Θείας γραφάς, τὰς εἴκοσι δύο βιβλους τῆς παλαιᾶς διαθήκης, τὰς ὑπὸ τῶν ἑβδομήκοντα δύο ἐρμηνευτῶν ἐρμηνευθείσας. Τοῦ νόμου μὲν γὰρ εἰσιν αἱ Μωσείως πρῶται πέντε βιβλοι. ἑξῆς δὲ, Ἰησοῦς υἱὸς Ναυῆ, καὶ τῶν Κριτῶν μετὰ τῆς Ῥουθ βιβλον ἑβδομον ἀριθμούμενον, τῶν δὲ λοιπῶν ἱστορικῶν βιβλων, πρώτη καὶ δευτέρα τῶν Βασιλειῶν μία παρ' Ἑβραίοις ἐστὶ βιβλος· μία δὲ καὶ ἡ τρίτη καὶ ἡ τετάρτη ὁμοίως δὲ παρ' αὐτοῖς καὶ τῶν Παραλειπομένων ἡ πρώτη καὶ ἡ δευτέρα μία τυγχάνει βιβλος, καὶ τοῦ Ἑσδρα ἡ πρώτη καὶ ἡ δευτέρα μία λελόγισται· δωδεκάτη βιβλος ἡ Ἑσθέρ. Καὶ τὰ μὲν ἱστορικὰ ταῦτα. Τα δὲ στοιχηρὰ τυγχάνει πέντε· Ἰὼβ, καὶ βιβλος Ψαλμῶν, καὶ Παροιμίαι, καὶ Ἐκκλησιαστής, καὶ ῥῆμα ᾠσμάτων, ἑπτακαίδέκατον βιβλον. Ἐπὶ δὲ τοῖς τὰ προφητικὰ πέντε· τῶν δώδεκα προφητῶν μία βιβλος, καὶ Ἡσαίου μία, καὶ Ἰερεμίου μετὰ Βαρούχ καὶ Θρήνων καὶ ἐπιστολῆς· εἶτα Ἰεζεκιήλ καὶ ἡ τοῦ Δανιὴλ εἰκοσιθευτέρα βιβλος τῆς παλ. διαθ. Τῆς δὲ καινῆς διαθ., τὰ τέσσαρα εὐαγγέλια· τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ ψευδεπίγραφα καὶ βλαβερὰ τυγχάνει. Ἐγραψαν καὶ Μανιχαῖοι κατὰ Θωμᾶν εὐαγγέλιον, ὅπερ ὥσπερ εὐαγγέλιον τῆς εὐαγγελικῆς προσωποποιίας διαφθείρει τὰς ψυχὰς τῶν ἀπλουστέρων. Δέχου δὲ καὶ τὰς πράξεις τῶν δώδεκα Ἀποστόλων πρὸς τοῖς δὲ καὶ τὰς ἐπὶ Ἰακώβου καὶ Πέτρου, Ἰωάννου καὶ Ἰουδᾶ καθολικὰς ἐπιστολάς. Ἐπισφράγισμα δὲ τῶν Πάτρων καὶ μαθητῶν τὸ τελευταῖον, τὰς Πιύλου δεκατέσσαρας ἐπιστολάς. Τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ πάντα ἔξω κείσθω ἐν δευτέρῳ. [See Lardner, vol. iv. p. 171, sqq., and p. 430.]

* [See Lardner, vol. iv. p. 285, sqq., from whom I have taken this catalogue.]

He elsewhere adds, in his statement respecting these books, "Jeremiah, both sympathetic and mystic to these some add Esther."^a

His canon of the NEW TESTAMENT.

[He enumerates all the canonical books, with the exception of the Apocalypse.] "Some say the Epistle to the Hebrews is spurious, but they do not say wisely; for grace is genuine. Some say there are *seven* of the catholic Epistles; others that only *three* ought to be used. Again, some receive the Apocalypse of John, but the greater part say it is spurious. This is the true canon of the God-inspired writings."^b

V. CANON OF ATHANASIUS.

He died about 373 A. C., and writes as follows in his festal Epistle: "For I fear lest some few of the weaker sort should be seduced from their simplicity and purity, by the cunning of some men, and at last be led to make use of other books called apocryphal, being deceived through the similarity of their names, which are like those of the true books. I therefore entreat you to forbear, if I write to remind you of what you already know, because it is necessary and profitable to the church. Now, while I am about to remind you of these things, to excuse my undertaking, I will make use of the example (or type) of Luke the evangelist, saying, also,

^a *Gregorius, Nazianz. Carm. xxxiii. Opp. ii. p. 98, ed. Colon. Jambli ad Seleucum, p. 194, sqq.: 'Ιερειαν τε συμπαθῆ καὶ μυστικὴν τοῦτοις προσεγγρίζουσι τὴν Ἑσθήρ τινές.*

^b *Τινές δὲ φασὶ τὴν πρὸς Ἑβραίους νόθον, οὐκ εὖ λέγοντες, γνησίᾳ γὰρ ἡ χάρις. Καθολικῶν ἐπιστολῶν τινές μὲν ἐπτὰ φασιν, οἱ δὲ τρεῖς μόνας χρῆναι δέχεσθαι. Τὴν δ' ἀποκάλυψιν τὴν Ἰωάννου πάλιν τινές μὲν ἐγγρίζουσιν, οἱ πλείους δὲ γε νόθον λέγουσιν. Οὗτος ἀψευδέστατος κανὼν ἂν εἴη τῶν θεοπνευστῶν γραφῶν.*

myself, ‘Forasmuch as some have taken in hand to set forth writings called apocryphal, and to unite them with the God-inspired Scripture in which we have full confidence, as they who, from the very first, were eye-witnesses and ministers of the word, delivered them to the Fathers, it has seemed good to me, after consulting with the true brethren, and inquiring from the beginning, to set forth those books which are canonical, which have been handed down to us, and are believed to be divine, so that every one who has been deceived may condemn his deceivers, and that he who remains pure may rejoice when again put in remembrance of these.’

“All the books of the OLD TESTAMENT are two-and-twenty in number ; for, as I have heard, that is the order and number of the Hebrew letters. To name them, they are as follows.” [His catalogue agrees with Cyril’s, except that Ruth is mentioned particularly by Athanasius ; Esther is omitted, and is first mentioned among the books to read in private.] Thus far of the books of the Old Testament.

“These belong to the NEW TESTAMENT.

[His catalogue agrees with that of Cyril ;] and again the Apocalypse of John. These are the fountains of salvation, in these alone is the doctrine of piety taught.

“For the sake of greater accuracy, I will add, — and the addition is necessary, — that there are also other books, beside these, not indeed admitted to the canon, but ordained by the Fathers to be read by such as have recently come over [to Christianity,] and who wish to receive instruction in the doctrine of piety — the Wisdom of Solomon, the Wisdom of Sirach, and Esther, and

Judith, and Tobit, the Doctrine of the Apostle, as it is called, and the Shepherd; so that, the former being *canonical*, and the latter *read*, there is no mention of *apocryphal* books, but they are the invention of heretics, who wrote these things after their own pleasure, and assigned and added to them dates, that, producing them as ancient writings, they may find occasion to deceive the simple therewith.”^a

^a *Athanasius*, Epistola festalis, Opp. i. p. 961, ed. Bened.: 'Ἐπειδὴ..... φοβοῦμαι, μή πως ἄλλοι τῶν ἀκεραίων ἀπὸ τῆς ἀπλότητος καὶ τῆς ἀγνότητος πλανηθῶσιν ἀπὸ τῆς παρουργίας τινῶν ἀνθρώπων, καὶ λοιπὸν ἐντυγχάνειν ἑτέροις ἄρξωνται τοῖς λεγομένοις ἀποκρύφοις, ἀπατόμενοι τῇ ὁμωνυμίᾳ τῶν ἀληθινῶν βιβλίων· παρακαλῶ ἀνέχεσθαι, εἰ περὶ ὧν ἐπίστασθε, περὶ τούτων μνημονεύειν γράφω, διὰ τε τὴν ἀνάγκην καὶ τὸ χρήσιμον τῆς ἐκκλησίας. Μέλλων δὲ τούτων μνημονεύειν, χρήσομαι πρὸς σόστασιν τῆς ἑμᾶντοῦ τόλμης τῷ τύπῳ τοῦ Ἐδαγγελιστοῦ Λουκᾶ, λέγων καὶ αὐτός· Ἐπειδὴ περὶ τινὲς ἐπεχείρησαν ἀνατάξασθαι ἑαυτοῖς τὰ λεγόμενα ἀπόκρυφα, καὶ ἐπιμίσξαι ταῦτα τῇ Θεοπνεύστῃ γραφῇ, περὶ ἧς ἐπληροφόρηθημεν, καθὼς παρέδωκαν τοῖς πατέραςιν οἱ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς αὐτόπται καὶ ὑπηρέται γενόμενοι τοῦ λόγου· ἔδοξε καὶ μοι, προτραπέντι παρὰ γνησίων ἀδελφῶν καὶ μαθόντι ἀνωθεν, ἐξῆς ἐκθέσθαι τὰ κανονιζόμενα καὶ παραδοθέντα, πιστευθέντα τε θεῖα εἶναι βιβλία, ἵνα ἕκαστος, εἰ μὲν ἠπατήθη, καταγνῶ τῶν πλανησάντων, ὁ δὲ καθαρὸς διαμείνας χαίρῃ πάντῃ ὑπομιμνησκόμενος. Ἔστι τοίνυν τῆς μὲν παλαιᾶς διαθήκης βιβλία τῷ ἀριθμῷ τὰ πάντα εἰκοσιῶδ'· τοσαῦτα γὰρ, ὡς ἤκουσα, καὶ τὰ στοιχεῖα τὰ παρ' Ἑβραίοις εἶναι παραδέδοται. Τῇ δὲ τάξει καὶ τῷ ὀνόματι ἔστιν ἕκαστον οὕτως·....."Ἀρχὴ τούτων τὰ τῆς παλαιᾶς διαθήκης ἴσταιται· τὰ δὲ τῆς καινῆς ταῦτα (as in Cyril) καὶ πάλιν Ἰωάννου ἀποκάλυψις. Ταῦτα πηγαί τοῦ σωτηρίου ἐν τούτοις μόνοις τὸ τῆς εὐσεβείας διδασκαλεῖον εὐαγγελίζεται·....." Ἄλλ' ἐνεκὰ γε πλειονος ἀκριβείας προστίθηναι καὶ τοῦτο γράφω ἀναγκαίως, ὥς ὅτι ἔστι καὶ ἕτερα βιβλία τούτων ἔξωθεν, οὐ κανονιζόμενα μὲν, τετυπωμένα δὲ παρὰ τῶν πατέρων ἀναγινώσκεσθαι τοῖς ἀρετῇ προσερχομένοις καὶ βουλομένοις κατηχεῖσθαι τὸν τῆς εὐσεβείας λόγον· σοφία Σολομῶντος καὶ σοφία Σιράχ, καὶ Ἑσθήρ, καὶ Ἰουδίθ, καὶ Τοβίας, καὶ διδασχὴ καλουμένη τῶν Ἀποστόλων, καὶ ὁ ποιμήν. Καὶ ὁμοῦς κάκειναι κανονιζόμεναι καὶ τούτων ἀναγινωσκόμεναι, οὐδαμῶς τῶν ἀποκρύφων μνήμη, ἀλλὰ αἰρετικῶν ἔστιν ἐπίνοια, γραφόντων μὲν, ὅτε θέλουσιν αὐτὰ, χαριζόμενοι δὲ καὶ προστιθέντων αὐτοῖς χρόνους, ἵνα ὡς παλαιὰ προσφέροντες πρόφασιν ἔχωσιν ἀπατῆν ἐκ τούτου τοῦ ἀκεραίου. [See *Lardner*, vol. iv. p. 152, seq., p. 430.]

VI. CANON OF THE SYNOPSIS OF SACRED SCRIPTURE.*

"All the Scripture of us Christians is divinely inspired. It contains not indefinite, but rather determined and canonized books. These belong to the OLD TESTAMENT." The canon that it gives is the same with that of Athanasius. "But, besides these, there are other books of the same Old Testament not *canonical*, but only read by [or to] the catechumens. Such are the Wisdom of Solomon, the Wisdom of Jesus the Son of Sirach, Esther, Judith, and Tobit. These are not canonical. Some of the ancients say the book of Esther was deemed canonical by the Hebrews; and so was the book of Ruth, being united with the Judges, and numbered as one book; and in this manner they make up the number of twenty-two books, which they receive as canonical.

"These are the *determined* and *canonical* books of the NEW TESTAMENT." It repeats the catalogue of Athanasius. "With these, there is the Apocalypse of John the Divine, which is received and approved as his by the ancient, holy, and inspired Fathers. Such are the books of the New Testament which are admitted to the canon, and are, as it were, the first-fruits of our faith, or its anchors and foundations, written and published by the very apostles of Christ, who were with him, and were taught by him."^b

* [This synopsis is contained in the works of Athanasius; but "it is supposed by learned men to be falsely ascribed to him." "It is not mentioned by any ancient writer as a work of Athanasius." See *Lardner*, vol. iv. p. 161, seq.]

^b Synopsis Script. sac. in *Athanasius*, Opp. ii. p. 126, seq.: Πᾶσα γραφὴ ἡμῶν χρησιμῶν θεόπνευστός ἐστιν, οὐκ ἀόριστα δὲ, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον ὁρισμένα καὶ κεκατονισμένα ἔχει τὰ βιβλία. Καὶ ἔστι τῆς μὲν παλαιᾶς διαθήκης ταῦτα, (as in *Athanasius*.) Ἐκτὸς δὲ τούτων εἰσι πάλιν ἕτερα βιβλία τῆς αὐτῆς παλαιᾶς διαθήκης, οὐ κατονιζόμενα μὲν, ἀναγινωσκόμενα δὲ μόνον τοῖς κατηχουμένοις, ταῦτα σοφία Σολομώντος, σοφία Ἰησοῦ υἱοῦ

VII. CANON OF EPIPHANIUS.

He says, "And there are twenty-two letters among the Hebrews; and, following this number, they estimate their books at twenty-two, although they are in reality twenty-seven. But since five letters among them are doubled, and, therefore, there are really twenty-seven letters, which are reduced to twenty-two, so, for this reason, they enumerate their books as twenty-two, though in reality twenty-seven. The first of them is Genesis; [then follow] Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, Deuteronomy, the book of Jesus the Son of Nave, of Job, of the Judges, of Ruth, the Psalter, the First of Chronicles, the Second of Chronicles, the First of Kings, the Second of Kings, the Third of Kings, the Fourth of Kings, the book of Proverbs, the Ecclesiastes, the Song of Songs, the twelve Prophets, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, the First of Ezra, the Second of Ezra, the book of Esther. There is another small book, called *Kīnoth*, or the Lamentations of Jeremiah. This is added to Jeremiah."^a

Σιράχ, 'Εσθήρ, 'Ιουδιθ, Τωβίτ. Τοσαῦτα καὶ τὰ μὴ κανονιζόμενα. Τινὲς μὲν τοι τῶν παλαιῶν εἰρήκασιν κανονίζεσθαι παρ' 'Εβραίοις καὶ τὴν 'Εσθήρ· καὶ τὴν μὲν 'Ρούθ, μετὰ τῶν Κριτῶν ἐνουμένην, εἰς ἓν βιβλίον ἀριθμίσθαι, τὴν δὲ 'Εσθήρ εἰς ἕτερον ἔν· καὶ οὕτω πάλιν εἰς εἴκοσι δύο συμπληροῦσθαι τὸν ἀριθμὸν τῶν κανονιζομένων παρ' αὐτοῖς βιβλίων. Τὰ δὲ τῆς καινῆς διαθήκης πάλιν ὀρισμένα τε καὶ κεκανονισμένα βιβλία ταῦτα, (as in Athanasius.) 'Επὶ τοῖτοις ἐστὶ καὶ ἡ ἀποκάλυψις Ἰωάννου τοῦ θεολόγου, δεχθεῖσα ὥς ἐκείνου καὶ ἐγκριθεῖσα ὑπὸ πάλαι ἁγίων καὶ πνευματοφόρων πατέρων. Τοσαῦτα καὶ τὰ τῆς καινῆς διαθήκης βιβλία, τὰ γε κανονιζόμενα καὶ τῆς πίστεως ἡμῶν οἰορεῖ ἀκροθίγια ἢ ἀγκυραὶ καὶ ἐρείσματα, ὥς παρ' αὐτῶν τῶν Ἀποστόλων τοῦ Χριστοῦ, τῶν καὶ συγγενομένων ἐκείνῳ καὶ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ μαθητευθέντων, γραφέντα καὶ ἐκτεθέντα.

^a Epiphanius, De Pond. et Mens. c. 22, 23. Opp. ii. p. 180, ed. Petasius: Διὸ καὶ εἴκοσι δύο εἰσὶ τὰ παρὰ τοῖς 'Εβραίοις γράμματα, καὶ πρὸς αὐτὰ καὶ τὰς βιβλίας αὐτῶν κβ' ἡριθμήσαν, εἴκοσι ἐπτά οὖσας· ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ διπλοῦνται πέντε παρ' αὐτοῖς στοιχεῖα, εἴκοσι ἐπτά καὶ αὐτὰ ὄντα, καὶ εἰς κβ' ἀποτελοῦνται, τούτου χάριν καὶ τὰς βιβλίας, κζ' οὖσας, κβ' πεπονήκασιν. 'Ὡν πρώτη — Γένεσις — Ἐξοδος — Λευιτικόν, Ἀριθμοί, Δευτερο-

In respect to the Old Testament, these catalogues adhere, with more or less accuracy, to the Jewish canon. In regard to the New Testament, they agree, in a striking manner, in their reception of the contested catholic Epistles. However, they disagree upon the Apocalypse.

Eusebius gives the more probable reason why the catholic Epistles were admitted into the catalogues. "And we know that these (the Epistles of James and Jude) are publicly read with the others in most of the churches."^a

Jerome says of the Epistle of James, "It is alleged that this Epistle was published in his (James's) name by some other person, but in progress of time it obtained authority."^b

But still there were others who held opinions different from the common notion, respecting the catholic Epistles. Thus Didymus, who died A. C. 392, says, "It is not to be concealed that the present Epistle (the Second of Peter) is forged, and although it is published, yet it is not in the canon."^c

νόμιον — ή τοῦ Ἰησοῦ τοῦ Ναυῆ, ή τοῦ Ἰωβ, — ή τῶν Κριτῶν — ή τῆς Ῥούθ — τὸ Ψαλτήριον — ή πρώτη τῶν Παραλειπομένων — Παραλ. δευτέρα — Βασιλειῶν πρώτη, Β. δευτέρα, Β. τρίτη, Β. τετάρτη ή Παροιμιῶν — ὁ ἐκκλησιαστικὸς — τὸ Ἰσμία τ. ἄσμάτ. — τὸ Δωδεκαπρόφητον — Ἡσαίου — Ἰερεμίου — Ἰεζεκιήλ — ή τοῦ Ἑσδρα πρώτη — δευτέρα — ή τῆς Ἑσθήρ. Ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἄλλη μικρὰ βιβλος, ή καλεῖται Κινὼθ, ἥτις ἐρμηνεύεται θρόνος Ἰερεμίου αὕτη δὲ τῷ Ἰερεμίᾳ συνάπτεται, ἥτις ἐστὶ περὶ τοῦ θρόνου, καὶ τῷ Ἰερεμίᾳ συναπτομένη. See, also, Hæres. viii. Opp. i. p. 19. On the whole Bible, see Hæres. lxxvi. p. 941. [Lardner, vol. iv. p. 186, seq.]

^a Hist. Eccl. ii. 23: Ὅμως δὲ ἴσμεν καὶ ταύτας μετὰ τῶν λοιπῶν ἐν πλείσταις δεδημοσιευμένας Ἐκκλησίαις.

^b Jerome, Script. Eccl. c. 2: Ipsa epistola ab alio quodam sub ejus (Jacobi) nomine edita asseritur, licet paullatim tempore procedente, obtinuerit auctoritatem. [See Hug, l. c. p. 622.] Müncher, l. c. vol. iii. p. 72.

^c Non est ignorandum, præsentem epistolam (2 Petri) esse falsatam, quæ

[In the latter part of the fourth century, we find almost all the ecclesiastical writers admitting those books which were disputed in the beginning of that century, and which Eusebius carefully separates from such as were universally acknowledged. At this time they are cited as if they were perfectly indisputable. Four of the catholic Epistles, namely, the Second of Peter, the Second and Third of John, and the Epistle of Jude, hold a very different place in the estimation of Greek writers in the early and latter part of this century. The separate churches had a closer union with one another than before, and a greater uniformity in the canon was a natural result.

Yet, even after this time, some voices still continued to be lifted up against these books. Thus, in the sixth century, Cosmas, above cited, omits all the catholic Epistles, on the ground that the ancient church had esteemed them doubtful; that the commentators had not written on these books, and that they were placed among doubtful writings in the catalogues of such men as Irenæus, Eusebius, Athanasius, Amphilochius, and Severianus.

The Syrian church seems to have used but *three* of the catholic Epistles, namely, the First of Peter, the First of John, and the Epistle of James. These only are found in the Peshito.*

Theodore, bishop of Mopsuestia, if we may believe the assertions of his enemies, seems to have examined the canon with a freer and more critical spirit than

licet publicetur, non tamen in canone est. M. Biblioth. Patrum, (Lugd. 1677,) vol. iv. p. 327. *Theodorus*, Mopsvest. (died 425,) according to *Leont. c. Nest. et Eutych. l. iii.* in *Canisii Lectt. antiquis*, ed. Basnage, vol. i. p. 577. *Cosmas*, Indicopleustes (c. 535,) Topograph. christ. in *Montfaucon*, Nov. Collect. Patr. et Scriptt. Græc. vol. ii. p. 292.

* [See *Assemani*, Bibliotheca Clem. Vat. Orient. vol. iii. p. 8.]

most of his contemporaries. However, we are but imperfectly acquainted with his tenets, for only fragments of his writings have reached us. Leontius informs us that he rejected the Epistle of James, the books of Chronicles, Ezra, and Solomon's Song, and counted the book of Job a fiction based upon facts. But his opinions seem to have found little support among his contemporaries.*

The opinion of several Fathers upon the Apocalypse has already been given; but some others may be noticed. Gregory of Nyssa places it among the apocryphal books;† Chrysostom and Theodoret never mention it; Jerome acknowledges it was not received by the Greek church in his time;‡ while, on the contrary, the Egyptian church received it, if we may judge from the opinion of Athanasius and Cyril of Alexandria.§ But only a part of the Oriental churches gave it a place in their canon, though Leontius admits it, and Ephraim the Syrian, as well as the Pseudo-Dionysius, has a high esteem for it.]¶

At the end of this century, the meaning of *canonicity* remained the same as before; only the word *canon* was more commonly used, and perhaps included the collateral idea of an ecclesiastical decision.‡ Forged and

* [See *Leontius*, l. c. in *Canini*, Lect. Antiq. vol. i. p. 577, cited in *Münscher*, l. c. *Lardner*, vol. iv. p. 392, sqq.]

† [Opp. ii. p. 61. But see, upon this point, *Schmidt*, Hist. Antiq. Canonis V. et N. T. p. 398, cited in *Münscher*.]

‡ [Opp. iii. p. 49.]

§ [Cyril, Opp. ii. p. 188.]

¶ [*Ephraim*, Opp. ii. p. 332, and *Dionysius*, Opp. i. p. 238. See *Münscher*, l. c. vol. iii. p. 61—76.]

‡ Since the time of *Semler*, (see his *Abhandlung von freier Unters. d. K.* vol. i. p. 11, sqq.) false notions of *canonicity* have prevailed; e. g., in *Eichhorn*, l. c. § 16, p. 102, sqq.; in *Schmidt*, Einleit. vol. i. p. 7, sqq.; *Hanlein*, l. c. vol. i.

heretical writings were still referred to by the term *apocryphal*, and between the two classes were the books that *might be read*.

§ 27.

CANON OF THE LATIN CHURCH IN THE FOURTH CENTURY.

In the West, we find the canon of the New Testament was enlarged in the same manner, by the admission of all the catholic Epistles, and the addition of the Apocalypse, which was not doubted in the West. The canon, thus enlarged, was established by law. However, at the same time, looser principles were followed in determining the canon of the Old Testament, which led to the admission of several apocryphal writings.

1. Canon of the council of Hippo, A. C. 393. Canon 36. "Besides the canonical Scriptures, let nothing be

p. 334, sqq.; *Bertholdt*, p. 55, sqq. See, on the other hand, a review in the *Jena Allg. lit. Zeitung* for 1815, No. 2, p. 10, sqq.; *Hug*, l. c. § 18; *Eichhorn*, in N. T. vol. iv. p. 40. [*Hug*, in reference to the N. T., uses the word *canon* as synonymous with the "rule of faith, and that is said to be canonical which is authorized to declare this rule." In reference to the O. T., *Eichhorn* applies the term *canonical* to those writings that were included in the collection which he supposes was made before Christ.

Whiston says the books of the O. and N. T. were called *canonical*, because inserted in the *apostolical canon*. See his *Essay on the Apost. const.* ch. i. § 6. But this canon is well known to be spurious. See *Jones's Method of settling the canonical Authority*, &c.; Lond. 1726, 8vo. vol. i. p. 25.]

See *Isidorus*, *Pelus. epist.* 144: "Since these things are so, let us examine the *canon of truth*; I mean the sacred Scriptures." [The word *canon*, *κανών*, originally meant the *tongue of a balance*. See the Scholiast on *Aristophanes' Ranæ*, v. 809.] *Augustinus*, *De Bapt.* ii. 6: *Afferamus non stateras dolosas, ubi appendamus, quod volumus et quomodo volumus pro arbitrio nostro dicentes: hoc grave, hoc leve est. Sed afferamus divinam stateram de Scripturis sacris, tamquam de thesauris dominicis, et in illa, quid sit gravius, appendamus, imo non appendamus, sed a Domino appensa cognoscamus.* See the quotations from *Jerome* and *Rufin*, in the next section.

read in the church under the title of the divine Scriptures. The canonical Scriptures are,

Genesis ;	Psalter of David ;
Exodus ;	<i>Five books of Solomon ;</i>
Leviticus ;	Twelve books of Prophets ;
Numbers ;	Isaiah ;
Deuteronomy ;	Jeremiah ;
Joshua Son of Nun ;	Daniel ;
Judges ;	Ezekiel ;
Ruth ;	<i>Tobit ;</i>
Four books of Kings ;	<i>Judith ;</i>
Two of Chronicles ;	Esther ;
Job ;	Two books of Ezra ;
<i>Two books of Maccabees.</i>	

Books of the New Testament : —

Four books of Gospels ;	Two of Peter ;
Acts of Apostles, one book ;	Three of John ;
Thirteen Epistles of Paul ;	One of James ;
One of the same to the Hebrews ;	One of Jude ;

The Apocalypse of John.

To confirm this canon, let the church on the other side of the water be consulted.”*

* See *Mansi*, l. c. vol. iii. p. 924: Ut præter Scripturas canonicas nihil in ecclesia legatur sub nomine divinarum Scripturarum. Sunt autem canon. Scripturæ: Gen., Exod., Levit., Num., Deuteron., Jesus Nave, Judicum, Ruth, Regnorum libri quatuor, Paralipom. libri duo, Job, Psalterium David., *Salomonis libri quinque*, duodecim libri Prophetarum, *Esaia*, Jerem., Dan., *Ezech.*, *Tobias*, *Judith*, Hesther, *Esdra* libri duo, *Maccab.* libri duo. Novi autem Test. Evangeliorum libro quatuor, Act. Apostol. liber unus, Pauli Apost. Epistolæ tredecim, ejusdem ad Hebræos una, Petri duæ, Joannis tres, Jacobi una, Judæ una, Apocalypsis Joannis. Ita ut de confirmando isto canone transmarina ecclesia consulatur. Compare Concil. Carthag. iii. can. 47, in *Mansi*, l. c. vol. iii. p. 891; also, *Innocent* I. Epist. ad Exuperium, ibid. p. 1091, sq.; Concil. Rom. i. under *Gelasius* I. in the year A. C. 491, ibid. vol. viii. p. 146, sqq. [*Lardner*, vol. iv. p. 486.]

The principles which led to this decision may be understood from Augustine. "Those two books," he says, "the one which is called Wisdom, the other Ecclesiasticus, are said [erroneously] to be Solomon's, on account of a certain similarity [of style and design.] Now, it has always been maintained that Jesus Sirach wrote them; nevertheless they *deserve to be received as authority, and to be numbered among the prophetic books.*"^a

Again, he says, "The Jews have not that Scripture which is called the book of the Maccabees, as they have the Law, the Prophets, and the Psalms, to which the Lord gives his testimony, as to those who are his witnesses. (Luke xxiv. 44.) But it is received by the church, and not without profit, if it be read or heard soberly."^b

He says in another place, "In respect to the canonical Scriptures, we must follow the authority of the greatest number of catholic churches, among which are certainly those that retain the chairs of the apostles, and were found worthy to receive epistles [from an apostle.] The church follows this rule in respect to the canonical Scriptures. It prefers those which have been received by all the catholic churches, to those which some do not receive; and respecting those which are not received by all, it prefers those received by the greatest number of churches, and those of the greatest authority, to those ad-

^a *Augustinus*, De Doct. Christ. ii. 8: Illi duo libri, unus, qui Sapientia, et alius, qui Ecclesiasticus inscribitur, *de quadam similitudine Salomonis esse dicuntur*: nam *Jesus Sirach* eos conscripsisse constantissime perhibetur, qui tamen, quoniam *in auctoritatem recipi* meruerunt, inter propheticos numerandi sunt.

^b Cont. Gaudent. i. 31: Hanc quidem Scripturam, quæ appellatur Maccabæorum, non habent Judæi, sicut legem et Prophetas et Psalmos, quibus Dominus testimonium perhibet, tanquam testibus suis Luc. xxiv. 44, sed *recepta* est ab ecclesia non inutiliter, si sobrie *legatur* vel audiat.

mitted by fewer churches, and of less authority. But if it finds some admitted by more churches, and others by those of greater authority, though this case cannot easily be determined, I think the latter are to be held of equal authority.”^a

Still further, he adds, “We will omit the fables contained in those writings called *apocryphal*, because their origin was hidden, and not known to the Fathers.” “The Manichees read the *apocryphal* writings, written in the name of the apostles, by some cobblers of fables, I know not who.”^b

Jerome writes to the same effect: “It must be said that this Epistle, which is inscribed to the Hebrews, is not only received by the church of the West, but hitherto by all the ecclesiastical writers in the Greek language, as the work of Paul the apostle. Many think it may be the work of Barnabas, or Clement; but it is of no importance whose it is, for *it is the production of an ecclesiastical man, and it is daily distinguished by being read in the churches.* But though the custom of the Latin church has not admitted it among the canonical

* De Doct. Christ. l. c.: In canonicis Scripturis ecclesiarum catholicarum quamplurimum auctoritatem sequatur, inter quas sane illæ sint, quæ apostolicas sedes habere et epistolas accipere meruerunt. Tenebit igitur hunc modum in Scripturis canonicis, ut eas, quæ ab omnibus accipiuntur ecclesiis catholicis, præponat eis, quas quidam non accipiunt: in eis vero, quæ non accipiuntur ab omnibus, præponat eas, quas plures gravioresque accipiunt, eis, quas pauciores minorisque auctoritatis ecclesiæ tenent. Si autem alias invenerit a pluribus, alias a gravioribus haberi, quamquam hoc facile invenire non possit, æqualis tamen auctoritatis eas habendas puto.

^b De Civit. Dei, xv. 23: Omittamus earum scripturarum fabulas, quæ *apocryphæ* nuncupantur, eo, quod earum occulta origo non claruit patribus. Cont. Faustum, xxii. 79: Legunt scripturas *apocryphas* Manichæi, nescio a quibus auctoribus fabularum sub nomine apostolorum scriptas. Compare *Marheinecke*, Syst. d. Katholicismus, vol. i. 2, p. 231.

Scriptures, as the Greek church, using the same liberty, have not accepted the Apocalypse of John, yet, nevertheless, we accept both, not adhering to the custom of this age, but following the authority of ancient writers, who continually make use of the testimony of both, [the Epistle to the Hebrews and the Apocalypse,] as if they were canonical and ecclesiastical, and do not use them merely now and then, as they do the apocryphal writings.”^a

However, in opposition to this inaccuracy on the part of the church, the learned still held fast to the Jewish canon, and distinguished the writings *read* in the church, and now called apocryphal, from the canonical writings. Thus Jerome says, “The language of the Syrians and the Chaldees is a standing proof that there are two-and-twenty letters among the Hebrews. But among the Hebrews five letters are double: *Caph, Mem, Nun, Pe, Sade*. Hence, by most men, five *books* are considered as double, namely, Samuel, Melachim, [Kings,] Dibre Hajamim, [Chronicles,] Ezra, Jeremiah with Kinoth, that is, the Lamentations. Therefore, as there are twenty-two letters, so twenty-two volumes are reckoned. The first book is called by them *Beresith*, which we call Genesis; the

^a *Hieronymus*, Ep. ad Dardan. vol. ii. p. 608, ed. *Martianay*: Illud nostris dicendum est, hanc epistolam, quæ inscribitur ad Hebræos, non solum ab ecclesiis Orientis, sed ab omnibus retro ecclesiasticis Græci sermonis scriptoribus quasi Pauli apostoli suscipi, licet plerique eam vel Barnabæ, vel Clementis arbitrentur: et nihil interesse, cujus sit, *quum ecclesiastici viri sit et quotidie ecclesiarum lectione celebretur*. Quod si eam Latinorum consuetudo non recipit inter Scripturas canonicas, nec Græcorum quidem ecclesie Apocalypsin Johannis eadem libertate suscipiunt, et tamen nos utramque suscipimus: nequaquam hujus temporis consuetudinem, sed veterum scriptorum auctoritatem sequentes, qui plerumque utriusque abutuntur testimoniis, non ut interdum de apocryphis facere solent, sed quasi canonicis et ecclesiasticis.

second, *Veelle Semoth*, [Exodus ;] the third, *Vajikra*, that is, Leviticus ; the fourth, *Vajedabber*, Numbers ; the fifth, *Elle haddebarim*, Deuteronomy. These are the five books of Moses, which are properly called *Thora*, that is, the Law.

“ The Prophets make the second class, and begin with *Jesus Son of Nave*, whom they call *Joshua Ben Nun* : next they place *Sophetim*, that is, the book of Judges, and in the same they include *Ruth*, because the events of the history transpired in the days of the judges : Samuel follows the third, which we call the First and Second of Kings : the fourth is *Melachim*, that is, of the Kings, which is contained in the Third and Fourth Books of the Kings : the fifth is *Isaiah* ; the sixth, *Jeremiah* ; the seventh, *Ezekiel* ; the eighth, book of the *twelve Prophets*, which they call *Thereasar*.

“ The third class contains the Hagiographa. The first book begins with *Job* ; the second, with *David*, whom they comprise in one book of Psalms, in five divisions : the third is *Solomon*, in three books, *Proverbs*, which they call *Misle*, that is, Parables ; the fourth, *Ecclesiastes*, that is, *Cohemoth* : the fifth is the *Song of Songs*, which they designate by the title *Sir Hassirim* : the sixth is *Daniel* ; the seventh *Dibre hajamim*, that is, the Words of Days, which we, with better significance, may call the Chronicle of the whole Divine History, but which, with us, is inscribed I. and II. Paralipomenon : the eighth is *Ezra*, which, both among the Greeks and Romans, is divided into ten books : the ninth is *Esther*. And thus they make twenty-two books of the old Law, namely, five of Moses, eight of the Prophets, and nine of the Hagiographa. However, some enroll *Ruth* and *Kinoth* among the Hagiographa, and think these books are

to be added to the number; and thus they compute twenty-four books of the ancient Law. Whatever exists besides these *is to be placed in the Apocrypha*. Accordingly, *Wisdom*, which is commonly inscribed the Wisdom of Solomon, the book of *Jesus* the Son of *Sirach*, of *Judith* and *Tobit*, and the *Shepherd*,* are not in the canon. The First Book of the Maccabees is extant in Hebrew, but the Second was, originally, Greek, which may be proved from its phraseology."

Again, he says, "The book of *Jesus* the Son of *Sirach* is said to be perfectly favorable to virtue, (*πανάμειτος*,) and the other book, inscribed the Wisdom of Solomon, is a misnomer, (*ψευδεπίγραφος*). The church indeed reads the books of *Judith* and *Tobit*, and the Maccabees; but it does not admit them among its canonical Scriptures; and so it reads these two books for the edification of the people, *but not to establish the authority of the doctrines of the church*."^b

* It is doubtful what book is here referred to. *Müncher*, l. c. vol. iii. p. 84, says he refers to the *Shepherd of Hermas*; but *Augusti*, *Einleit.* § 54, thinks he refers to the Greek book of *Esdra*s. To judge from *Athanasius*, *Ep. fest.*, cited in § 26, above, and from *Rufinus*, *Expos. Symb. Apost.*, the former is the more probable supposition.

^b *Hieron.* in prologo galeato: Viginti et duas litteras esse apud Hebræos, Syrorum quoque lingua et Chaldæorum testatur. — Porro quinque litteræ duplices apud Hebræos sunt, Caph, Mem, Nun, Pe, Sade. Unde et quinque a plerisque libri duplices existimantur, Samuel, Melachim, Dibre Hajamim, Esdras, Jeremias cum Kinoth, i. e. Lamentationibus suis. Quomodo igitur xxii. elementa sunt. — Ita xxii. volumina supputantur. Primus apud eos liber vocatur *Beresith*, quem nos Genesin dicimus: secundus *Veelle Semoth*: tertius *Vajikra*, i. e. Leviticus: quartus *Vajedabber*, quem Numeros vocamus: quintus *Elle haddebarim*, qui Deuteronomium prænotatur. Hi sunt quinque libri Mosi, quos proprie *Thora*, i. e., Legem, appellant. Secundum Prophetarum ordinem faciunt, et incipiunt ab *Jesu filio Nave*, qui apud eos *Josue Ben Nun* dicitur. Deinde subtexunt *Sophetim*, i. e., Judicum librum: et in eundem compingunt *Ruth*, quia in diebus judicum facta ejus narratur historia: tertius sequitur *Samuel*, quem nos Regum I. et II. dicimus: quartus *Melachim*, i. e., Regum, qui III. et IV. Regum volumine continetur. Quintus est *Esaïas*: sextus *Jeremias*: septimus *Ezechiel*: octavus liber *duodecim Pro-*

Hilary, who flourished about A. C. 354, speaks in the same way. "The Law of the Old Testament is distributed into twenty-two books, that they may agree with the number of letters But some think that *Tobit* and *Judith* should be added, to make twenty-four books, conformably to the number of Greek letters."

Rufin has given his opinion as follows: "It is the holy spirit which inspired the Law and the Prophets in the Old Testament, and the Gospels and Apostles in the New. And therefore it seems proper in this place to designate what are books of the New and Old Testament, which, after the tradition of the elders, are believed to be inspired and handed down in the

phelarum, qui apud illos vocatur *Thereasar*. Tertius ordo Hagiographa possidet. Et primus liber incipit a *Job*: secundus a *David*, quem quinque incisionibus et uno Psalmorum volumine comprehendunt: tertius est *Salomon* tres libros habens, *Proverbia*, quæ illi *Misle*, i. e., Parabolas appellant: quartus *Ecclesiastes*, i. e., *Cohleth*: quintus *Canticum Canticorum*, quem titulo *Sir Hassirin* prænotant: sextus est *Daniel*: septimus *Dibre hajamim*, i. e., Verba Dierum, quod significantius *Chronicon* totius Divinæ Historiæ possumus appellare, qui liber apud nos *Paralipomenon* I. et II. inscribitur: octavus *Esdra*, qui et ipse similiter apud Græcos et Latinos in duos libros divisus est: nonus *Ester*. Atque ita fiunt pariter Veteris Legis libri xxii., i. e., *Mosis* v. et *Prophetarum* viii., *Hagiographorum* ix. Quanquam nonnulli *Ruth* et *Kinoth* inter Hagiographa scriptitent et hos libros in suo putent numero supputandos ac per hoc priscæ legis libros viginti quatuor. Quicquid extra hos est, inter *Apocrypha* ponendum. Igitur *Sapientia*, quæ vulgo *Salomonis* inscribitur, et *Jesu filii Sirach* liber et *Judith* et *Tobias* et *Pastor* non sunt in Canone. *Maccabæorum* primum librum Hebraicum reperi, secundus Græcus est, quod ex ipsa quoque phrasi probari potest. — Præf. in libros *Salomonis*: Fertur et *παράφρασις* *Jesu filii Sirach* liber et alius *πενδεκφυακος*, qui *Sapientia* *Salomonis* inscribitur. Sicut ergo *Judith* et *Tobi* et *Maccabæorum* libros legit quidem Ecclesia, sed inter canonicas Scripturas non recipit, sic et hæc duo volumina legat ad ædificationem plebis, non ad auctoritatem ecclesiasticorum dogmatum confirmandam.

* *Hilarius* in prolog. in Psalm. explanat. p. 8: in xxii. libros *Lex Vet. Test.* deputatur, ut cum litterarum numero convenirent. Quibusdam autem visum est, additis *Tobia* et *Judith* viginti quatuor libros secundum numerum Græcarum litterarum connumerare.

churches of Christ. Accordingly, the first of all in the Old Testament, the five books of Moses are transmitted after these, Jesus Nave, the books of Judges, and Ruth with it; after these, four books of kings, which the Hebrews call two; Chronicles, which they call the Book of Days; two books of Ezra, each of which is computed as a single book with them, and Esther; of the Prophets, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and Daniel; besides one book of the twelve Prophets; Job also, and the Psalms of David, single books; three books of Solomon. But of the New Testament, four Gospels Acts of the Apostles fourteen Epistles of Paul; two of Peter; one of James; one of Jude; three of John; the Apocalypse of John. *It is these which the Fathers include in the canon, and on which they wish the doctrines of our faith to depend.* But be it known there are other books which are not called *canonical*, but *ecclesiastical*, by the elders. Such is the *Wisdom of Solomon*, and that other Wisdom which is ascribed to the *Son of Sirach*, which is called by the general name *Ecclesiasticus* among the Latins, by which term the quality of the book, and not its author, is designated. Of the same class is the little book of Tobit and Judith, that of the Maccabees, and the little book in the New Testament attributed to the Shepherd, or to Hermas, and called the Two Ways, or the Judgment of Peter. There are some who wish all of these to be *read in the churches*, but think that *arguments are not to be drawn from these to confirm the authority of the faith.* But some other scriptures they call *apocryphal*, which they do not wish to have read in the churches.”*

* *Rufinus*, in *Expos. in Symb. Apost.* (ad calcem *Opp. Cypriani*, ed. Oxon. p. 26): *Spiritus sancta est, qui in Vet. Test. Legem et Prophetas, in*

§ 28.

CANON OF THE PROTESTANTS AND MODERN CATHOLICS.

The Protestants have been diligent in this department of criticism, and, in respect to the Old Testament, have gone back to the Jewish canon, and separated the books which had been added by the Alexandrian version, from the Hebrew text.* But, in respect to the

Novo vero Evangelia et Apostolos inspiravit. Et ideo, quæ sunt Novi ac Vet. Instrumenti volumina, quæ secundum majorum traditionem per ipsum spiritum sanctum inspirata creduntur et ecclesiis Christi tradita, competens videtur in hoc loco. designare. Itaque Vet. Instrumenti primo omnium Moysis quinque libri sunt traditi. post hos Jesu Nave et Judicum simul cum Ruth: quatuor post hæc Regnorum libri, quos Hebræi duos numerant: Paralipomenon, qui dierum dicitur liber: et Esdræ libri duo, qui apud illos singuli computantur, et Hesther. Prophetarum vero Esaias, Hierem., Ezech., et Daniel: præterea xii. Prophetarum liber unus. Job quoque et Psalmi David singuli sunt libri: Salomonis vero tres. Novi vero (Test.) iv. Evangg. Actus Apostolorum Pauli Epistolæ xiv., Petri ii., Jacobi una, Judæ una, Joannis iii., Apocalypsis Joannis. Hæc sunt, quæ Patres intra Canonem concluserunt, ex quibus fidei nostræ assertiones constare voluerunt. Sciendum tamen est, quod et alii libri sunt, qui non canonici, sed ecclesiastici a majoribus appellati sunt: ut est *Sapientia Salomonis*, et alia sapientia, quæ dicitur *Fili Sirach*, qui liber apud Latinos generali vocabulo Ecclesiasticus appellatur, quo vocabulo non auctor libelli, sed scripturæ qualitas cognominata est. Ejusdem ordinis est *libellus Tobie et Judith et Maccab.* libri. In Novo vero Test. libellus, qui dicitur *Pastoris* sive *Hermatis*, qui appellatur duæ viæ, vel judicium Petri: quæ omnia legi quidem in ecclesiis voluerunt, non tamen proferri *ad auctoritatem ex his fidei confirmandam*. Ceteras vero scripturas *apocryphas* nominarunt, quas in ecclesiis legi noluerunt. [See *Lardner*, vol. ii. p. 532, sqq. vol. iv. p. 483, sqq.] See the divergent and more free opinions of *Jumilius*, De Partibus Legis divinæ, l. 3—7, in *Bibliotheca Max. Patrum*, vol. x. p. 340; of *Inidorus*, *Hispal.* De Ecclesiast. Offic. l. 12. Against such as doubted of the Apocalypse, see the Acts of the Council of Toledo, held A. C. 633, in *Harduin.* Act. Concil. vol. iii. p. 584. [*Lardner*, vol. v. p. 135, sqq.]

* See *Luther's* Preface, in German, to *Jesus Sirach*, in the Halle edition of his works, vol. xiv. p. 91, the Preface to *Baruch*, p. 93, and the books of *Maccabees*, p. 94. *Andr. Carlstadt*, De Scripturis canonicis; Viteb. 1521.

New Testament, doubts have freely risen again on the books that were contested in the ancient church.*

In opposition to this method, the council of Trent, by the following decree, declared all the books in the Vulgate to be canonical:—

“If any one will not receive as sacred and canonical the whole books, with all their parts, as they are wont to be read in the Catholic church, and in the old Vulgate Latin edition, and if, knowingly and wilfully, he shall despise the aforesaid traditions, let him be accursed.”^b

Several of the Fathers, however, sought to moderate this hard conclusion;^c and some learned Catholics attempted to avoid it, by making a distinction between the *first* and *second* canon. “Therefore,” says Lamy, “the books which are in the second canon, though conjoined with others of the first canon, are, nevertheless, not of the same authority.”^d

Welche Bücher heilig und biblisch sind.; 1521. *Flacius*, *Clavis Script. Sac.* vol. ii. p. 46. *J. Gerhard*, *Loc. Theol.* i. 6, vol. ii. p. 54, sqq. ed. Cott.

* *Luther's* Preface to the Epistle to the Hebrews, *ibid.* vol. xiv. p. 147; to the Epistle of James, p. 148. *Carlstadt*, l. c., renews the doubts against the Apocalypse.

^b Sess. iv. c. 1: Si quis libros integros cum omnibus suis partibus, prout in ecclesia catholica legi consueverunt, et in veteri vulgata Latina editione habentur, pro sacris et canonicis non susceperit, et traditiones predictas sciens et prudens contemnerit, anathema sit. Compare the two decrees of the council of Trent, with Prefaces and Glosses, by an unknown author, in *Luther's Works*; Halle ed. vol. xvii. p. 1192, sqq. *Chemnitius*, *Exam. Concil. Trid.* vol. i. p. 50, sqq.

^c *Paul Sarpi*, *Hist. del Concil. Trid.* vol. ii. p. 157; ed. Geneva, 1660. *Palavicini*, *Hist. Concil. Trid.* vi. *Jahn*, *Einleit.* vol. i. p. 140. *Marheinecke*, *System d. Katholicismus*, vol. i. 2, p. 235, sqq. [See, also, *J. H. Von Wessenberg*, *Die grossen Kirchenversammlungen des 15^{ten} and 16^{ten} Jahrhunderts*, &c.; Constanx. 1840, 4 vols. 8vo. vol. iii. p. 205, sqq.]

^d *Bern. Lamy*, *Apparat bibl.* l. ii. c. 5, p. 333; ed. Lugd. 1723: Idcirco libri, qui in *secundo canone* sunt, licet conjuncti cum ceteris *primi canonis*, tamen non sunt ejusdem auctoritatis. *Jahn*, l. c. p. 141, sqq.

§ 29.

RESULTS OF THE HISTORY OF THE CANON IN RESPECT
TO CRITICISM.

Since the grounds for determining the limits of the canon are in part *dogmatical*, and in part *critical*, the question arises, What value is to be placed on the critical arguments? In determining this canon, the Jews looked more to the *age* than to the *authors* of the books, (§ 16,) and they seem to have followed a method of decision which is entirely inaccurate. The Christians, in determining the canonicity of a book, regarded the *author*, and had a certain historical feeling for its genuineness; but this, however, was not pure and clearly developed. The tradition of the church appeared to them rather in the light of an *authority*, than that of an *evidence*, into which at last it resolves itself.* In their inquiries they did not enter enough into details, nor go back to the primitive sources, but judged of the book more as a whole, and in the mass. They made only some feeble attempts to apply the internal critical argument, and went to work rather anticipating their conclusion, than pursuing a critical investigation of the matter. But after the first century, all sense of historical truth was lost, and a reliance on authority, and a reference to the decision of the church, destroyed all critical inquiry.†

* [The reformers proceeded on the opposite principle. *Luther* did not hesitate to reject the Epistle of James because it was *epistola straminea*, — a letter of straw. See *Calvin*, Institut. Christ. Rel. i. c. 7, § 4, 5. *Owen*, On the Divine Original of Scrip. ch. ii. § 5, and iv. § 5.]

† See *Lücke*, Ueber d. neutest. Kanon des Eusebius, p. 28, sqq.

PART II.

GENERAL INTRODUCTION TO THE CANONICAL
BOOKS OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.

BOOK I.

ON THE ORIGINAL LANGUAGE OF THE
OLD TESTAMENT.

§ 30.

NAME, COUNTRY, AND ORIGIN, OF THE HEBREW LANGUAGE.

THE Hebrew language,* in which by far the greater part of the Old Testament is written, was the language of the Hebrews, or Israelites,^b in the time of their independence.

* לְשׁוֹן עִבְרִית. In the Old Testament, it is called שְׁפָתַי בְּנִינִי, (Isa. xix. 18,) יְהוֹדִיעִית, (2 Kings xviii. 26.) Comp. Isa. xxxvi. 11, 13. Neh. xiii. 24. In the Prologue to the Wisdom of Jesus the Son of Sirach, it is *Ἑβραϊστί*, but in the N. T. this term designates the common vernacular tongue. See John v. 2. xix. 13. Acts xxi. 40. xxii. 2. xxvi. 14. *Josephus*, *Antiq.* (Book i. 1, 2,) calls it *γλῶττα τῶν Ἑβραίων*, [the language of the Hebrews.] In the Targums it is called לְשׁוֹן יְהוֹדִיעִית, e. g. in the Pseudo Jonathan's Targum upon Gen. xxi. 47.

^b The most probable etymology of the word *Hebrew*, is from עִבְרִי, i. e. עִבְרִי דְּמֻצָּר. So that עִבְרִי, *ἑβραῖος*, (Gen. xiv. 13, in LXX.) applies to Abraham's migration. See R. *Bechai*, *Maimonides*, and other rabbins, *Münster*, *Forster*, *Gesenius*, *Gesch. d. Heb. Sprache und Schrift* p. 11. [In Appendix, D.] It has been incorrectly derived from

This was also, with some modifications, the language of the other inhabitants of Canaan; of the Phœnicians, and the Carthaginians, who were descended from them. It appears that the Hebrew was the same as the Canaanitish and Phœnician language, from the following considerations:—1. From the proper names in the Bible; 2. From the fragments of the Phœnician and Carthaginian language still remaining;* 3. From the silence of the Bible respecting any difference between the language of the Canaanites and Hebrews;† and, 4. From the testimony of Augustine and Jerome.‡

Without doubt, it originated in the land, or was still

עִבְרִי, by *Grotius*, (see *Walton*, Prolog. iii. 1,) or from the Patriarch עֵבֶר, (Gen. x. 24. xi. 14.) *Buxtorf*, *Löscher*, *Hezel*, *Gesch. d. Heb. Sprach.* p. 7. *Ewald*, *Krit. Gram. d. Heb. Sprach.*; Lpzg. 1827, § 4.

Augustine ungrammatically derives it from אֲבִרָה, quest. in Gen. i. 24. *Wahl* (*Gesch. d. Morgendl. Sprachen.* p. 453) is of the opinion that עִבְרִי, as also עֵבֶר, (perhaps indicating the Western nations,) is, originally, synonymous with אֶרֶץ.

Israelite is a patronymic, from יִשְׂרָאֵל, but was used only among the natives themselves, while the terms *Hebrews* and *Jews* were used by foreigners. [See *Gesenius's Hebrew Grammar*, *Conant's translation*, § 1 and 2.]

* See *Gesenius*, Excursus, in his *Geschichte der hebr. Sprache*, p. 223, sqq. *Bellermann*, *De Phœnicum et Pœnorum Inscriptionibus*; Berlin, 1810. *Eichhorn*, *Geschichte der Litteratur*, vol. v. pt. i. p. 453, sqq.

† See, on the contrary, Psalm lxxxi. 6. cxiv. l. Isa. xxxvi. 11. Jer. v. 15.

‡ *Augustinus*, *Contra Litteras Petiliani*, lib. ii. 104; Tract. xv. in *Joan. Quest.* in Jud. lib. vi. 16. *Jerome*, in Isa. lib. vii. Jer. lib. v. ch. 25. Pref. in Ep. ad Galat. See *Walton*, Proleg. iii. § 14, sqq. *Bochart*, *Canaan*, ii. 1. *Clericus*, *De Lingua Heb.* No. 5. *Bellermann*, *Erklärung der punischen stellen im Pœnulus des Plautus*, vol. i. p. 5, sq., and iii. p. 5, sq. [We may justly conclude, says *Palfrey*, l. c. vol. i. p. 6, 7, (see *Walton*, Prolegg. iii. and *Dalhe's* remarks, in Pref. to his edition, p. xxi. sqq.; *Ackerblad*, *Inscript. Phœnic.* p. 26, cited by *Gesenius*, l. c. p. 230,) that the Phœnician language, in ancient times, was entirely the same with the Hebrew in the books now extant. *Bochart* attempted to prove this by arguments collected from all quarters, which now receive new confirmation from monuments not known to his age. See Appendix, D.]

further developed therein, as a distinct branch of the great Shemitish language, after the Hebrew and the other Canaanitish people had migrated thither from the mother country.*

§ 31.

ITS RELATION TO THE OTHER SHEMITISH LANGUAGES.

The Hebrew stands in so close and obvious a relationship to the Aramæan and Arabic languages, in its pronunciation, its vocabulary, and the formation of its words,^b that all the three have been considered as daughters of a common mother. The Hebrew is to be regarded as the oldest of these; at least, its development is earlier than the others.

They resemble each other in their gutturals, triliteral roots, suffix-pronouns, in their conjugations, declensions, the construct state, and other peculiarities, such as the numerals, words denoting the family relation, and the like.

These languages are all conveniently designated by the common term *Shemitish*.^c

* On the high notions of the antiquity of the Hebrew language, formerly held by the learned, see *Steph. Morinus*, Exercitatt. de Lingua primæva; Ultraj. 1694, 4to. *C. A. Bode*, Diss. de primæva Linguae Hebr. Antiquitate, præf. *C. B. Michaelis*, Halle, 1740. *A. Pfeiffer*, Opp. p. 689. *Walton*, Prolegg. iii. § 3, sqq. *Hezel*, Geschichte der hebr. Sprache, p. 16, sqq. *Anton*, De Lingua primæva ejusque in Lingua Hebr. Reliquiis; Viteb. 1800, 4to. See a just examination of these opinions in *Gesenius*, l. c. p. 14, sqq. [Appendix, D.] *Hävernik*, l. c. vol. i. p. 148, returns to the old opinion. [See, also, who will, *Horne*, l. c. pt. i. ch. i. sect. i.; also, *Wahl*, l. c. p. 444—500, and *Palfrey*, l. c. vol. i. lect. i. See, also, Appendix, E.]

^b See *Jahn*, l. c. vol. i. p. 261, sqq. [*Gesenius*, Hebrew Grammar, § 1. *Gesenius*, Preface to his Handwörterbuch, translated by Prof. *Robinson*, in Biblical Repository, vol. iii. art. i.]

^c *Eichhorn*, Allgemeine Bibliothek der biblischen Litteratur, vol. vi. p. 772, sqq.; and, on the other side, *Stange*, Theolog. Symmicta, vol. i. p. 1. [The chief objection to this use of the term comes from the fact that some

§ 32.

THE ARAMÆAN LANGUAGE.

We have no monuments remaining of the language which was spoken, during the existence of the Hebrew as a living language, in the Aramæan countries, Syria and Mesopotamia. There are only some inscriptions in the language of Palmyra, from the three first centuries after Christ.* From the language of the Aramæan countries, the Chaldee, as it is called, and the Syriac, are descended. On the supposition that Daniel wrote Chaldee in Babylon, and the Jews brought this language with them, on their return, these two languages have been separated geographically, as if the former had been the dialect of Babylon and Chaldea, and the latter that of Syria and North Mesopotamia. Therefore one has been called East Aramæan, the other West Aramæan.†

We only learn the Chaldee language from Jewish memorials. The points of difference between it and the Syriac are in part arbitrary, such as the pronunciation of the vowels, — and in respect to this matter, there were two ways of pronouncing among the Hebrews themselves, — and in part consist of obvious Hebraisms, and some of them may be, indeed, only dialectical dif-

of the alleged descendants of Ham — the Canaanites, for example — spoke this language; but Eichhorn thinks they did not speak it originally. See *Adelung*, *Mithridates*, &c.; Berlin, 1806, 4 vols. 8vo. vol. i. p. 300, sq.]

* *Wood's* Ruins of Palmyra, otherwise Tadmor in the Desert; London, 1753, fol. See an explanation of these inscriptions by *Barthelemy*, *Mémoires des Inscrit.* vol. xxvi. 577, sq., and *Swinton*, in *Philosophical Transactions*, xlviii. 2. 690, sq. *Kopp*, *Bilder und Schriften*, vol. ii.

† *Michaelis*, *Abhandlung v. d. Syr. Sprache*; Gött. 1768, p. 8. On the other side, *Hupfeld*, in *Theol. Stud. und Krit.*; 1830, p. 292.

ferences of the same language. Therefore it may be considered as a branch of the Aramæan or Syriac, which had become degenerated by mingling with the Hebrew.*

The purer style of Onkelos has been called the *Babylonian* dialect, to distinguish it from the less pure language of the later Targums, which has been called the *Jerusalem* or *Palestine* dialect. But both names rest on uncertain suppositions.

The Samaritan is a mixture of Hebrew and Aramæan. All the ecclesiastical matter in that tongue is found in the version of the Pentateuch and some poems, edited by Gesenius, from manuscripts in the British Museum.†

The language which we call the Syriac is a new Aramæan dialect, which was formed among the Christians of Edessa and Nisibis. It flourished and produced a pretty rich literature, particularly in theological and ecclesiastical departments, and is still the ecclesiastical language of the Syrian Christians.‡

If we follow the course of history, the Aramæan is related more closely to the Hebrew language than it is to the Arabic. However, in comparison with the latter, it is poorer, and more simple.§

* Hupfeld, l. c. *Michaelis*, l. c. p. 36. See what may be said on the other side, in *Winer*, Gramm. d. bibl. und targum. Chald. p. 5. *Real-Hand Wörterbuch*, i. 147. *Havernik*, p. 103, sq.

† Lips. 1824, et seq. 4to.

‡ *Hoffmann's* Brief History of the Syriac Literature, in *Berthold's* Theologische Journal, vol. xiv. p. 225, sqq. *Havernik*, l. c. p. 112, sqq. The language of the Zabians, or *disciples of John*, is a new Aramæan dialect, and a good deal corrupted. See *Lorsbach*, in *Staudlin's* Beiträge zur Philosophie und Gesch. der Religion, vol. v. p. 1, sqq., and in the Museum für biblische und orientalische Litteratur von *Arnoldi*, *Lorsbach*, und *Hartmann*, vol. i. pt. i. See, also, Codex Nasaræus, Liber Adami appellatus, Syriace transcriptus Latineque redditus a *Matth. Norberg*; Lond., Goth., 1815, 1816, 3 vols. 4to. Lexidion Cod. Nas. ed. *M. Norberg*; 1816. Onomasticon Cod. Nas.; 1817, 4to. Compare Allg. Lit. Zeit. for 1817, No. 48—57.

§ See a judicious comparison of the two in *Gesenius*, Gesch. der Heb. Sprache, p. 56. *Michaelis*, l. c. p. 21, sqq.

§ 33.

THE ARABIC LANGUAGE.

The Arabic language has a more modern literature, but one incomparably more rich and tasteful.^a It is still the language of a large part of Asia and Africa. On account of the richness of its literature, its long continuance, and its importance in respect to literature and religion, it is incontestably the most interesting of all the Shemitish languages, except the Hebrew.

There are several dialects which are not important to this subject.^b There are, however, two main dialects which are ancient. One of these, the Himjaritic, which was formerly spoken in Yemen, is now extinct; the other, the Coreitic, is spoken in the north-west of Arabia, and especially at Mecca. It has long been cultivated; it was a written language before the time of Mahomet, and still more since that time. Since the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, it has become the prevailing popular language. The old written language differs from this in its *forms*, which are more various and richer in vowels. It has, besides, a greater copiousness. In comparison with the Hebrew, the Arabic has the advantage of greater affluence in respect to its orthography, grammar, and vocabulary.^c

The Æthiopic is the language of an Arabian colony in Æthiopia, and is cognate with the Himjaritic dialect.^d

^a *Eichhorn*, *Gesch. der Lit.* vol. v. p. 603, sqq. *Schnurrer*, *Bib. Arab.*; Halle, 1811. *Gesenius*, article *Arab. Spr. Schrift. und Lit.* in *Ersch and Gruber's Encyclop.* vol. v. *Hävernik*, l. c. p. 119, sqq.

^b See *Eichhorn's* account of these dialects, in the preface to his translation of *Richardson's Treatise on the Arabic Language*, &c. p. 6. [*Adelung's Mithridates*, vol. i. p. 391.]

^c *Gesenius*, l. c. p. 56, [in Appendix, D.]

^d *Ludolf*, *Com. ad Historiam Æthiop.* p. 57, sqq., and his *diss. de Origine*

There is a translation of the Bible in the written dialect of Geez. The Amharic dialect is the present language of the country.*

§ 34.

FORMATION AND EXTINCTION OF THE HEBREW LANGUAGE.

The Hebrew language makes its first appearance, in the light of history, in its complete form. The oldest writers, — the authors of the Pentateuch, of the first historical books, — and the authors of the earlier Psalms and Proverbs, the earlier Prophets, write in the purest and most beautiful language. Towards the end of the Jewish state, during the exile and after it, the influence of the Aramæan language becomes visible, as well as other peculiarities in the usages of the Hebrew language itself, and in connection with a perverted taste. This shows itself in the later Prophets, in some of the Psalms, Ecclesiastes, Esther, Chronicles, Daniel, Jonah, and elsewhere. And yet the writers of this period labored to acquire the old classic style, as it appears from the works of the Pseudo-Isaiah.^b

Besides these main differences of style, the poetic may be distinguished from the prosaic.^c We can dis-

nat. et Usu Linguae Æth., prefixed to his *Æthiopian Grammar*; Frankfort, 1702, fol. *Eichhorn*, *De Cushæis verosimilia*; Arnst. 1774. *Gesenius* in *Encyclop.* vol. ii. p. 110.

* *Gesenius*, article *Amharische Sprache*, in *Allg. Encycl. Th.* iii. On other Æthiopian dialects, see *Bruce's Travels* to discover the Source of the Nile, vol. i. [See a few words on the Amharic language, &c., in *Athenæum* (London) for Jan. 16, 1841, p. 54.]

^b [It will be shown in its place, that a large part of the book of *Isaiah* could not have come from the hand of that prophet. The author of the spurious passages is here referred to as the *Pseudo-Isaiah*.]

^c See *Gesenius*, *Heb. Sprache*, p. 22, sq. [in Appendix, D.] See, also, his *Lehrgebäude. Vogel, De Dialectico poetica* V. T.; Helmst. 1784, 4to. [*Stuart's Hebrew Grammar*, p. i. § 3.]

cover some archaisms, and traces of the popular language, in abbreviations, inaccurate expressions, and the like, but no difference of dialect.* [It has sometimes been contended that different dialects were found in the Hebrew. The passages alleged to prove a diversity of dialects are, mainly, Judges xii. 6, where the Ephraimites use *s* for *sh*; Nehem. xiii. 23, 24, where it is said some spoke, in part, the language of Ashdod; and Judges xviii. 3, where a young Levite is known by his voice. But, as Gesenius well remarks, it was the voice of the *individual*, not the *tribe* of Levites, which was peculiar. Undoubtedly in Judea, as elsewhere, there was a difference between the written and the spoken language; and in times when few could write, the difference was, perhaps, greater than in a period of more refinement.

Eichhorn maintains that there were two chief dialects, the one prevailing east, the other west, of the Jordan; that all the written monuments of the Hebrews are in the latter, with the exception of a few scattered expressions, such as Judges xii. 3—6. He speaks also of Samaritanisms, in Amos and Hosea. But his conclusions and arguments are by no means satisfactory.^b Dereser finds traces of a Moabitish dialect in Ruth.^c Kiesling finds Philistinisms and Idumeanisms in the Bible. But Gesenius opposes all these views.]^d

After the exile, the Hebrew language ceased to be spoken, and only existed as a learned and written lan-

* Eichhorn, Einleit. vol. i. p. 84, sq. Allg. Bib. vol. ix. p. 235, sqq.

^b Eichhorn, l. c.

^c Dereser, Das Büchlein Ruth. Vorrede, p. 5, 6.

^d Kiesling, De Dialectis Heb. Gesenius, l. c. p. 54, sqq. However, the passages in Judges xii. 6, and Neh. xiii. 23, 24, prove the existence of *oral* differences in the language of the people. See Hartmann, Linguist. Einleit. in A. T. p. 84, sqq.

guage.* However, several of the later productions of the Hebrew literature owe their existence to this artificial use of a dead language. The book of Daniel is an instance of this.

§ 35.

MEANS OF LEARNING THE EXTINGUISHED HEBREW.

I. HISTORICAL MATERIALS.

1. *The Tradition of learned Jews.*

A knowledge of that language which is contained in the scanty relics of the Old Testament has been preserved, though but imperfectly, by means of tradition.¹ Some time after the destruction of Jerusalem in the Palestine and Babylonian schools, and after the eleventh century in those of Spain, this tradition was aided by the study of the Arabic language and its grammar. Jerome learned the Hebrew from Jewish scholars. Their pupils were the restorers of Hebrew learning among the Christians of the sixteenth century.

The lexicographers, grammarians, and commentators,

* Against the exaggerated opinion of the Talmudists, of *Ephodius*, *R. Aarias*, *Elias Levita*, *Buxtorf*, *Hottinger*, and *Walton*, that the Hebrew language was extinct during the exile, see *A. Pfeffer*, *Theol. Jud. and Muham. c. ii. Opp. ii. p. 864*; *Löscher*, *De Causis Ling. Heb. etc. p. 67*; *Hezel*, *Gesch. d. Heb. Spr. p. 47*; *Gesenius*, *l. c. p. 45*, [in Appendix, D,] who rightly explains *Neh. viii. 8*. But, on the other side, see *Hengstenberg*, *Authentic d. Daniel*, p. 299. See, also, *Neh. xiii. 24*; *Havernik*, p. 240; *Movers*, in *Bonner Zeitschrift. xiii. 31, sqq.*

On the subject of the Palestine language in the time of Christ, see *Pfannkuche*, in *Eichhorn's Allg. Bib. vol. viii. p. 360*, and *De Rossi*, *Della Lingua di Christo e degli Ebrei nazionali, della Palestina, da Tempi di Maccabei*; *Parm. 1772, 4to.*

¹ See an exaggerated estimate of the copiousness of the Hebrew language in *Schultens*, *De Defectibus Ling. Heb. § 12.*

— Abulwalid, David Kimchi, Elias Levita, Jarchi, Aben Esra, Tanchem, and others, — preserve this tradition of the learned.* In general, it attains to a high degree of credibility, though, in the course of time, much has been lost, and many errors have been admitted †

§ 36.

2. *The old Versions.*

The oldest monuments of the traditional, and in part, also, of the learned philology of the Jews are the ancient versions. Their exegetical as well as critical value depends on their directness and their age.‡ The Alexandrian version, the Syriac, the Arabic of Rabbi Saadia Gaon, the Vulgate, but still more eminently, the Chaldee paraphrases, often assist the expositor where other aid fails him. However, in modern times, too much importance has often been attached to these.‡

* See *Gesenius*, Preface to his Hebrew Lexicon, [translated by Prof. Robinson, in Bib. Repository, vol. iii. p. 1, sqq.]

† See the exaggerated skepticism of *Is. Voss* and *R. Simon*. Compare *Löscher*, *De Causis*, &c. p. 100. The contempt which *Jo. Forster*, *Bohle*, *Gousset*, and others, have for the rabbins, contrasts very strongly with the slavish dependence of Buxtorf and his school upon them. Since *Michaelis* published his Critical Examination of the Means for learning the extinct Hebrew Language, modern skepticism has pronounced but a moderate judgment upon them. See *Paulus*, in the *Neue theol. Journal*; 1796, pt. iii. p. 255, sqq. His *Clavis über die Psalmen*, in the Preface. — *Bauer*, *Hermeneutica Sacra*, § 14, passes a correct judgment.

‡ [A direct version is made directly from the original; an indirect version from a previous translation.]

§ See *Michaelis*, l. c. p. 117, sqq. *Meyer*, *Hermeneutik der A. T.* vol. i. p. 344. *Bauer*, l. c. p. 184, sqq. *Fischer*, *Prolusa. de Vers. Græcia*, V. T., *Litterarum Heb. Magistris*; Lips. 1772, 8vo. *Chr. Fr. Schmidt*, *Diss. de Vers. Versionum Alex.*, &c.; Lips. 1763, 1764, 4to. [See *Palfrey*, l. c. vol. i. lect. i. *Horne*, l. c. pt. i. ch. iii. § 3.]

§ 37.

II. PHILOLOGICAL MATERIALS.

1. *Etymology.* 2. *Comparison of the Dialects.*

Tradition and authority do not alone afford sufficient foundation for a scientific and certain knowledge of the language. But every language may be illustrated by itself when some knowledge of it has been previously acquired. Etymology and analogy, therefore, must be called to our aid.^a

Far more productive, however, is the comparison of the kindred dialects, not only for the explanation of single and similar words, — by restoring radical words which have been lost, and illustrating significations that have become obscure on account of their rare occurrence in Hebrew, — but also for the discovery of explanatory analogies in the usage of the kindred dialects.^b But this comparison must not be one-sided, so that undue preference is given to one dialect. It must be based on the most certain rules it is possible to attain relative to the corresponding pronunciation and orthography of the cognate words in these dialects, and upon a certain knowledge of their usage.^c It must be conducted in general by the true spirit of inquiry, and with just philosophical tact, without any fondness for hypothesis.^d

^a *Michaelis*, l. c. p. 16, sqq. *Meyer*, l. c. p. 131, sqq. See the Abuse of Etymology, by *Samuel Bohl*, xii. Dissertt. pro formali Significatione Script. sac. eruenda; Rost. 1637. *Jac. Gussel.* Comment. Linguae Hebr.; Amst. 1702; recus. et auct. per *C. Clodius*; Lips. 1743.

^b *A. Schultens*, Vetus et regia Via hebraizandi; 1738. His Origines Hebr.; 2d ed. 1761. *Michaelis*, l. c. p. 154, sqq. [*Gesenius*, in Bib. Repository, vol. iii. p. 15, sqq.]

^c *Michaelis*, l. c. p. 219, sqq. *Schultens*, Clavis dialect. in *Erpenius*, Rudimenta Ling. Arab.; 2d ed. Lug. Bat. 1770, p. 184, sqq. *Gesenius*, Hebrew Lexicon, passim.

^d On the faults of the Dutch school, see *Michaelis*, p. 258, sqq.; *Gesenius*,

§ 38.

III. CONTEXT AND PARALLEL PASSAGES.

But, above all, he who inquires into the Hebrew language must admit its independence in respect to its vocabulary and usage, as well as in respect to its syntax and the formation of its words. All inquiry, therefore, upon the etymology and the dialects must be submitted to the general rule of the peculiar Hebrew usage, which is itself to be made out from the context and the parallel passages. However, this maxim has long been considered as insufficient.*

Gesch. der hebr. Sprache, p. 128, sqq. Against snatching comparisons out of lexicons, see *Michaelis*, l. c. p. 224, sqq. [See the whole of *Gesenius's* dissertation *On the History of the Hebrew as a Dead Language*, l. c. ch. ii.]

* See other false systems of investigating the Hebrew language, by *Râmehin*, *Casp. Neumann*, *Von der Hardt*, and others, criticised by *Michaelis*, l. c. p. 67, sqq., and *Bauer*, l. c. p. 83, sqq.

BOOK II

ON THE VERSIONS OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.

[§ 39, *a*.

VALUE OF THE VERSIONS.

THE old versions of the Bible are equally important for the criticism and the exegesis of the Old Testament. In the work of exegesis, they assist in the preliminary work of exposition, and are excellent helps to explain the Hebrew, which has so long been a dead language, and which now survives in but a few fragments. In regard to criticism, they contain a rich and important treasure; for the Masora is not able to defend the text from all injury, as history teaches us. Some versions have come down to us from a great antiquity and very old manuscripts; they extend back far beyond the age of the Masora and the masoretic manuscripts. Besides, they are, almost without exception, executed in such a literal manner, that very often the original text, which formed their basis, can be deciphered with considerable accuracy; and if the readings they follow are not to be accepted as genuine because the Masorites have not admitted them into their critical text, yet still they deserve a place with the critical apparatus.*]

* [See *Eichhorn*, § 159. *Jahn*, § 32, seq.]

§ 39, b.

CLASSIFICATION AND LITERATURE OF THE VERSIONS.

[They may be classified in several ways: according to their country, their language; into Oriental or Occidental, public or private versions. But these divisions are sometimes fruitless of results, and sometimes it is not possible to make them on account of our ignorance of the external history of these versions.]^a

In respect to the exegetical as well as the critical use of the versions, the only convenient division of them is that which depends on their *antiquity* and their *directness* or *indirectness*. But, in regard to the language, this division may be modified so far that the direct versions into any one language may be all classed together.^b

[§ 39, c.

THE VARIOUS CLASSES OF THE VERSIONS.

I. DIRECT VERSIONS.

1. The Septuagint, or Alexandrian version.
2. The version of Aquila.
3. That of Symmachus.
4. That of Theodotion, in part.
- 5—7. The three anonymous Greek versions, or the 5, 6, 7 *ἐκδοσεις*.
8. The Greek version in St. Mark's library at Venice.

^a [See *Eichhorn*, § 159, sqq.]

^b On the versions of the O. T., see *R. Simon*, *Histoire critique du Vieux Test.* liv. ii. *Le Long*, *Bibliotheca sac.* ed. *Masch*, pt. ii. vol. i.—iii. *Walton*, *Prolegg.* ix., sqq. *Carpzov*, *Crit. sac.* V. T. vol. ii. p. 430, sqq. *Rosenmüller*, *Handbuch für der Litt. der biblische Krit.* vol. ii. p. 277, sqq. vol. iii. *Eichhorn*, § 159—338. *Jahn*, § 33—67. *Bertholdt*, § 154—190. *Havernik*, vol. i. pt. ii. p. 32, sqq. [See *Horne*, l. c. pt. i. ch. iii. sect. 3.]

9. The Samaritan Pentateuch.
10. The Samaritan version of the Pentateuch.
11. The several Chaldee paraphrases.
12. The Syriac version in the Polyglots.
13. Some books of the Arabic version in the polyglots.
14. The Arabic, which follows the Samaritan Pentateuch.
15. The "Arabs Erpenii" on the five books of Moses.
16. The modern Arabic of Saadiah Ben Levi Askenoth.
17. The Hebrew version of the Chaldee passages.
18. Jerome's Latin version from the Hebrew.

II. INDIRECT VERSIONS.

These are made from the Septuagint, the Syriac Peshito, the Coptic, Jerome's Latin, and the Vulgate.

(I.) *From the Septuagint.*

1. Theodotion's version, in part.
2. The greater part of the Arabic in the Polyglots.
3. An unprinted Arabic version of the Pentateuch in the library of the Medici.
4. The Ethiopic.
5. The Coptic.
6. The Armenian.
7. Several Syriac versions:—(1.) A Syriac Hexapla. (2.) The versio *figurata*. (3.) Perhaps the Philoxenian. (4.) The version of Mar Abba. (5.) The version of Jacob of Edessa. (6.) That of Thomas of Heraclea. (7.) The Greek in Ephraim Syrus. (8.) That of Simon from the cloister of St. Licinius. (9.) The versio Karkaphensis.
8. The Itala.
9. The Georgian version.
10. The Anglo-Saxon.

(II.) *From the Syriac Peshito.*

1. The Arabic version of the Psalms, printed in a cloister on Mount Lebanon, 1610.

2. The Arabic version of Job and Chronicles in the Polyglots.

3. An Arabic Psalter in the British Museum.

4. A Pentateuch, by Abulfaradash Abdallah Ben Altayeb.

5. A Syriac Hexapla of Hamath Ben Senan.

6. Chaldee version of Solomon's Proverbs.

(III.) *From Jerome's Version.*

A Syriac translation. ὁ Σῦρος.

(IV.) *From the Coptic.*

An Arabic translation.

(V.) *From the Vulgate.*

Several Arabic versions.]*

CHAPTER I.

THE GREEK VERSIONS.

§ 40.

I. THE ALEXANDRIAN VERSION; ITS ORIGIN.

ACCORDING to a statement in a pretended letter of Aristeas,^b repeated by Josephus, and extended still far-

* [See *Eichhorn*, § 160.]

^b *Aristea*, Hist. de Legia. div. ex Hebr. Lingua in Græcam Translatione per LXX. Interpretes, Græco-Latina, ex Vers. *Matthiæ Garbitii*. Ed. emend. juxta Exemplar. Vatic., ex Recens. *Eldani de Parchum*; Frcf. 1610, 8vo,

ther by later writers,^a the version of the Mosaic Law was made by seventy-two Palestine Jews, learned in the Scripture; it was made at the instance of Demetrius Phalereus, under the reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus, to aid in forming a universal collection of laws.^b

[The story related by the Pseudo-Aristeas is this: Demetrius Phalereus, the keeper of the Alexandrian library, wished to make a collection of all the books in the world, and mentioned the Jewish works to King Ptolemy, who promised to write to the high priest at Jerusalem for interpreters to translate those books into the Greek tongue. Aristeas happened to be present, and advised the king to set free the large number of Hebrews then held as slaves in his dominions. He did this, and sent a messenger to Eleazar, the high priest at Jerusa-

Aristea Hist. LXXII. Interpretum. Accessere Veterum Testimonia de eorum Vers.; Oxon. 1692, 8vo. Also, in *Van Dale*, Dissert. super *Aristea* de LXX. Interpret.; Amst. 1705, 4to. p. 231—333, and *Humphr. Hody*, De Biblior. Textibus original.; Oxon. 1705, fol. p. i.—xxxvi. See the other literature relative to this epistle in *Rosenmüller*, Handbuch, vol. ii. p. 344, sqq.

^a Antiq. xii. 2, 2—14. On the slight difference between this and *Aristeas*, see *Rosenmüller*, l. c. p. 362, sqq.

Philo, De Vita Mosis, lib. ii. p. 656, sq., says these translators were inspired, so that all agreed in producing the same version — ἐνθουσιῶντες προεφίτηνον, οὐκ ἄλλα ἄλλοι, καὶ τὰ δ' αὐτὰ πάντες ὀνόματα καὶ ῥήματα, ὥστερ ὑποβολέως ἐκάστοις ἀοράτως ἐνηχοῦντος. (The story is told in a similar manner by *Clement* of Alexandria, Strom. i. p. 342, and *Irenæus*, iii. 25.) See *Justin Martyr*, Cohort. ad Græcos, ch. xiii. p. 16. But neither he nor *Philo* refers to *Aristeas*. *Epiphanius*, De Pond. et Mens. c. 3, 6, 9—11, differs widely from *Aristeas*. See *Hody*, l. c. p. 8. *Rosenmüller*, l. c. p. 370, sqq. On the origin of this legend, see *Eichhorn's Essay*, in the Repertorium, vol. i. p. 266, sqq.

^b *Aristeas*, Josephus, (Proëm to Antiq. § 3.) *Philo* and the Talmudists speak only of a translation of the Law. See Jerome on Ezek. v. Et *Aristeas* et *Josephus*, et omnis schola Judæorum quinque tantum libros Moysis a LXX. translatos asserunt. Compare his Quæst. Hebr. in Gen. Proëm. But *Justin*, *Clement*, *Tertullian*, *Epiphanius*, *Hilary of Poitiers*, speak of the whole O. T. [This affords an instructive example of the growth of a theological notion by the addition of new absurdities.]

lem, for six learned men out of each tribe to serve as translators of the Law. A letter and costly presents were sent. Aristeas, the pretended writer of this tale, and Andreas, are sent as messengers. Eleazar returned a courteous answer, and sent the seventy-two translators requested; "all picked men." Ptolemy was much rejoiced to see them. He entertained them for seven days at his own table, in a most splendid manner, and asked them seventy-two questions respecting the kingly office, and the best way of governing a state. To all these queries the individuals returned the most satisfactory replies. Demetrius then conducted them to a quiet place, on the Island of Pharos, where they commenced their work; and in seventy-two days the whole was completed. It was copied carefully by Demetrius himself, and read to a large audience, who stood and listened out of respect to the sacred books; a curse was then pronounced upon all who should add to or diminish it. Ptolemy dismissed the translators with praises and rewards.]^a

It is now generally acknowledged that this story is a fable.^b [It is surprising that critics like Usher, Vossius,

^a [Justin Martyr says they were all shut up in separate cells, and though having no intercourse, yet each translated the whole book in just the same words and letters. Epiphanius makes thirty-six cells, the remains of which were visible in his time. Justin, Cohort. ad Græcos.]

^b The first doubt as to the truth of this story was suggested in modern times, by Ludovicus Vives, in a remark on Augustine, Civitas Dei, xviii. 42, and by J. J. Scaliger in his notes to Eusebius's Chron. p. 133, et al. These are quoted by Buddeus, Isagoge Hist. Theol. p. 1318, and by Fabricius, Bib. Græc. vol. iii. p. 665. Hody has completely proved the falsity of the book in his Diss. contra Hist. Aristæ de LXX., in qua probatur, illam a Judæo aliquo confictam fuisse ad conciliandam Auctoritatem Versionis Græcæ, et Is. Vossii aliorumque Defensiones ejusdem Examini subjiiciuntur; Lond. 1685, 8vo.; also enlarged in his work De Bibl. Text. origg. lib. i. See, also, Van Dale, Diss. super Aristæa.

This fable is defended by Usher, De Græca LXX. Interpret. Vers. Syntag-

and Walton,* could ever have believed it genuine; for, not to mention its general absurdity, — which would only enhance its value in some eyes, — it bears obvious marks of its forgery. It contradicts the account of Demetrius, as given by Hermippas in Diogenes Laertius.^b Aristæas professes to be a heathen in this story, and yet writes as a Jew. There were six translators for each tribe; but the ten tribes had perished long before. It is not probable a man like Demetrius Phalereus would serve as

ina, (Lond. 1655; Lips. 1695,) *Isaac Vossius*, De LXX. Interpret. Diss. (Hag. Com. 1661, 4to.; see his Appendix ad Libr. de LXX. Interpret., ibid. 1663, 4to.,) by *Whiston*, Authentic Records., *Sim. de Magistris*, *Charles Hayes*, and others, cited by *Masch*, Præf. ad *Le Long*, pt. ii. vol. ii. p. 10, sqq., and *Rosenmüller*, l. c. p. 387, sqq. and 378, sqq. *Valckenær*, De Aristobulo Judæo; ed. *J. Luzac*, L. B. 1806, 4to. p. 568, sqq., believes the main fact of the story is true, and relies on the testimony of Aristobulus, cited in *Clem. Alex. Strom.* i. p. 342, and *Eusebius*, Præp. Ev. ix. 6, and xiii. 12: Δηρημένηται πρὸς Δημητρίου ὄψ' ἑτέρων, πρὸς τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ Περσῶν ἐπικρατήσεως, τὰ τε κατὰ τὴν ἐξ Αἰγύπτου ἐξαγωγήν τῶν Ἑβραίων τῶν ἡμετέρων πολιτῶν καὶ ἡ τῶν γεγονότων ἀπάντων αὐτοῖς ἐπιφάνεια καὶ κράτησις τῆς χώρας καὶ τῆς δόξης νομοθεσίας ἐπεξήγησις. Ἡ δ' ὅλη ἐρμηνεία τῶν διὰ τοῦ νόμου πάντων ἐπὶ τοῦ Φιλιππάρχου βασιλέως Δημητρίου τοῦ Φαληρέως πραγματευσαμένου τὰ περὶ τούτων. But *Hody*, l. c. p. 52, considers this very Aristobulus a spurious character; so does *Eichhorn*, Allg. Bib. vol. v. p. 253, sqq.; but their arguments are not wholly convincing. *Valckenær*, p. 22, sqq., regards him as a genuine person. See *Amerfoort*, Diss. de variis Lectionibus Holmesianis; Lug. Bat. 1815, 4to. p. 14, sqq.

* [*Walton*, l. c. lib. ix. § 4, p. 339, ed. *Dathe*, affirms the truth of this absurd story. In hac historia, qua nulla fere inter Judæos vel Christianos certior vel illustrior, quædam sunt, de quibus Neoterici quidam, qui omnia in dubium revocant, quæstionem movent. He thinks that no sane man will reckon the authority of the Neoterics of our days equivalent to the writers who lived so much nearer the time of Aristæas, and of course knew so much more of the matter.]

^b [*Diogenes Laertius*, lib. v. segm. 78, vol. i. p. 369, ed. *Hübner*. Demetrius advised Ptolemy Soter to leave his crown to the children of Eurydice, but the king left it to the son of Berenice. Then, after Ptolemy's death, it was awarded that Demetrius should be kept in custody until it should be determined what must be done with him. Upon this, he became dejected, and died from the sting of an asp.]

a scribe to a company of Jewish translators ; much less that he, whom Cicero calls “a most accomplished orator,” would write a letter in such execrable Greek as this which pretends to come from him ; nor is it less improbable that Ptolemy should expend so large a sum in purchasing the freedom of the Hebrew slaves, and sending presents to Jerusalem, solely for the sake of getting a copy of the law of Moses in the Greek tongue.

The argument for the genuineness of this document rests chiefly on the testimony of Josephus and Epiphanius, both of whom cite the original of Aristeas, but both, and particularly the latter, have altered the text ; and, besides, they wrote so long after the alleged date of the original, that their testimony has no authority to determine the point. The passage in Eusebius is of little value. “Before the time of Demetrius [Phalereus,] before the dominion of Alexander and the Persians, part of our holy books were translated, namely, those which relate the departure of our Hebrew nation out of Egypt, and an account of all the wonderful things that happened to them—the conquest of the land, and the reception of the Law. But the whole translation of all that relates to the Law was made under Ptolemy Philadelphus—Demetrius Phalereus taking charge of the whole matter.”*


It seems probable that this fable of Aristeas was written by a Palestine Jew, who wished to exalt the honor of the Law, and of his native land. But his fiction is so clumsily executed that the imposture is seen through on all sides. Philo, an Egyptian Jew, knew nothing of this treatise ; but Josephus cites it as well known and authentic.]

It is possible that this fable may contain somewhat

* [Præp. Ev. ix. 6. xiii. 12.]

that is true respecting the occasion and date of this version ; but, in the main point, that learned Palestine Jews were its authors, it is refuted by the character of the version itself. This remains the most certain, that it was made by Alexandrian Jews, who were induced to undertake it by the want of such a version.

[Eichhorn indulges in the following account of the origin of this version, which, in the midst of many conjectures, may contain much that is true. After the death of Alexander the Great, the Jews whom he had conducted to Egypt, remained there in great numbers, especially at Alexandria. They enjoyed their ancient usages and laws. They had synagogues, and probably a Sanhedrim. A knowledge of Hebrew was soon lost, and a version in the vernacular tongue became needed. Both the Jews and the Samaritans claim the honor of making the translation. But, at this distance of time, it is not possible to determine, by historical testimony, which party effected what both desired to accomplish. However, since the Jews and the Samaritans had such a cordial hatred for one another at that time, it is plain each party would only translate from its own manuscripts of the Scriptures. Now, the Alexandrian version of the Pentateuch agrees with the Samaritan copy, in a multitude of passages, much better than with the Hebrew. From this and other considerations, it would seem most probable that a Samaritan manuscript was at the basis of the version. But, on the other hand, there are passages which agree with the Hebrew, but not with the Samaritan. It is the conjecture of some scholars, that the version was originally made by Samaritans, and afterwards partially corrected by the Jews. Perhaps it was revised and improved by the Egyptian San-



hedrim, of seventy-two members, and thus a foundation laid for the story of Aristeas.

But this is purely conjecture; and, besides, the agreement between this version and the Samaritan codex, where it has peculiar readings, is not so striking or important as Eichhorn alleges, and may be accounted for on the hypothesis that the ancient Hebrew text from which this Greek version was made, was free from some of the errors of the present Hebrew text, which are not found in the Samaritan codex at this day.*

Ptolemy Soter made a large collection of Greek books at Alexandria; his successor, Philadelphus, enlarged it. From the epilogue to the Greek version of Esther, we see that was made in the time of Ptolemy Philomater;† and, from this fact, it seems probable the other books were already in the hands of the Ptolemies. Plutarch relates that Demetrius Phalereus had advised Ptolemy Soter to make a collection of all the writings of lawgivers and statesmen, of course including the works of Moses. This is confirmed by the testimony of Ælian, who says, Demetrius, in company with Ptolemy, worked upon a code of laws for the Egyptians.‡ He would naturally apply to the Sanhedrim at Jerusalem or Egypt for a copy of these laws. Now, if there were a translation already made, it would probably come into his hands; but if there were none, the Sanhedrim would probably permit one to be made, or appoint competent men to make it. The version might well enough be called that of the Seventy, or the Seventy-two — the number of

* [See below, § 63.]

† [Here Eichhorn seems to overrate the statement in the epilogue. See below, § 41.]

‡ [Plutarch, in *Apothegmatibus Regum*. Ælian, V. H. iii. 17.]

members in the Sanhedrim. This conjecture is, in some measure, confirmed by the statement of the Talmud, that five Jews were appointed to collect the fragmentary versions of the Law into one whole, to revise and complete the work.* This was, perhaps, begun under Ptolemy Soter, and completed under Philadelphus.]^b

On the authority of some ancient writers, — of Clement, Irenæus, and Eusebius, who date this version from the time of Ptolemy Soter, — Hody places it in the joint administration of Ptolemy Soter and Philadelphus, about 286 or 285 B. C.†

The opinion that there was an earlier fragmentary version, — made for the use of the synagogues, — which

* [Tract. Sopherim. i. § 7, cited in *Bertholdt*, § 157. *Buddæus*, *Isagoge*, p. 1321.]

^b [See *Eichhorn*, § 163. *Bertholdt*, § 157.] *Eichhorn*, *Jahn*, *Bertholdt*, and *Hävernik* build too much on the account in Plutarch's *Apothegms*: Δημήτριος ὁ Φαληρεὺς Πτολεμαίῳ τῷ βασιλεῖ παρήναι τὰ περὶ βασιλείας καὶ ἡγεμονίας βιβλία κτᾶσθαι καὶ ἀναγινώσκειν· ἃ γὰρ οἱ φίλοι τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν οὐ θαρρόσιν παραινέιν, ταῦτα ἐν τοῖς βιβλίοις γέγραπται. *Hug*, *De Pentat. Vers. Alex.* 1818, 4to., relies mainly on the passage in *Ælian*, iii. 17: Δημήτριος . . . ἐν Αἰγυπτῷ συνὼν τῷ Πτολεμαίῳ νομοθεσίας ἤρξε. *Hody*, l. c. ii. 3, p. 97, is still more rigid, and denies that Demetrius has any claim to a share in producing this version. His decision has the more weight when we consider how little the Greeks knew of the Law of Moses. No conjecture like that of *Eichhorn* above can rest on the number seventy-two, for it was a common sacred number. *Hody*, l. c. p. 123. *Hottinger*, l. c. p. 290. Besides, the existence of a Sanhedrim in Egypt is doubtful. *Lightfoot*, *Hor. Heb.* on Acts ix. [But he merely suggests a doubt without offering reasons for his opinion.] Attempts have sometimes been made to unite all these views. See *Leusden*, *Philol. Heb. mixt.* c. 15. *R. Simon*, *Disquis. crit.* ch. 15. *Bertholdt*, p. 525, sqq. *Carpzov*, *Crit. sac.* p. 491.

† *Hody*, p. 97. *Clem. Alex. Strom.* i. p. 341. *Irenæus*, *Hæres.* iii. 25. *Eusebius*, *Hist. Eccl.* v. 8. *Hody's* conclusion rests on different grounds from that of *Bertholdt*, (p. 524,) who follows *Gerhard Voss*, and attempts to unite the story of *Aristeus* with that of *Hermippus* in *Diogenes Laertius*. See *Hody*, p. 570, and *Valkenaer*, l. c. p. 64. He thinks the claim of *Aristobulus* is an empty rhodomontade.

lay at the basis of the new version, is highly probable. [According to the story of Aristobulus, there was a Greek version of the Pentateuch before the time of the Persians. One writer thinks it was made in the time of Amasis, contemporary with Solon; another declares it is older than Homer and Hesiod; "for they drew from the Jewish Scriptures." Aristobulus, however, as well as later writers, had a special interest in proving the Greek philosophers were indebted to the Jews for all their divine wisdom, and therefore invents the fable.* But this original version was unknown to Josephus, Philo, or even Aristeas. Walton cites the authorities^b who believe in the earlier version. But most of them rely chiefly on the authority of Aristobulus, or adopt this opinion to account for the "divine wisdom" of the Greeks. Walton himself thinks the Seventy made the earliest version; but still there is good reason to believe in the existence of a previous fragmentary translation.

There is a fabulous story in Abul Phatach's Samaritan Chronicle respecting the Alexandrian version, as follows: "In the tenth year of his reign, Ptolemy Philadelphus directed his attention to the contradictions between the Samaritans and the Jews respecting the Law;

* [It is not necessary to show, at this day, that the philosophers borrowed nothing from the writings of the Jews, though the old claim is now and then made by the ignorant. Augustine, *Civitat. Dei*, viii. 11, says that Plato, in his journey to Egypt, could not have seen Jeremiah, as some pretended, for he had been dead a long time; neither could he have read the Scriptures, for they were not translated into Greek. However, he thinks Plato may have learned something from conversing with the Jews, and *Origen* (cont. Cels. lib. vi.) is of the same opinion. See *Justin Martyr*, *Cohort. ad Græcos*, ch. 30, 29, 22. *Apol. i.* p. 70, a, p. 78, a, &c. *Josephus*, cont. Ap. 2. Compare *Augustine*, *De Doctrina Christ.* ii. 28, with *Retract.* ii. 4. See the numerous passages of the Fathers that derive the Greek wisdom from the Hebrews, collected in *Fabricius*, *Bib. Græca*, ed. *Harles*, vol. iii. p. 148, sqq.]

^b [Prolegg. lib. ix. c. 6.]

for the Samaritans refused to receive any of the pretended writings of the prophets, except the Law. To inform himself on this point, the king sent for the Jews and the Samaritans, and desired to hear the elders of both parties in this controversy. Osar came to Alexandria on the part of the Jews, Aaron on that of the Samaritans, each attended with several assistants. Quarters were assigned them, with directions to remain separate from one another; a Greek servant was appointed to each person, to write down the expected translation. In this way the Samaritans translated the Law and the other books. Ptolemy examined it, and was satisfied that the Law, as the Samaritans possessed it, contained matter not to be found in the Jewish copy, and that their text was purer than that of the Jews." The Samaritans say the world was darkened for three days after the version was made.]*

§ 41.

ALEXANDRIAN VERSION CONTINUED.

It is probable in itself that this version was not made all at once, and by the same hand. The suspicion of different authors and times is confirmed by tradition, and by the unequal character of the version itself.^a

* [See the account of this work in *Paulus's* New Rep. vol. ii. p. 117, sqq., and *Eichhorn*, Allg. Bib. vol. iii. p. 312, sqq.] On the origin of the Samaritan Alexandrian version, see *Carpzov*, l. c. p. 483, sqq. *Le Long*, Bibliotheca, ed. *Masch*, pt. ii. p. 216. *Fabricius*, Bib. Græca, ed. *Harles*, vol. iii. p. 658, sqq. *Semler*, Vorbereit. zur Hermeneut. vol. ii. p. 317. *Mücke*, De orig. Vers. septuagintaviralis; Züllich, 1789. *Mori*, Acroases super Hermeneut. N. T. ed. *Eichstadt*, vol. ii. p. 50, sqq.

^a All the moderns after *Hody* are of this opinion. *Valckenaer* takes the other side, and relies on *Josephus*, Antiq. Proëm. § 3. See *Amerasfordt*, l. c. p. 17.

The Pentateuch was first translated,^a and from time to time the other books of the Old Testament. But the date of the translation of particular books cannot be determined.^b

[It is plain this version was made at different times, and by several hands. Eichhorn thinks the book of Joshua was not translated earlier than 277 B. C., from the circumstance that a Gallic word (*γαῖος*) occurs in Josh. viii. 18, and the Gauls did not make their irruption into Greece and Asia till the above date. From the use of the word in the Roman writers, its Gallic descent is apparent. After the defeat of Brennus, the Gauls were scattered in various directions; Ptolemy Philadelphus had a large body of them in his service, and thus the word may easily have become prevalent at Alexandria in his time.^c The book of Esther seems to have been translated in the reign of Philometer.^d Job was not translated by the same writer as the other books; for the epilogue informs us, "It is translated out of the Syriac," that is, the Hebrew.^e The diversity of authors

^a *Valckenaer*, p. 61, in explaining the words of Aristobulus, τῶν διὰ τοῦ νόμου πάντων, as referring to the whole of the O. T., may be nearer the truth than Hody, p. 168, who limits them to the Pentateuch. See A. L. Z. 1816, No. 3, p. 18.

^b See *Usserius*, De LXX. Interpret. p. 22. *Hody*, p. 178. *Eichhorn*, § 164. On the other side, *Jahn*, vol. i. p. 153. The epilogue to the book of Esther says nothing of the time of the translation, and as little of its delivery to the king, as Eichhorn supposes, l. c. See *Valckenaer*, p. 63. *Michaelis*, Or. Bib. vol. iv. p. 30. And *Bertholdt*, Daniel, vol. i. p. 142, says, Daniel was first translated after the birth of Christ; but he gives no satisfactory proof.

^c [See this whole subject treated with a profusion of learning by *Hody*, l. c. p. 178, seq.]

^d [See above, § 40, and the LXX. version of Esther, ch. x. 43—47.]

^e [However, the epilogue itself is in part modern; at least one clause of it comes from a Christian hand; for, ver. 18, it reads, "And it is written that he (Job) shall rise again with those whom the Lord shall raise."]

appears from the different character of different parts of this version, and from the various expressions by which the same Hebrew word is translated in different places.]*

All we can determine with any certainty is this,—that the whole, or the greater part of the Old Testament, was extant in the Greek language in the time of Jesus the Son of Sirach. [Sirach presupposes that “the Law and the Prophets, and the rest of the books,” were already extant in his time; that is, in the 38th year, which is probably the 38th year of Evergetes II.,¹ about 130 B. C.]

§ 42.

CHARACTER OF THE ALEXANDRIAN VERSION.

The Egyptian origin of this version is proved by the use of expressions peculiar to Egypt, and by its departure from the accuracy of the Palestine Jews in criti-

* [The following are instances:—*Names of persons, &c.*: מִיִּשְׁרָאֵל is rendered *φυλιστεῖν*, in the Pentateuch and Joshua, but in all other places, ἀλλόφυλοι: Θεωὶ, Ἀναθωθ, &c. in Chronicles; in Samuel, Θεωσιτης, Ἀναθωθιτης, &c.: Ραμ in Job is Ἀραμ in Ruth and Chronicles: Ἀδωνία, 1 Chronicles; Ορνία, 2 Samuel; Ἀδανία, Nehemiah; Ἀδωνας, 1 Kings and 2 Chronicles: Βηρσαβεέ is φρέας τοῦ ὄρκου. — *Animals and plants*: עֲרֵב־רִמָּה, Ἐρῶδιος in Leviticus, πέλεκυ in Deuteronomy, ἔποψ in Zachariah: חֲזַק is rendered τερέβινθος, θρῦς, δένδρον σόσκιον, &c.: קֶדֶשׁ is rendered κυπαρίσσης in Job, in Ezekiel, sometimes κέδρος and sometimes κυπαρίσσης, while in the other books it is always κέδρος. *Other words*: מִלִּוּשִׁים, δῆλώσις in Exodus and Leviticus, δῆλοι in Numbers, Deuteronomy, and Samuel, and φωτίζοντες in Ezra. Psalm xviii. occurs in 2 Samuel xxii., but the two have been translated by different hands. Genesis and Exodus did not proceed from the same pen with Deuteronomy. Perhaps some of these errors are the result of inaccurate transcription, but certainly not all. See a full account of the different renderings in the LXX. in *Hody*, ubi sup. p. 203—216.]

¹ *Usher*, l. c. p. 1. *Hody*, l. c. p. 192, sqq. *Eichhorn*, Einleit. in d. Apokryphen, p. 40, sqq.

cism and exegesis, and by its variation from the received text.*

As a whole, this version is chargeable with want of literalness, and also with an arbitrary method, whereby something foreign to the text is brought in. In general, it betrays the want of an accurate acquaintance with the Hebrew language, though it furnishes many good explanations.†

[The versions of separate books differ from one another in the translation of separate expressions, as well as in their general character. The translation of the Pentateuch is the most excellent.‡ The first place, says Eichhorn, must be assigned to the Pentateuch. The author of it was familiar with the language and with the sub-

* *Egyptian words*: Πιστοφορεῖον, ἀράβη, ἔβρις, ἄχι, νόμος. Isa. xix. 2. Usher, l. c. ch. i. p. 24, sqq. Hody, l. c. p. 115, sqq. Gesenius, *Com. über Jes.* vol. i. p. 60. His *Geschichte der heb. Sprache*, p. 77. [There are numerous instances of the use of an Egyptian word — which is sometimes a local term — as an adequate expression for the Hebrew. Thus, for example, the first book is called *The Generation*, (Γένεσις,) but it would be more properly called *The Formation*, (Κτίσις,) but the Egyptian philosophers were wont to speak of the *Generation of the world*. In Amos v. 26, the Hebrew כִּיּוֹן, Saturn, is rendered Πεφάν, the Egyptian name of the same deity whom the Greeks called Κρόνος. The Hebrew measure, the *homer*, דָּרִימָה, is translated ἀράβας ἑξ, though the *artab* was an Egyptian, and not a Greek measure. The same word occurs also in *Bel and the Dragon*. נֶחֱמֶה, which means a *rush*, in general is rendered πάνυρος, the *rush of Egypt*. אֶפְחָה, the *ephah*, is rendered ὀβολός, which is still a Coptic word. The *Urim* and *Thummim*, on the breastplate of the high priest, are called Ἀλήθεια, *Truth*, because the Egyptian priest wore an image called *Truth*. The east wind, in Ex. x. 15, — said to bring the grasshoppers (quære *mosquitoes*) — is translated south wind, which brings them to Egypt. See Hody, l. c. p. 113, sqq. See, also, Dähne, *Geschichtliche Darstellung d. jüd. alexand. Religions-Philosophie*, vol. ii. p. 1, sqq.]

† See the exaggerated estimation of this version by Is. Vossius, *De LXX. Interpret.* c. i. p. 30. But see, also, Carpzov, *Crit. sac.* p. 505, sqq. Hottinger, *Theol. Phil.* p. 352, sqq.

‡ Hody, p. 224, sqq. *Lex. Heb. ad Origen.* Hexap. ed. Montfaucon, vol. ii. p. 401, sqq. Gesenius, *Comm.* p. 56, sq.

jects treated of in these books. "The next place must be given to the translator of the Proverbs. His work proceeds not in the stiff gait of a dictionary, for he had both languages at command. Often he expresses merely the sense of the original, but when he misses that, you recognize his genius even in his mistakes. Job was translated by a man fired with the true poetic spirit, and well read in the Greek poets; but he had too little acquaintance with the Hebrew, and too little learning, which the translator and expounder of Job can by no means dispense with. The Psalms and Prophets were defiled by men without feeling or poetic spirit. The translation of Daniel is so bad, that the ancient church gave the preference to Theodotion's version of this prophet, though it adopted all the other books of the Seventy."^a Ecclesiastes is translated more literally than the other books, says Jahn.]

In the books of Esther and Daniel, the translator performed in part the office of a recensor, and permitted himself to depart from the text. We notice omissions and abbreviations on the one hand, additions and interpolations on the other. Chapters are sometimes transposed.^b In Job and the Proverbs, we find departures from the present text, which are to be ascribed to the imperfection of the copy made use of, or to the caprice of the translator, or both.^c In the Pentateuch, the version rests on a

^a [See *Eichhorn*, § 165. The peculiarities of some of these books are distinctly marked; e. g., in Judges, Ruth, and Kings, the word *εἰμι* is often redundant after *ἐγώ*: Jud. v. 3, *ἀκούει ἐγώ εἰμι τῷ κυρίῳ*. See *Bos*, Prolegg. in LXX., ch. i. p. 2, sqq. *Jerome*, Præf. in Daniel, testifies to the character of the version of that prophet. *Danielem juxta LXX. interpretis Domini Salvatoris ecclesiæ non legunt, utentes Theodotionis editione, et cur hoc acciderit nescio hoc unum affirmare possum, quod multum a veritate discordet, et recto judicio repudiatus sit.*]

^b See below, § 200, 258.

^c See *Ziegler*, Uebersetzung der Sprichwörter, p. 52.

recension of the text, which is distinguished by explanatory readings. Jeremiah is from a recension that is more free from additions.*

§ 43.

IMPORTANCE AND USE OF THIS VERSION.

The high esteem in which this version was held by the Hellenists is apparent from the fables respecting its origin, and their belief in its inspiration. But the Palestine Jews likewise entertained these opinions.†

The Septuagint version of the Law was read in the synagogue not only by the Hellenists,‡ but perhaps also

* See below, § 217, 218.

On the agreement between the LXX. and the Samaritan text, see *Animadverss. Samarit. in Textum Heb. et Samarit. in Polyglott. Lond. vi. 19. Hottinger, Thes. Phil. p. 294, sqq.*

For the hypothesis that this version was made directly from Samaritan MSS., see *Hottinger*, l. c. p. 301, sqq. *Postellus*, Tab. Ling. T. ii. *J. M. Hassencamp*, Diss. de Pentateucho LXX. Interpret. Græco non ex Hebræo, sed Samaritano Textu converso; Marb. 1765, 4to. His Entdecker wahrer Ursprung der alt. Bibelübers. ; Mind. 1775, p. 211, sqq. *Eichhorn*, § 388. [See above, § 40.] The chief arguments in favor of this hypothesis are derived from *Jerome's* account, Præf. ad Libros Regum, and from *Origen*, in *Montfaucon's* Diss. prælim. ad Hexaplam, vol. i. p. 86; from *Jerome*, Ep. 136, ad Marcellam, and from the pretended confusion of letters that are similar in the Samaritan alphabet. See *Gesenius*, Gesch. der Hebr. Sprache, p. 176. Comment. de Pentat. Samarit. p. 11, sqq. *Juhn* is opposed to this supposition, vol. i. p. 156, sq.

Some think there were interpolations in the MSS. See *R. Asariah*, Meor Enaim, fol. 49, col. 1, in *Hottinger*, l. c. p. 301. *Usher*, l. c. p. 215. *Seb. Rau*, Exercitatt. ad Hubigant. Prolegg. p. 132, sqq. See the true view in *Gesenius*, De Pentat. Samarit. p. 14, sqq. See *Amersfoordt*, l. c. p. 60, sqq.

For the hypothesis that this and the other Greek versions were made from Hebrew MSS. written in Greek characters, see *Tychsen*, Tentamen de variis Codd. Heb. V. T.; Rost. 1772, p. 66, sqq. *Le Long*, l. c. pt. ii. vol. ii. p. 54, sqq.

† Hieros. Megilla, fol. 62, col. 4. Babyl. Megilla, fol. 9. Tr. Sopher. col. 1. *Morinus*, Exercitatt. Bib. lib. i. Exercitatt. 8, ch. 1, p. 180, sqq.

‡ *Tertullian*, Apol. ch. 18, says, "The Jews read it openly." *Justin Mar-*

by the Palestine Jews.^a Josephus makes more use of it than of the Hebrew text.^b

On the other hand, it subsequently became suspicious to the Jews, on account of the controversy between them and the Christians.^c In this way we can explain the hostility of the Talmud towards it.^d [The controversy

tyr, Apol. i. 31, p. 62, and Dial. cum Tryphone, ch. 72, p. 170. [In the latter place, Justin charges the Jews with removing many passages from the LXX., which relate to the suffering of Christ. He mentions several passages, and adds that a paragraph omitted in Jeremiah was still extant in *some copies that are kept in the synagogues of the Jews.*] See, also, *Justinian's Novella*, 146, [where he permits the version of Aquila to be used by such as disliked the LXX., but forbids the reading of the Mishna.] See *Hody*, p. 224, sqq. *Carpzov*, Crit. sac. p. 522, sqq. *Jahn*, vol. i. p. 162.

^a The proof of this may be found in Hieros. Sota, fol. 21, col. 2, cited in *Buxtorf's Lexicon Talmud*, p. 104: "Rabbi Levi went to Cæsarea, and hearing them read the lesson, 'Hear, O Israel,' Deut. vi., in Hellenistic, wished to prevent them; but Rabbi Joshua, perceiving it, was angry, and said, 'If a man cannot read Hebrew, shall he not read at all? Let every man read in that language he understands, and thus fulfil his office.'" [But it is thought by some that this passage relates merely to that paragraph which was recited or read at evening prayers.] See *Lightfoot*, on Acts vi. 1, and *Hody*, p. 227, who understand it as relating merely to the Keri, Hear, O Israel. [The former denies that the LXX. was generally used by the Jews.]

^b *Spittler*, De Usu Vers. Alex. apud Josephum; Gott. 1779. *Scharfenberg*, De Josephi et Vers. Alex. Consensu; Lips. 1780. Compare *Ernesti*, Opuscula phil. crit.; ed. 2d, Lug. Bat. 1776, p. 363. *Michaelis*, Or. Bib. vol. v. p. 221, vol. vii. p. 189. *Gesenius*, Geschichte der Heb. Sprache, p. 80. *Reinhard*, De Vers. Alex., in his Opuscula, ed. *Pöltz*, vol. i. p. 36. He thinks the high esteem for the LXX. was limited to the Christians.

^c The first trace of this controversy between the Jews and the Christians in relation to the LXX. is found in *Justin*, Dial. cum Tryphone, l. c. On the other hand, *Philo*, De Vita Mosis, vol. ii. p. 510, believes in the agreement of the Greek and Hebrew. See *Hody*, p. 233.

^d It is said in Megilla Taanith, fol. 50, col. 2, (ed. Basil, 1578,) that there was a fast on the 8th day of the month Tebet, "because on that day, in the time of King Ptolemy, the Law was written in Greek, and darkness came upon the world for three days." Again, in Tract Sopherim, ch. 1, this version is called "the work of the five elders, who wrote the Law in Greek, in the time of King Ptolemy. That was a sad day for Israel, like the day when the calf was made." [But there is little reason to believe such a fast was ever kept.] See *Hody*, p. 220, sqq. *Wolf*, Bib. Heb. vol. ii. p. 443. *Hottinger*, Thes. Phil. p. 336. *Carpzov*, l. c. p. 524, sqq.

respecting the authority of this version did not commence till the second century A. C. Previous to this date, both the Jews and Christians seem to revere it as of nearly equal value with the "Hebrew verity" itself. Philo and Josephus had used it with no scruple. The Jews were finally led to detest it, from the fact that the Christians, in controversy with them, appealed to this. The Jews then retreated to the Hebrew text, that they might reply to the argument of their adversaries; and, in comparing the original with the translation more carefully than before, they found additions and alterations in the latter which led them to reject it. Even the Hellenists began to despise it, in the second century. Besides, most of the Christians before Jerome were ignorant of Hebrew; the Jews, therefore, would have an advantage over them, if they could prove the incorrectness of the Septuagint.]

§ 44, a.

II. THE OTHER GREEK VERSIONS.

AQUILA'S VERSION.

Nothing but fragments remain of several other ancient Greek versions. Aquila,* a Jewish proselyte^b of Si-

* In the Jerusalem Talmud, he is called עקיִלָּה, and in the Babylonian Talmud, אֶנְקֵלָס. [He must not be confounded with *Onkelos*, אֶנְקֵלָס, the author of one of the Targums, who lived in the time of Hillel and Shammai.] See § 58. *Hottinger*, l. c. p. 376. *Wolf*, l. c. vol. i. sub voce. *Bar-tolucci*, Bib. Rab. vol. iv. p. 281, sq. *Hody*, p. 573, sqq. *Eichhorn*, § 210, thinks the two are different men, judging from the more free character of the translation in those fragments cited from him by Rabbi Asarias, in Meor Enajim, fol. 146, col. 2. See, also, *Buxtorf*, Lexicon Talmud, sub voce מִצָּר.

^b *Irenæus*, iii. 24. *Eusebius*, Demonst. Ev. vii. 1. *Jerome*, Ep. ad Pam-mach. Opp. iv. pt. ii. p. 255. Catal. Script. eccles. ch. 54. Opp. iv. pt. ii. p. 116. On the contrary, in the preface to Job, and elsewhere, he calls him a Jew. There is a fabulous account of his conversion to Judaism, in *Epipha-*

nope,^a in the beginning of the second century,^b made a literal and faithful version^c for the use of the Jews, which they preferred to the Septuagint.^d

nus, De Pond. et Mens. ch. 14. Hieros., Megilla, fol. 71, col. 3, and Kid-dush, fol. 59, col. 1, say, "Aquila the proselyte translated, in presence of Rabbi Akiba." See *Bartolucci*, l. c. p. 282. *Morinus*, p. 341. *Hody*, p. 574. *Jerome*, in Isaiah xiii.

^a According to *Epiphanius*, he was *πενθερός* of Hadrian, [which some translate *father-in-law*, others, more properly, *son of his father-in-law*.] Compare *Shem. Rabba*, § 30. *Shalshal. Hakk.* fol. 28, col. 2.

^b *Justin*, Dial. cum Tryphone, ch. 71, p. 169, seems to cite Aquila: *Ἐπεὶ τῆς λέξεως τῆς, Ἰδοὺ ἡ παρθένος ἐν γαστρὶ λήψεται, ἀντελπατε, λέγοντες εἰρησθαι, Ἰδοὺ ἡ νεάνις ἐν γαστρὶ λήψεται.* But *Credner* has shown that this does not refer to him. *Beiträge*, vol. ii. p. 198. [*Irenæus*, who flourished about 177—192, seems to speak of him as a contemporary, iii. 24.]

^c *Jerome*, Ep. ad Pammach., speaking of the best kind of interpretation, Opp. iv. pt. ii. p. 255, says, "Aquila, a proselyte, and a contentious interpreter, who has attempted, not only to translate words, but also the etymology of words, is properly rejected by us;" and adds: *Quis enim pro frumento et vino et oleo posset vel legere vel intelligere χεῦμα, ὀπωρισμὸν, σπιλινότητα*, quod nos possumus dicere *fusionem, pomationem et splendentiam*? Aut quia Hebraici non solum habent ἄρθρα, sed et πρόσθρα, ille κακοζήτως et syllabas interpretatur et litteras, dicitque σὺν τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ σὺν τῇ γῇ, quod Græca et Latina lingua omnino non recipit. But, *Com. in Hos. ii.*, he calls him "curious and diligent," and, Ep. 125, ad Damasum, Opp. ii. p. 567, says he is "not contentious, as some think; but he has carefully translated word for word." Ep. 138, ad Marcell. Opp. ii. p. 707, he calls him "a most diligent examiner of Hebrew words," and in Isaiah xlix. says, He is "profoundly learned in the Hebrew tongue." *Origen*, Ep. ad Africanum, says he is a slave to the letter of his text; *δουλεῖται τῇ Ἑβραϊκῇ λέξει.* See the unfavorable judgment of *Irenæus* upon this version, l. c., of *Eusebius*, l. c., and *Philastrius*, [Hæres. ch. 90. See, also, *Montfaucon*, Prælim. in Hexap. p. 50.] See *Carpzov*, Crit. sac. p. 556. *Kennicott*, Diss. Gen. § 69, p. 150.

^d *Origen*, Ep. ad Africanum: *φιλοτιμότερον πεπιστευμένος παρὰ Ἰουδαίων; ἔρμηνευκέναι τὴν γραφὴν.* *Augustinus*, De Civitat. Dei, xv. 23. Aquila..... quem interpretem Judæi cæteris anteponunt. In the 146th Novella of *Justinian*, permission is given to use Aquila, [and all the vernacular versions, it would appear,] while the use of the *Λεβιτικῶσις* was forbidden. *Berthold*, § 160, thinks this was the second edition of Aquila; but it is only the collection of rabbinical writings which he proscribes. See the edict, and an explanation of it in *Hody*, p. 237, sqq., and 577. It is probable the Ebionites received it. But this does not follow from the following passage of *Irenæus*, as it is sometimes maintained, iii. 24: *Ἄλλ' οὐχ' ὥς ἔνιοι φασὶ τῶν νῦν μετε-*

[We know little about this translator. Epiphanius — alas! a writer not to be trusted on account of the foolish things with which his narrative is overlaid — is the only one who has furnished us with the life of Aquila. According to him, he was by birth a heathen Greek, from Sinope, in Pontus, and was related to the emperor Hadrian, it is not certain how nearly. When Hadrian returned from the East to Rome, he gave him the charge of rebuilding Jerusalem, which had been reduced to ashes, and called the new city *Ælia Capitolina*. Here he became acquainted with the Christians who had returned from Pella, was pleased with their religion, and was baptized. While a Christian, he continued the practice of astrology, as he had done when a heathen. His new brethren complained to him of this abuse. Instead of amending, he defended himself by sophistical arguments, and was expelled from the Christian church. In revenge for his ignominious expulsion, he went over to the Jews, studied Hebrew with great diligence, and, for the sake of the Jews, made a new Greek version of the Bible, which was injurious to the Christians, as it rendered victory over the Jews more difficult than before.

The above story is very improbable in itself. All that can be determined with certainty is, that this version could not have been made more than one hundred and thirty years A. C., for Irenæus cites it frequently in his books against heresies, written about 176, 177, and not less than forty years must have elapsed after its composition, before it could come into common use in distant countries.

μηνύειν τοιμάντων τὴν γραφὴν· ἰδοὺ ἡ νεᾶνις ἐν γαστρὶ ῥίξεται υἱόν, ὡς Θεοδοτίων ἠρμήνευσεν ὁ Ἐφῆσιος καὶ Ἀκύλας ὁ Ποντικός, ἀμφότεροι Ἰουδαῖοι προσήλυτοι οἷς κατακολουθήσαντες οἱ Ἑβραῖοι, ἐξ Ἰωσήφ ἀπὸ τὸν γεγενῆσθαι φάσκουσι.

Antiquity in general agrees that he undertook this version at the instance of the Jews, his new confederates. Irenæus goes farther, and says it was at the solicitation of his Hebrew teacher, Rabbi Akiba. The Jerusalem Talmud says Akilas, a Greek translator, was assisted in his work by the rabbins who taught him. Perhaps Aquila undertook the work to please the Jews, even if he did not succeed. Afterwards they used the new version, because they could no longer defend themselves with the Septuagint in their controversies with the Christians. The old version seemed too free, and contained numerous glosses and defective passages. Aquila is very literal. He counts Greek words as nothing to the Hebrew. He never lets a syllable of the original escape him; not even the etymology of a Hebrew word. He not only allows himself barbarisms, but all sorts of inaccuracies in the use of Greek, if he can only express the original more rigorously by such means. The Jews excluded the Alexandrian version, and substituted that of Aquila in its place. It seems the Ebionites had adopted it before 178, for Irenæus wrote against the heresies they derived from this version.*

Epiphanius says that, though he understood the Hebrew language very well, yet he undertook this translation with no good design, but that he might pervert some passages of Scripture. He attacked the translation of the Seventy, to the end that he might render in a different way the testimony of the Scriptures respecting Christ; and by this means he sought an apology for his absurd conduct, [that is, for his apostasy.†]

* [See *Eichhorn*, § 187.]

† *Epiphanius*, l. c.: 'Ἡμετέρους οὐκ ὁρθῶ λογισμῷ χρησάμενος, ἀλλ' ὅπως διαστρέψῃ τινὰ τῶν ῥητῶν, ἐνσκήψας τῇ τῶν ἐβδομήκοντα δύο ἐρμηνείᾳ· ἵνα τὰ περὶ Χριστοῦ ἐν ταῖς γραφαῖς μεμαρτυρημένα ἄλλως ἐκθέσῃ, δι' ἣν εἶχεν αἰδῶ εἰς ἄλογον αὐτοῦ ἀπολογίαν.'

Bruns, in his edition of Kennicott,* adds a passage from a Greek manuscript, where Aquila is accused, in bitter words, of falsifying the Hebrew text. However, the charges brought against him are mainly urged by such as did not understand the original, and could only compare this with the old version. The Fathers themselves knew how to appeal to Aquila, when his translation favored their design, especially in the controversy with the Arians. Jerome, the most competent witness, finds no trace of such falsifications. He even says, "When I compare Aquila's edition with the Hebrew volumes, I do not find that the synagogue has changed any thing through hatred to Christ, and I will gladly confess that I find more which tends to confirm our faith."^b However, the polemic tendency of Aquila cannot be denied.

Aquila is still very valuable for philological and critical purposes. Since he adheres so closely to the words of the text, we can prove more easily from him than from any other translator, how slight was the grammatical acquaintance with the Hebrew language at the time. Much may be gained from him to enrich the Hebrew Lexicon, and explain the New Testament. He is a treasure of the greatest value for criticism. It can often be shown from his version, that the readings of our masoretic text, which other old translators seem to condemn, are in fact very ancient; and from this it becomes

* Diss. Gen. § 69.

^b [Jerome, Ep. 24, ad Marcellum. Some particular specifications have been urged against him. Thus Justin Martyr, Dial. p. 310, complains that the Jews translate νεάνις (*a young woman*) in Isa. vii. 14, where the LXX. has παρθένος, (*a virgin*.) But here is no corruption, only a difference of interpretation. In Isa. xlix. 5, Aquila reads, "Israel shall be gathered to him," instead of "shall not be gathered." But our present editions of the Bible give both readings, יִשְׂרָאֵל and אֶלָּא. Eichhorn, § 187.]

highly probable that the variations of the other ancient translators arose from no difference in the text, but from the free method of translating.

Although Aquila, at first, made a version that was scrupulously literal, yet here and there some single passages deceived him; at least, he thought they were too free. He therefore revised his work, and made several passages still more slavishly literal. We know of the second edition of his version mainly through Jerome, who sometimes calls it "the *second edition* of Aquila," and sometimes, "the second edition, which the Hebrews call *the accurate*," and sometimes, "the second *interpretation* or *translation*." The last expression has seduced some of the learned into the belief that it was an entire new version of Aquila; but the fragments of it, preserved in Jerome's commentaries upon Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Daniel, only differ from those of the first edition in their accuracy. The second edition certainly extended over Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and Daniel; for in these books Jerome uses both editions. Perhaps it comprised all the Old Testament.

But Aquila has not escaped the devastations of time. Nothing but a few fragments is left of him. Flaminius Nobilis, Drusius, and Montfaucon, have collected them from the Fathers and from manuscripts; but they have given him much that was never his, and, on the other hand, have ascribed much that was his to Theodotion and Symmachus.]^a

^a [See *Eichhorn*, § 188—190. Other works, which treat of this version, are the following: *Dathe's* treatise *De Aquilæ Reliquiis* in Hoseam, in *J. A. Dathii Opuscula*, &c., ed. *Rosenmüller*; Lips. 1796, 8vo. *Fischer*, *Prolusiones*; *Clavis in Græcas Versiones*, and his *Censura Versionum Malachie*. *Drusius*, *Veterum Interpretum Græcorum Fragmenta*; Arnheim, 1622, 4to., reprinted in *Walton's Polyglot*, vol. vi. *Montfaucon*, *Originis Hexapl. quæ supersunt*; Paris, 1713, 2 vols. fol.]

§ 44, b.

THEODOTIUS'S VERSION.

Theodotus^a did little but revise the version of the Seventy.^b The Christians used his translation of Daniel instead of the Alexandrian translation. Thus Jerome says, "The churches do not read Daniel the prophet,

^a *Irenæus*, iii. 24, calls him ὁ Ἐφέσιος Ἰουδαῖος προσήλυτος. *Jerome*, Ep. 89, ad August. Opp. iv. pt. ii. p. 626: Hominis *Judæi* atque blasphemii editio. See Præf. Com. in Dan.: Juxta Theodotionem, qui utique post adventum Christi incredulus fuit: licet eum quidam dicant *Hebionitam*, qui altero genere *Judæus* est. Præf. in *Ezram*: *Judæos* et *Hebionitas* legis veteris interpretes, Aquilam videlicet et Symmachum et Theodotionem. Præf. in *Job*: *Judæus* Aquila et Symmachus et Theodotio *Judaizantes* hæretici, qui multa mysteria Salvatoris subdola interpretatione celarunt. Catal. Scriptt. Eccles. c. 54. Opp. iv. pt. ii. p. 116: Theodotionis *Hebionæi*. Com. in Hab. iii.: Theodotio vere quasi pauper et *Hebionita*, sed et Symmachus ejusdem dogmatis, pauperem sensum secuti *Judaice* transtulerunt. Isti *semi-christiani* *Judaice* transtulerunt: et *Judæus* Aquila interpretatus est, ut Christianus. *Eusebius*, Hist. Eccl. v. 8, merely repeats *Irenæus*. *Epiphanius*, l. c. ch. 17, says: Πονηρὸς ἀπὸ τῆς διαδοχῆς Μαρκίωνος, μηριῶν καὶ αὐτοῦ τῇ αὐτοῦ αἰρέσει καὶ εἰς Ἰουδαϊσμὸν ἀποκλίνας καὶ περιτμηθεὶς, κτλ. See these false statements as to the date, corrected, in *Hody*, p. 579, sq., and *Stroth*, in *Eichhorn's* Rep. vol. ii. p. 76, sq. *Irenæus*, l. c., and perhaps *Justin*, are acquainted with him. See *Stroth*, l. c. p. 75.

^b *Jerome* says, in Eccles. ii.: "The LXX. and Theodotus agree in this as well as in many places." Præf. in *Evang.*: "He takes a course midway between the new (Aquila and Symmachus) and the old (the LXX.)" Præf. in *Psalt.*: "In simplicity of style he did not disagree with the LXX." Præf. in *Job*: "Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotus, either express it word by word, or sense by sense, or use a kind of translation composed of both systems, corrected by one another," (vel verbum ex verbo, vel sensum ex sensu, vel ex utroque commixtum et medie temperatum genus translationis expresserunt.) *Epiphanius* says, l. c. ch. 17: "He made the greatest part of his version in harmony with the LXX., for he adopted most of his habits of translation from the customs of the LXX." *Jerome*, in *Jerem.* xxix. 17, speaking of the *bad figs*, says: Theodotio interpretatus est *sudrinus*; secunda, *pessima*; Symmachus *novissimas*. Whence it might be thought there were two editions of Theodotus; but *Hody*, p. 584, [who was the first to notice this passage,] gives a conjectural reading, and inserts "Aquilæ prima editio" before "secunda." [Then the whole passage would read, Theodotus translated it *sudrinus*; the first edition of Aquila, &c.; the second, *pessima*, &c.]

according to the Seventy, but use Theodotion's edition, and I know not why it happens. Either because the style is Chaldaic, and differs in some peculiarities from our style, and so the Seventy were unwilling to preserve these features of the language in their translation ; or the book was published under their name, by some person — I know not by whom — that was not sufficiently acquainted with the Chaldaic language, or for some other cause of which I am ignorant. This one thing I can affirm, — that it *differs much from the truth, and ought justly to be rejected.*"*

[Theodotion, says Epiphanius, was born at Sinope, in Pontus. For a time he adhered to the party of Marcion the heretic, but afterwards deserted it, because he conceived himself injured by this party, and went over to the Jews. But Irenæus and other credible Fathers give a very different account. Irenæus calls him an Ephe-

* *Jerome*, Præf. in *Vers. Danielis* : *Danielem prophetam juxta LXX. intt. ecclesiæ non legunt, utentes Theodotionis editione; et hoc cur acciderit nescio. Sive quia sermo Chaldaicus est et quibusdam proprietatibus a nostro eloquio discrepat, noluerunt LXX. intt. eadem linguæ lines in translatione servare; sive sub nomine eorum ab alio, nescio quo, non satis Chaldaicam linguam sciente, editus est liber; sive aliud quid cause extiterit ignorans: hoc unum affirmare possum, quod multum a veritate discordet et recto judicio repudiata sit.* Compare *Jerome*, *Proëm. Com. in Dan.*, *Prolog. in Jos.*, *Apol. cont. Rufin.* ii. 33. *Hody*, p. 282. *Bertholdt*, *Uebersetz. des Dan.* vol. i. p. 142.

[Theodotion's version of Daniel is often found in MSS. of the LXX., and the Septuagint version of that book was so rarely transcribed that only one MS. of it is extant, from which it was printed at Rome in 1772, with the title *Daniel secundum LXX. ex tetralpis Originis, nunc primum editus e singulari Codice chisiano*, &c. fol. See an account of it in *Le Long*, *Masch's* ed. It consists entirely of fragments. Theodotion and Aquila, both, omitted the Lamentations of Jeremiah. Some have thought Theodotion was the first to translate the Apocrypha; but there is evidence to the contrary. *Gesner* and *Grotius* declared that the Greek version of the Chronicles in the MSS. of the LXX. proceeded from Theodotion. But this decision cannot be supported. See *Hody*, p. 583, sq.]

sian ; Jerome, sometimes an Ebionite, sometimes a Jew. The authority of these worthy men is always superior to that of the fabulist Epiphanius.

Epiphanius places the date of this version in the time of the emperor Commodus the Second, and, to support this assertion, creates a new series of Roman emperors. This only is certain, — that he must have lived, and have made his version, a considerable time before the year 160 A. C.; for not only Irenæus uses it, about 177 or 178, in his book against heresies, but Justin Martyr, in his dialogue with the Jew Trypho, which was composed about 160 A. C. The style of his version holds a medium between the scrupulousness of Aquila and the freedom of Symmachus. For the most part, he followed the Seventy, and adhered to their text, where it was possible, word for word. His translation, therefore, may be regarded as little more than a new recension of the Alexandrian version, made with great freedom. But, to do this, he consulted the Hebrew text, and translated directly from it, especially where there were chasms in the Septuagint. In such places, he betrays his very slight acquaintance with the Hebrew language; for, even when there are great difficulties in the original, he often adheres to the very words. Therefore, since he came so close to the Septuagint, Origen, in his Hexapla, for the most part, supplied the chasms of the old version from this. On account of his dependence upon the Septuagint, the utility of his work in a critical recension of the original Hebrew is very much limited. For the most part, it is but a single voice. Notwithstanding this, all the fragments of it are valuable, especially for the restoration of the Alexandrian text.]*

* See *Eichhorn*, § 197—200.

§ 44, c.

VERSION OF SYMMACHUS.

Symmachus* endeavored to obtain a pure Greek style, and translated more freely.^b [Our accounts of Symmachus are derived mainly from Epiphanius, who says he was a Samaritan. He was honored as a sage by his countrymen; but, not satisfied with this, he desired political supremacy among them. But, since they did not agree to his plans, he went over to the Jews, and, out of hatred to the Samaritans, continues this improbable story, made a new version of the Old Testament. From this we can only gather that he was a half-Jew, an Ebionite. This is confirmed by Eusebius and Jerome.]

Epiphanius places him under the reign of Severus,

* Eusebius, Hist. Eccl. vi. 17. Demonst. Evang. vii. 1, calls him an Ebionite. Compare Jerome, as cited p. 157. His statement is confirmed by the Syriac accounts in Asseman, Bib. Orient. vol. ii. p. 278, sqq. vol. iii. pt. i. p. 17. Epiphanius, l. c. ch. 16, says: *Σαμαρείτης νοστήσας φιλαρχίαν προσήλυτεύει καὶ περιτέμνεται δεύτερον*. That he was younger than Theodotion, follows from the silence of Irenæus, and from Jerome, on Isaiah xxxviii. Symmachus in Theodotionis scita transiit. Yet see Stroth, l. c. p. 126. See, also, Pelavius, ad Epiphanius, p. 399, sqq.

^b Epiphanius, l. c.: *πρὸς διαστροφὴν τῶν παρὰ Σαμαρείταις ἐρμηνεύων ἐρμηνεύσας τὴν τρίτην ἐξέδωκεν ἐρμηνείαν*. Jerome, Com. in Amos iii. non solet verborum κακοζήλιαν, sed intelligentiæ ordinem sequi. Com. in Jes. i.: Symmachus more suo manifestius. Compare chap. v. Hody, p. 588. Montfaucon, Hexapl. p. 54. Thieme, De Puritate Symmachi; Lips. 1735, 4to. There was a second edition of it, according to Jerome, Com. in Jer. xxxii. and on Nahum iii. See Hody, p. 586. [According to a catalogue of Greek manuscripts in the possession of Constantinus Barinus, there is a copy of the entire version in his library. Some think the Greek Psalter, now extant among us, and from which the Latin Vulgate is translated, is not from the LXX., but from Symmachus. But there is not sufficient ground for the position. Others, still more erroneously, maintain the entire Vulgate was translated from the version of Aquila, Symmachus, or Theodotion, and they are probably misled by the old Latin version of Symmachus, mentioned above. See Hody, p. 588.]

making him earlier than Theodotion, whom he places under an emperor known only to himself. But Jerome says, "Symmachus made use of Theodotion." The exact date of the version is still uncertain. Irenæus never mentions it in his book against heresies, and yet Stroth finds it often cited by Justin Martyr in the dialogue with Trypho, written about 160. It had a place in Origen's Hexapla.

The style of this is purer than that of any other Greek version; the author is more desirous of imparting the meaning of the original than of rendering its words literally; and from this peculiarity it has been called "the perspicuous, manifest, and admirable version." It has a very free course; here the translator exchanges the Hebraisms for corresponding Greek expressions, there he files them away; and if some hard expressions are still left in all, it must be excused, on consideration of the difficulty of translating the Hebrew text into pure Greek, or on the supposition that, in such places, the fragments of some other version have, perhaps, been attributed to Symmachus. The good tone of this version seems to have excited the ancients to translate it into Latin. Jerome has given us a short account of this version.

There were two editions of Symmachus's translation; but it is impossible to determine whether the second comprised all the books of the Old Testament. This is as useful for philological purposes as the other Greek versions; but, on account of its free and sometimes paraphrastic style, greater caution is needed in applying it to the criticism of the Hebrew text.]*

All three of the above versions strive after greater

* *Eichhorn*, § 191—195.

fidelity than the Seventy, and avoid the explanation of metaphors. They all frequently agree in differing from the Septuagint.

§ 44, d.

THE THREE ANONYMOUS VERSIONS, &c.

There are, besides, fragments of three anonymous versions, which are called *Quinta*, *Sexta*, *Septima*, from their place in Origen's work on the Bible.* [In the "literary journey" which Origen made to collect the materials for his polyglot, beside the above-mentioned versions of the whole of the Old Testament, he found three other versions from unknown authors, and of an unknown antiquity, which extend over some of the books. He placed them in the last columns of his Hexapla, and, with reference to the first four Greek columns, he called them the *fifth*, *sixth*, and *seventh* Greek translations.

There are no certain accounts of these three versions; for what the ancients have written respecting them bears marks of the extremest improbability. According to Epiphanius, the *fifth* version was made at Jericho; but, according to Jerome, it was found in a tub at Ni-

* *Epiphanius*, l. c. ch. 17: *Εδρέθη ἡ πέμπτη ἐν πίθους, ἐν Ἰεριχῷ κεκρυμμένη . . . ἐν χρόνοις Καρυάλλου τε καὶ Γέτα.* *Eusebius*, *Hist. Eccl.* vi. 16, says only that one of the three was found there. *Jerome*, *Pref. ad Orig. Homil. in Cant. Cant.*, says, *Quintam editionem, quam in Actæo littore invenisse se scribit (Origenes.)* *Epiphanius*, l. c.: *Εδρέθη ἑκτὴ ἐνδοσίς καὶ αὐτὴ ἐν πίθους κεκρυμμένη ἐν Νικοπόλει τῇ πρὸς Ἀκτῆς.* *Eusebius*, l. c., has one of the three versions of Aquila, Symmachus and Theodotion found there. On the extent of these versions, see *Jerome*, *Com. in Titum iii. Hody*, p. 590, sqq. *Jerome*, *Apol. cont. Rufinum*, ii. 34, says, Aquila, Symmachus, Theodotion, and the authors of the fifth and sixth version, were Jews. The fragment of *Hab. iii. 13*, shows the author of the sixth was a Christian: *Ἐξῆλθες τοῦ σώσαι τὸν λαόν σου διὰ Ἰησοῦ τοῦ Χριστοῦ σου.*

copolis, in Actium, by Origen. On the contrary, Epiphanius says he found the *sixth* at Nicopolis, in a tub, and Eusebius says he found the *seventh* in a tub at Jericho.*

1. Some fragments of the *fifth* version still remain, from which it appears its author had the Seventy, Aquila, Theodotion, and Symmachus, before him. It usually agrees with the Seventy, or Theodotion, and, when it differs from them, it commonly takes an expression synonymous with theirs; and yet it bears marks of an acquaintance with the Hebrew original.

2. The *sixth* version was made by a Christian, as we learn from a fragment, in which it appears he found a distinct prediction of Jesus Christ in Hab. iii. 13. But perhaps the passage is a gloss. This version agrees with the Septuagint, Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion. It only included the *Pentateuch*, the *minor Prophets*, the *Psalms*, and the *Song of Solomon*.

3. Of the *seventh* version only the smallest fragments remain; most of which are found in the relics of Origen's Hexapla, and in a Syriac hexaplar manuscript preserved at Paris.]

Several fragments of versions occur as marginal notes in the manuscripts of the Alexandrian version. Among others we find the Hebrew, (*O 'Εβραῖος*), which contains remarks on the text of the Septuagint, arising from comparing it with the Hebrew text. These are chiefly collected from Jerome.†

The *Syrian* (*O Σύρος*) is a Greek version from Jerome's new Latin version, made by Sopronius, patriarch of Byzantium. [It was called the *Syrian* either be-

* Eichhorn, § 201.

† See Eichhorn, § 206.

cause it was chiefly used by the Syrian Christians,—and, accordingly, we find it cited by Eusebius of Emessa, (not the historian,) Diodorus, and Theodoret, — or because he resided a long time in Syria. He is called a Syrian in a passage of Theodore of Mopsuestia.] *

The Samaritan (*Τὸ Σαμαρειτικόν*) is a Greek version of the Samaritan Pentateuch. [Sometimes this term designates the Samaritan Pentateuch itself. It is quoted by the Fathers who lived after the third century, and contains explanatory and paraphrastic passages. It is evidently the work of a Samaritan, but is of little value, except so far as it sheds light on the history of criticism and exegesis.] †

The Greek (*Ὁ Ἑλληνικός*) is an unknown Greek version.

[Besides those versions already named, and that found in the library at Venice, † there may have been many others in ancient times, which are either lost or exist unknown in libraries. Origen, by the merest accident, it would seem, rescued several versions from oblivion. Why may there not have been more, which no Origen ever found? It was not until recently the Alexandrian version of Daniel was discovered, or the Venetian manuscript. May there not be others still undiscovered? ‡ The manuscripts of the Seventy contain marginal references to versions now unknown.]

* See Photius, in Biblioth. cod. 227, p. 205; ed. Hoeschelii, in Eichhorn, § 207. See, also, Döderlein's dissertation entitled, *Quis sit ὁ Σάρος* V. T. Græcus interpretes? Alt. 1772, 4to. [Eichhorn, § 207.]

† Eichhorn, § 208.

‡ See § 56, below.

§ See Eichhorn, § 212, and Stroh's contribution to the criticism of the LXX. in his *Repert.*, vol. ii. pp. 66—68.

§ 45, a.

III. CRITICAL HISTORY OF THE ALEXANDRIAN VERSION.

ORIGEN'S HEXAPLA.

The text of the Septuagint became corrupted to a great extent by frequent transcriptions and the caprice of officious critics. Thus Origen says, "But now there is obviously a great diversity of the copies, which has arisen either from the negligence of some transcribers, or from the boldness of others, — as well as from the difficulty of correcting what was written, — or from others still, who added or took away, as they saw fit, in making their corrections."* Jerome complains of this corruption, and says, "The vulgar edition, which is called the *common*, is different in different places;" and again, "The ancient and common edition of the Scriptures is corrupted to suit the time, and place, and caprice of the writers."† There are examples of earlier corruptions in Philo and Josephus. [Thus Josephus‡ says, King Jabin had three thousand chariots, and three hundred thousand infantry, and ten thousand horse, while the book of Judges, iv. 3, according to our present Hebrew and Greek text, speaks of only nine hundred chariots, and does not mention the rest of the host. But here the Targum comes to our aid, for it has inserted the

* Origen, Com. in Mat. tom. xv. Opp. iii. p. 671: *Νυνὶ δὲ δηλονότι πολλὴ γέγονεν ἡ τῶν ἀντιγράφων διαφορὰ, εἴτε ἀπὸ ῥαθυμίας τινῶν γραφέων, εἴτε ἀπὸ τόλμης τινῶν μοχθηρᾶς τῆς διορθώσεως τῶν γραφομένων, εἴτε καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν τὰ ἑαυτοῖς δοκούντων ἐν τῇ διορθώσει προστιθέντων ἢ ἀφαιρούντων.* On the additions of the Seventy, see Ep. ad Africanus, Opp. i. p. 12.

† Jerome, Proëm. in lib. xvi. Conl. in Jes.; Ep. ad Sunniam et Fretelam.

‡ Josephus, Antiq. v. 5, l. See Grabe, De Vitiis LXX. Interpretum ante Origenis Ævum illatis; Oxon. 1710, 4to. p. 3, sqq. Eichhorn, § 167.

same addition. Hence it appears Josephus followed tradition, and not a different reading in the manuscripts. The text of this version could not have been much corrupted in the time of Christ, to judge from the works of Philo and Josephus, and yet it appears to have been altered in some measure soon after that period.*

But says Eichhorn, "From the time of the birth of Christ to that of Origen, the text of the Alexandrian version was lamentably disfigured by arbitrary alterations, interpolations, omissions, and mistakes. Justin Martyr had a very corrupt text, at least in the minor Prophets. He found readings which are now contained neither in the manuscripts, nor the Fathers, nor in the editions of the Seventy. Sometimes they agree more accurately with the Hebrew original; sometimes are synonymous with the readings of the present text of the Seventy. The good Father could not have derived them from the original; for he knew not a letter of Hebrew. In a word, before Justin's time, there were manuscripts of this version, which had been compared with the Hebrew original, and altered here and there. Finally, in the time of Origen, the text was brought into the most lamentable state by the negligence of transcribers; the boldness of uninvited *criticasters*, who altered, added, diminished, singed, and burned, at pleasure. In Daniel, Job, and Esther, were the additions which we still find there.^b Exegetical scholia were inserted here and there. On the other hand, much was omitted from the text of the ver-

* *Credner*, Beit. vol. ii. ch. 6, 7, thinks the text of the LXX. used by Justin Martyr, had often been corrected in the Messianic passages, to make it conform to the original, and probably by a Christian hand. Similar readings are found earlier in the writings of the New Testament, in Barnabas, Clement of Rome, and others.

^b *Origen*, Ep. ad Africanus, p. 16, sqq.

sion which still existed in the Hebrew. Much, says Origen, is found in the Hebrew Job, which is wanting in the Alexandrian version. Sometimes three or four, sometimes fourteen or nineteen lines are wanting. Much, also, had been transposed; in Jeremiah, the whole book of prophecies against foreign states, and then again some parts of this had changed places. In Exodus, a whole series of chapters (xxxiv. 8, to xxxix.) were huddled together, like the Sibyl's leaves. In fine, according to the testimony of some of the Fathers, the Jews had falsified the Pentateuch in their polemic zeal, where it favored the Christians. But this is doubtful, for, while other proof is wanting, Origen and Jerome knew nothing of it, and it is well known how ready the Fathers were to charge their opponents with falsifying the Bible."]*

By comparing the text with the Hebrew original and with the other Greek versions, Origen undertook to amend the text, not so much with a view to criticism as to render the work more suitable for exegetical use.

He had in part a controversial design; for he says, "This I say, that I do not weary with searching the Hebrew Scriptures, and comparing all our copies with theirs, and noticing the differences between them. And if it is not improper to say so, we have done it according to our ability. We have sought for their meaning in all the editions, and in all their various readings, that, as far as possible, we might be able to interpret the Seventy, not, however, that we might seem to produce something new, which differed from the version of the church, and thus furnish an excuse for those who seek an occasion, and wish to condemn the general opinion, and to find

* *Eichhorn*, § 167. [See, also, his *Repert.* vol. i. p. 152. *Owen's Inquiry on the present State of the LXX.*; Oxford, 1769.]

fault with common affairs. We have taken this pains that we may not be ignorant of the Scriptures, so that, when contending with the Jews, we may not urge upon them passages not found in their copies, and may use, in common with them, what they contain, even if it is not in our books. Our preparation in this undertaking has been such as even they will not despise; nor, as their wont is, will they now laugh at the believers among the Gentiles, as if they were ignorant of the truth as it exists in their writings.”*

In accomplishing this plan, Origen made a great work, which is commonly called the *Hexapla*. Epiphanius says, “And at this time he composed the Hexapla, and he placed the two columns of the Hebrew of one interpretation in parallel lines, opposite to one another, and called it the *sixfold books*. For the Greek alone are *fourfold*, where the version of Aquila, Symmachus, the Seventy, and Theodotion, are put together. These four columns added to the two Hebrew columns are called the *Hexapla*. If the fifth and sixth versions are added, they are called, accordingly, the *Octapla*.”†

* Epist. ad Afric. p. 16. See *Jahn*, vol. i. p. 164: Ταῦτα δὲ φημι, οὐχὶ δὲν τοῦ ἐρευνᾶν καὶ τὰς κατὰ Ἰουδαίους γραφάς, καὶ πάσας τὰς ἡμετέρας ταῖς ἐκείνων συγκρίνειν, καὶ ὁρᾶν τὰς ἐν αὐταῖς διαφοράς· εἰ μὴ φορτικὸν γοῦν εἰπεῖν, ἐπὶ πολὺ τοῦτο, δὴ δύναμις, πεποιήκαμεν· γυμνάζοντες αὐτῶν τὸν νοῦν ἐν πάσαις ταῖς ἐκδόσεσι καὶ ταῖς διαφοραῖς αὐτῶν, μετὰ τοῦ ποσῶς μᾶλλον ἀσκεῖν τὴν ἐξηγησίαν τῶν ὁ, ἵνα μὴ τι παραχαράττειν δοκοῦμεν ταῖς ὑπὸ τὸν σὺρανὸν ἐκκλησίαις, καὶ προφάσεις διδόμεν τοῖς ζητοῦσιν ἀφορμὰς, ἐθέλουσι τοὺς ἐν μέσῳ συκοφαντεῖν καὶ τῶν διαφανομένων ἐν τῷ κοινῷ κατηγορεῖν· ἀσκοῦμεν δὲ μὴ ἀγνοεῖν καὶ τὰς παρ’ ἐκείνων, ἵνα πρὸς Ἰουδαίους διαλεγόμενοι, μὴ προφέρωμεν αὐτοῖς τὰ μὴ κείμενα ἐν τοῖς ἀντιγράφοις αὐτῶν, καὶ ἵνα συγχρησώμεθα τοῖς φερομένοις παρ’ ἐκείνων, εἰ καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἡμετέροις οὐ κεῖται βιβλίοις τοιαύτης γὰρ οὐδης ἡμῶν τοῖς πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἐν ταῖς ζητήσεσι παρασκευῆς, οὐ καταφρονήσουσιν, οὐδ’ ὡς ἔθος αὐτοῖς, γελάσονται τοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν ἑθνῶν πιστεύοντας, ὡς τ’ ἄληθ παρ’ αὐτοῖς ἀναγεγραμμένα ἀγνοοῦντας.

† Epiphanius, *De Pond. et Mens.* c. 18, 19: Ὅτι καὶ τὰ ἑξαπλᾶ, καὶ

So Eusebius says, "Having collected all these versions together, and divided them into sentences, and arranged them opposite one another in parallel columns, with the Hebrew text, he left us the present copies of the Hexapla, as it is called. In a *separate work called the Tetrapla*, he collected the edition of Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion, with that of the Seventy."^a

τὰς δύο τῶν Ἑβραϊκῶν σελίδας ἀντικρὺ ἐκ παραλλήλου μιᾷς ἐρμηνείας πρὸς τὴν ἑτέραν συνέθηκε, ἐξαπλᾶς τὰς βίβλους ὀνομάσας. Τετραπλᾶ γὰρ εἰσι τὰ Ἑλληνικά, ὅταν αἱ τοῦ Ἀκύλα καὶ Συμμάχου καὶ τῶν ὁ καὶ Θεοδοτίωνος ἐρμηνεῖαι συντεταγμέναι ὦσι. Τῶν τεσσάρων δὲ τούτων σελίδων ταῖς δυοὶ ταῖς Ἑβραϊκαῖς συναφθεῖσῶν, ἐξαπλᾶ καλεῖται. Ἐὰν δὲ καὶ πέμπτη καὶ ἡ ἑκτη ἐρμηνεῖα συναφθῶσιν, ἀκολούθως τούτοις ὀκταπλᾶ καλεῖται.

^a Eusebius, Hist. Eccl. vi. 16: Ταύτας δὲ ἀπάσας ἐπὶ ταυτὸν συναγαγὼν, διελὼν τε πρὸς κῶλον, καὶ ἀντιπαρθεῖς ἀλλήλαις μετὰ καὶ αὐτῆς τῆς Ἑβραίων σημειώσεως, τὰ τῶν λεγομένων ἐξαπλῶν ἡμῖν ἀντιγραφα καταλλοίπευ, ἰδίως τὴν Ἀκύλα καὶ Συμμάχου καὶ Θεοδοτίωνος ἑκδοσιν ἅμα τῇ τῶν ὁ ἐν ταῖς τετραπλοῖς ἐπικατασκευάσας. From this and other traces in the inscriptions and scholia of Greek MSS; (e. g., the scholium in Cod. Coislin. to Ps. lxxvi., μήτηρ Σιών τὸ (ῥῶ) κατὰ προσθήκην ἔκειτο εἰς τὴν τῶν ὁ ἐν τῇ Τετρασελίδῳ, ἐν δὲ τῇ Ὀκτασελίδῳ μὴ τῇ Σιών ἡγοῦν δίχα τοῦ ῥῶ, [see this and others in Hody, p. 595,]) it has been justly concluded that the Tetrapla was a separate work. See Valerius's note on Eusebius, l. c. Montfaucon, Prælim. ad Hexapla, p. 9. Hody, l. c. Huet, Origeniana, lib. iii. 2, sect. iv. § 4, p. 258. Stroth, in his German version of Eusebius, l. c. Bauer, Einleit. 152. Critica sac. p. 262. Bertholdt, p. 547, and Holmes, Præf. ad vol. i. of his edition of the LXX. While, on the other hand, Eichhorn, § 169, Eichstadt, ad Mor. p. 137, and Augusti, Einleit. § 66, maintain it was merely a difference in the title, which is true as it respects the Hexapla and Octapla.

It is uncertain when Origen published the Tetrapla. See Hody, p. 603, and Montfaucon, p. 9. Instead of ἐπικατασκευάσας, it is sometimes read ἐπισκευάσας in the passage of Eusebius. The former reading implies that he added the Tetrapla as a separate work to the Hexapla; the latter, that he first composed the Tetrapla, and then, after the discovery of the 5th, 6th, and 7th versions, compiled the Hexapla and Octapla. Hody, l. c., Us-
serius, and Petavius, (note to Epiphanius, p. 404, sq.,) think the Hexapla and Octapla were different. See Hody, l. c., and Montfaucon, p. 13, who opposes him. The term *Enneapla* never occurs. Montfaucon, p. 8. Huet, ubi sup. p. 259.

[He spent twenty-eight years in preparations for this great work. During this time, he travelled into the East to collect materials, and was fortunate enough to discover six Greek versions,—those of Aquila, Symmachus, Theodotion, and the three anonymous translators. The latter he discovered in the year 228 A. C. Three years after, he came to Cæsarea, and commenced the work. Ambrosius supplied him with money, and he employed seven scribes, seven readers, (*librarii*.) and some young women, who were skilful caligraphists.]^a

In this work he wrote down the Hebrew text in Hebrew letters; the same in Greek letters;^b the version of Aquila; that of Symmachus; of the Seventy; and in some books, also, the fifth, sixth, and seventh versions. All these were placed in parallel columns.

He corrected the text of the Seventy from the other versions, especially from that of Theodotion, so that from this he restored what was wanting, marking it with an *asterisk*, and naming its source. He suffered what was redundant to remain, but marked it with an *obelisk*.

Origen explains himself on this point, and says, “We undertook to heal the disagreement between the copies of the Old Testament, by using the other versions, as a standard; for, by means of the other versions, making a decision respecting the passages which were rendered doubtful by the disagreement among the copies of the Seventy, we preserved a continued harmony between them; and we marked with an obelisk passages which were not in the Hebrew, not venturing to remove them entirely from the text.”^c

^a See *Eichhorn*, § 167.

^b See *Ernesti*, *Opusc. Phil.* p. 302. *Morus*, ed. *Eichstadt*, p. 136.

^c *Origen*, *Com. in Mat.* tom. xv. *Opp.* iii. p. 672: Τὴν μὲν οὖν ἐν τοῖς ἀντιγράφοις τῆς παλαιᾶς διαθήκης διαφωνοῦσαν εὐραμεν ἰσώσασθαι,

But Jerome speaks still more clearly: "And therefore we took care to correct all the books of the old covenant, which that adamantine scholar had arranged in his Hexapla, — contained in the library at Cæsarea, — by means of those authentic copies of it in which the Hebrew words are written in their proper characters, and also in Greek letters in an adjoining column. Aquila and Symmachus, and the Seventy, and Theodotion, hold their proper place in it. But some books, and those especially which are in verse in the Hebrew, have three other versions added to them, which they call *the fifth, sixth, and seventh*, following their authority, without the names of their authors."

And again: "And Origen not only prepared copies of four versions, writing the words of each opposite one another, so that one which disagreed from the rest might be corrected by the others which agreed together, but he did this also, which is a work of greater boldness, — he mingled Theodotion's version with that of the Seventy, designating with *asterisks* places where something was previously wanting, and with *obelisks* what seemed superfluous."

πρωτοῖς χρησάμενοι ταῖς λοιπαῖς ἐκδόσεσιν τῶν γὰρ ἀμφιβαλλομένων παρὰ τοῖς ὁ, διὰ τῶν ἀντιγράφων διαφωνίαν τὴν κρίσιν ποιησάμενοι ἀπὸ τῶν λοιπῶν ἐκδόσεων, τὸ συνᾶδον ἐκείναις ἐφυλάξαμεν, καὶ τινα μὲν ὀβελίσσαμεν ἐν τῇ Ἑβραϊκῇ μὴ κείμενα οὐ τομήσαντες αὐτὰ πάντα περιελεῖν.

* Jerome, Com. in Tit. iii.: Unde nobis curæ fuit, omnes veteris Legis libros, quos vir Adamantius in Hexapla digesserat, de Cæsariensi Bibliotheca descriptos, ex ipsis authenticis emendare, in quibus ipsa Hebræa propriis sunt characteribus verba descripta, et Græcis litteris tramite expressa vicino. Aquila etiam et Symmachus, Septuaginta et Theodotio suum ordinem tenent. Nonnulli vero libri, et maxime hi, qui apud Hebræos versu compositi sunt, tres alias editiones additas habent, quam Quintam et Sextam et Septimam translationem vocant, auctoritatem sine nominibus interpretum consequutas.

Præf. in Paralip.: Et certe Origenes non solum exemplaria composuit

The following table shows the manner in which the several parts were arranged:—

quatuor editionum, e regione singula verba describens, ut unus dissentiens statim cæteris inter se consentientibus arguatur; sed quod majoris audaciæ est, in editione LXX. Theodotionis editionem miscuit: asteriscis designans quæ minus ante fuerant, et virgulis, quæ ex superfluo videbantur apposita.

Montfaucon, l. c. p. 10, says, "It can be proved by many passages, that, in his *Tetrapla*, Origen did not correct the text of the LXX., but applied his healing hand to it afterwards, when he composed his *Hexapla* and *Octapla*. Compare the scholia on Ps. lxxxvi. l. c. *Holmes* is of the same opinion, l. c. sect. 4, 5.

Epiphanius, l. c., gives the reason why the LXX. stood between Symmachus and Theodotion. "Origen, perceiving how accurate the LXX. were, put their version in the midst, and the others on either side."

On the use of the *asterisks* (*) and *obelisks* (—) see *Montfaucon*, l. c. p. 38, sqq. *Carpzov*, p. 580. *Holmes*, sect. 6, 7. The meaning of the *lemnisks* (÷) and the *hypolemnisks* (—) is doubtful. *Montfaucon*, p. 40, sqq.

[Origen's design was to revise the Alexandrian version, not to restore the Hebrew original; therefore it does not appear that he made any collation of Hebrew manuscripts. But in the Pentateuch, he compared the Hebrew text with the Samaritan, and marked the difference. He prefaced the work with a history of each version; prefixed *prolegomena* to each book, and added exegetical and critical notes in the margin. Fragments of the *prolegomena* are still found in the Syriac Hexapla; some of the notes are met with in Epiphanius, and on the margin of manuscripts of the Seventy, but no fragment of the history of the versions has yet been discovered.]^a

This voluminous work was the result of many years' labor. Montfaucon^b says, It is very probable that Origen turned his hand to compose the Hexapla after he had found the sixth Greek version. He found this, as Epiphanius says, in the seventh year of Alexander Severus, that is, A. C. 228. And since from that time to the year 231, when he went to Cæsarea, he had not time and opportunity for prosecuting so arduous an affair,—the work of the Hexapla, therefore, was laid aside till 231, when he continued it at Cæsarea.

Epiphanius says, "Now, in the seventh year (of Antoninus Caracalla) the books of the fifth version were found. After him, Alexander, the son of Mamæa, reigned thirteen years. About the middle of this time, the sixth version was found."^c It is known that Origen flourished from the time of Decius to that of Gallus and

^a See *Eichhorn*, § 169. *Bruno's* Account of the Syriac Hexapla, in MS, in the Ambrosian library, at Milan, in *Eichhorn's* Repert. vol. iii. p. 166, sqq.

^b L. c. p. 13, sqq.

^c See *Eusebius*, Hist. Eccl. vi. 16.

Volusianus, and beyond it. And during the persecution of Decius Origen himself suffered much, but did not attain the end of martyrdom. He came to Cæsarea, and dwelt a short time at Jerusalem; then going to Tyre, he remained there twenty-eight years, as the story goes. He interpreted the Scriptures, and, at this time, composed the Hexapla.”*

[“The Hexapla, wrought out with diligence, and composed according to such sound principles, lay unused for fifty years, probably because the cost of a book, which must have been forty or fifty volumes strong, was greater than a private man could pay, and perhaps its destruction began soon after its completion. The learned diligence of Origen would have remained without a recom-

* *Epiphanius*, l. c. ch. 18: 'Εν δὲ τῷ ἑβδόμῳ αὐτοῦ ('Αντωνίνου Καρκαλλου) ἔτει εὐρέθησαν αἱ βιβλοὶ τῆς πέμπτης ἐκδόσεως. Μετὰ δὲ τοῦτον ἱβασίλευσεν Ἀλέξανδρος, ὁ Μυμαίης παῖς, ἔτη ιγ'. Ἐν μέσῳ τῶν χρόνων τούτων εὐρέθη ἔκτι ἐκδοσις. Ἐν δὲ τοῖς χρόνοις Δεκίου Ὡριγένους ἔγνωρίζετο, ἀπὸ χρόνου Δεκίου ἀκμιάσας, ἕως Ἰάλλου καὶ Ὀδολουσιανοῦ καὶ ἐπέκτεινα. Ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ γεγονότος διωγμοῦ τοῦ Δεκίου καὶ αὐτοῦ; Ὡριγένους πολλὰ πεπονθὼς, εἰς τέλος τοῦ μαρτυρίου οὐκ ἔφθισεν. Ἐλθὼν δὲ εἰς Καισάρειαν τὴν Στράτωνος, καὶ διατρίψας εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα χρόνον ὀλίγον, εἴτα ἔλθων εἰς Τύρον ἐπὶ ἔτη κή, ὡς ὁ λόγος ἔχει, τὴν μὲν πολιτείαν ἐνησκέετο, τὰς δὲ γραφὰς ἱερῆς μενέουσεν, ὅτε καὶ τὰ ἑξαπλῆ συνίστηκιν.

See *Pelavius*, on this passage, p. 403, sq. In the reign of Gallus, (A. C. 254,) Origen died, in the 69th year of his age, as Eusebius says, (vii. 1.) Jerome, in *Catal. Script.*, writes, “Epiphanius says he flourished from the time of Decius to that of Gallus and Volusianus, which is too short, since they did not reign more than two years and four months. So for Decius we should say Severus.”

It is not correct that he resided twenty-eight years at Tyre. *Huet*, *Origeniana*, p. 15. This would make him commence the Hexapla at Cæsarea, in Cappadocia, and finish it in Tyre. *Ib.* p. 17. Compare p. 269, sq. But before this, in his *Epistle ad Afric.*, which was written in Nicomedia, he himself refers to the Hexapla. It is not improbable that it was, at least, begun, even at Alexandria. See *De Wette*, art. *Hexapla*, in *Ersch and Gruber's Encyclop.*

pense, if Eusebius and Pamphilus, about fifty years after Origen's death, had not brought it from the corner where it lay hidden, at Tyre, and placed it at Cæsarea, in the library of Pamphilus the Martyr. We have not the remotest trace to show that the whole work, with all its columns, scholia, and dissertations, was ever copied. Jerome found it in the library of Pamphilus the Martyr, at Cæsarea; but, after him, no one seems to have thought of it; and it is conjectured that, when Cæsarea was taken by the Arabs, about 653, this monument of the most ancient critical diligence perished with the well-known library.

"But Pamphilus and Eusebius published the columns containing the revised text of the Seventy, and probably added passages from the other ancient versions, and some of Origen's scholia. We are to thank them for what yet remains of this great work."]*

Jerome speaks of it as a work of the greatest cost and labor, and says it was used in some places. He thus speaks of it in a letter to Augustine: "If you wish to be a true lover of the Seventy, do not read those passages marked with *asterisks*, but remove them from the volumes, that you may prove yourself a friend to what is genuine and old. If you do this, you will be compelled to condemn the libraries of all the churches; for scarcely a copy can be found that does not contain them."†

* Eichhorn, § 172.

† Jerome, Præf. in Libr. Jos.: Græcorum ἑξήκοντες, quæ et sumtu et labore maximo indigent. Præf. in Paralip.: Mediæ inter has (Alexandrinam et Constantinopolin) provinciæ Palestinas leguntur codices, quos ab Origene elaboratos Eusebius et Pamphilus vulgaverunt. Ep. 74, ad Augustinum, vol. ii. p. 626: Vis amator esse verus LXX. interpretum, non legas ea, quæ sub asteriacis sunt: imo rade de voluminibus, ut veterum te fautorem probes. Quod si feceris, omnium Ecclesiarum bibliothecas damnare cogeris. Vix enim unus aut alter inveniatur liber, qui ista non habeat. Comp. Proöm.

[§ 45, b.]

FURTHER CORRUPTION OF THE ALEXANDRIAN VERSION.

After the time of Eusebius and Pamphilus, the hexaplar text was copied, with its critical marks and the fragments of other versions in the margin. But this work was badly performed, and innumerable errors arose. The critical marks were confounded; an obelisk was taken for an asterisk, and the reverse. The names of the different versions were misplaced; sometimes the critical marks were omitted, and the several versions were confounded together. Otherwise transcribers in-

Com. in Daniel. Schol. in Psalterium Græc. Vatic. ad Ps. 12: *Ὁὐκ ἔκειτο παρ' οὐδενὶ ἐν Τετρασεκδόῳ, οὐτε ἐν τῷ Ἐδσεβλου τοῦ Παμφίλου, οὐτε ἐν τῷ Ἐβραϊκῷ.* Hody, p. 260. See Montfaucon, p. 43, sqq.

A collection of the hexaplar fragments was first made by *Petr. Morinus*, in the Sixtine edition of the LXX.; Rom. 1587, (which is falsely, though commonly, ascribed to *Flaminius Nobilius*; see *Eichstädt*, l. c. p. 135;) then by *Jo. Drusius*, Vet. Interpret. Græc. in totum V. T., &c. Fragmenta coll. Vers. et Notis illustr.; Arnh. 1662, 4to.; by *Martianay*, in vol. ii. of his edition of *Jerome*; Par. 1699; by *Montfaucon*, Hexapl. Origenis quæ supersunt multis Partibus auctiora, quam a Flam. Nobilio (a P. Morino) et J. Drusio edita fuerint: ex MSS. et ex Libris editis eruit et Notis illustravit. Accedunt Opuscula quædam Origenis Anecdota et ad Calcem Lexicon Hebr. ex Veterum Interpretationibus concinn. itemque Lex. Gr. etc. tom. i. ii.; Par. 1714, fol. Hexapl. Origenis, quæ supersunt auctiora et emendatiora, quam a Flam. Nobilio, J. Drusio, et tandem a Bern. de Montfaucon concinnata fuerant, ed. Notisque illustr. C. F. Bahrdt, pt. i. ii.; Lips. 1769, 1770, 8vo. Compare *J. Fr. Fischer*, Proluss. de Verss. Græc. Libr. V.-T., &c. p. 34. Chrestomathia hexap. adornata a *J. G. Trendelenburg*; Lips. 1794. See the more recent contributions to this collection by *Döderlein*, in *Eichhorn's Repert.* vol. i. and vi. *Scharfenberg*, Duzæ Specimina, &c.; Lips. 1776—1778. *Matthæi*, in *Eichhorn's Repert.* vol. iv. See other works on this subject in *Rosenmüller*, l. c. p. 465, sqq. See *J. F. Schleusner*, Opuscula crit. ad Vers. Græc. V. T. pertinentes; Lips. 1812. See an attempt to restore the hexaplar text, in *Jerem. Vates e Versione Judæorum Alex. ac Reliquorum Intt. Gr. emend. Notisque crit. illustr.* a *G. L. Spohn*; Lips. 1794, vol. ii. ed. *Fr. A. Guil. Spohn*, 1824. [See *Eichhorn*, Allg. Bib. vol. vi. p. 331, sqq.]

serted passages of still other Greek versions in the margin. From this corrupt text, the citations of the Seventy by Fathers who lived before Origen, have been corrected, and they are thus made to cite an author they never knew. Philo is sometimes made to quote Aquila's version. Justin Martyr has been corrected from interpolated copies of the Seventy.]^a

§ 46.

OTHER CRITICAL RECENSIONS.

On account of the unreasonable and careless use of Origen's critical work, new corruptions were introduced into the text of the Seventy. For this reason, Lucian (who died about 311 A. C.) and Hesychius undertook to make new recensions of the text of this version. Their works came into public use, but nothing is now left of them, and the accounts thereof are too imperfect to afford the critic any assistance.

Suidas says of Lucian, that, "Seeing the sacred books contained much which was not authentic, (for many things in them had been corrupted by time, by continual transcription, and also by some wicked men; and besides, they who favored Hellenism endeavored to pervert the sense of the books, and sowed falsehood in them,) he took all of them [which he could obtain] and renewed them from the Hebrew tongue, in which he was

^a [See *Eichhorn*, § 173. *Jerome* complains of this corruption, *Præf. I.* in *Paralip.*: Si LXX. interpretum pura et ut ab eis in Græcum versa est editio permanent; superflue me..... impelleres, ut Hebrea tibi volumina Latino sermone transferrem.....: nunc vero cum pro varietate regionum diversa ferantur exemplaria, et germana illa antiquaque translatio corrupta sit atque violata, nostri arbitrii putas, aut e pluribus judicare, quod verum sit, aut novum opus in veteri opere cudere, &c.]

pretty well skilled, and bestowed great labor upon this recension." Nicetas says, "He *translated* the Hebrew books into Greek."^a

Jerome thus speaks of Lucian's work: "I briefly tell you this, that you may know there is *one* edition [of the Seventy] which Origen, and Eusebius of Cæsarea, and all the Greek writers, call the common, and generally used, and which is now called Lucian's by many; and *another* edition of the Seventy, which is found in the hexaplayr manuscripts." Again he says, "The churches in Alexandria and Egypt cite Hesychius as the author of their recension of the Seventy. Those in Constantinople, and as far as Antioch, approve the copies of Lucian the Martyr. The provinces which lie midway between these, make use of the Palestine copies; and so all the world is separated into this triple division."^b

^a *Suidas*, sub voce *Λουκιανός*, follows *Simeon Metaphrastes*, and says: Οδοῖς τὰς ἱερὰς βίβλους ἰδὼν πολὺ τὸ νόθον εἰσδεξαμένης, τοῦτε χρόνον λυμνηναμένου πολλὰ τῶν ἐν αὐταῖς, καὶ τῆς συνεχοῦς ἀφ' ἑτέρων εἰς ἕτερα μεταθέσεως, καὶ μὲν τοὶ καὶ τινὲς ἀνθρώπων πονηροτάτων, οἱ τοῦ Ἑλληνισμοῦ προσεστήκεσαν, παραστήψαι τὸν ἐν αὐταῖς νοῦν πειρασμένων καὶ πολὺ τὸ κίβδηλον ἐν ταῦταῖς σπειράντων· αὐτὸς ἀπάσας ἀνυλαβὼν ἐκ τῆς Ἑβραϊδος ἀνεκείνωσε γλώττης, ἣν καὶ αὐτὴν ἱκριβωπῶς εἰς τὰ μάλιστα ἦν, πύρον τῇ ἐπανορθώσει πλεῖστον εἰσενεγκάμενος. *Nicetas*, Proöm. Com. in Psalm: Τὰς Ἰουδαίων βίβλους εἰς τὴν ἡμετέραν διώλεξεν μετατίθῃσιν.

The *Synopsis*, and *Euthymius*, (Com. in Psalm, cited in Hody, p. 628, sq.) are of the same opinion.

^b *Jerome*, Ep. ad Sunniam et Fretelam, Opp. ii. p. 627: In quo illud breviter admoneo, ut sciatis aliam esse editionem, quam Origenes et Cæsar. Eusebius omnesque Græciæ tractatores κοινήν, i. e. communem, appellant atque vulgatam, et a plerisque nunc Λουκιανός dicitur; aliam LXX. interpretum, quæ in ἑξαπλόῃς codicibus reperietur. Pref. in Paralip: Alexandria et Ægyptus in LXX. suis Hesychium laudat autorem: Constantinopolis usque Antiochiam Luciani Martyris exemplaria probat. Mediæ inter hac provincia Palestinos codices legunt, totusque orbis hac inter se triferia varietate compugnat.

Holmes thinks the Tetrapla lay at the bottom of the works of Lucian and Hesychius.*

It seems Basil the Great merely procured correct copies to be made; for George Syncellus says, "A very correct copy, belonging to the library at Cæsarea, fell into my hands, and in the superscription it was said, that the great and divine Basilus had compared and revised the books it contained."† [But Basil's recension seems to have been made for his own private use, and was, perhaps, never transcribed.

Thus it seems that, in the time of Jerome, three different editions of the Seventy were in use under the sanction of the several churches, and with their authority, namely, Origen's Hexapla in Palestine, the text of Hesychius in Egypt, and that of Lucian in Constantino-ple and its vicinity. No wonder the existing manuscripts have come down to us with so many corruptions. Eichhorn is of the opinion that the original text might yet, in great measure, be restored. He proposes that the citations in Philo, Josephus, and the Fathers, the great mass of manuscripts, the scholia they contain, and the Catenas, should all be compared together. The glossaries of Suidas and Hesychius, with the various translations of the Alexandrian version, would aid in the work.]‡

* Holmes, l. c. sect. 8, sqq. See *Amersfoordt*, l. c. p. 113, sqq. *Huet*, Origen. lib. iii. ch. ii. sect. 4, § 10, p. 261, gives them the hexaplar marks, in which he follows *Jerome's* Ep. 74, ad August.

† *Georg. Syncellus*, Chronog. p. 203: 'Εν ἐνὶ ἀντιγραφῶν λίαν ἡκριβωμένῃ ἐκ τῆς ἐν Καισαρείᾳ τῆς Καππαδοκίας ἐλθόντι εἰς ἐμὴ βιβλιοθήκην, ἐν ᾧ καὶ ἐπετέγραπτο, ὡς ὁ μέγας καὶ θεῖος Βασίλειος τὰ, ἐξ ὧν ἐκείνο ἀπεγράφη, ἀντιβαλὼν διορθώσατο βιβλία. See *Amersfoordt*, l. c. p. 21. *Carpzov*, Crit. sac. p. 533.

‡ *Eichhorn*, § 176, sqq.

§ 47.

MANUSCRIPTS AND EDITIONS.

Since these different critical recensions contributed more to the corruption than to the improvement of the text, in the time of Jerome it had fallen into a very lamentable state. Thus he says, "The common edition is different in different places, all the world over." And again, "It is corrupted every where to meet the views of the place and time, or the caprice of the transcribers."^a Our present manuscripts represent it in this corrupt state. No one of these recensions is found pure; for they have flowed together, and become mixed also with the other Greek versions.^b Different and some-

^a *Jerome*, Præf. in Paralip. Proëm. in lib. xvi. Com. in Jes. Ep. ad Sunniam et Fretelam, Opp. ii. p. 627. See above, p. 179, b. *Masius*, Annot. in Vers. Gr. Josue, p. 125. *Jo. Morinus*, Antiq. Eccles. orient. p. 273; ed. Lond. *Is. Voss*, Præf. ad Append. ad Librum de LXX. Intt. *Montfaucon*, Prelim. c. 4, § 5, p. 43. *Grabe*, Præf. ad ed. LXX. tom. ii. c. 1, prop. 13. Epist. ad Mill. p. 47. *Stroth*, Catalogues of MSS. of the LXX. in *Eichhorn's Rep.* vol. v. p. 104, sq. *Holmes*, Prolegg. ad ed. LXX. See *Amersfoordt*, l. c. p. 114, sqq., p. 133, sqq. *Hody*, p. 637, sq. *Jahn*, Einl. vol. i. p. 171, sqq. Catalogues of MSS. are given by *Stroth*, in Rep. vols. v., viii., xi. *Holmes*, l. c. cap. 2, 3. Facsimile of the Cod. Alex.: Vet. Test. Gr. e. Cod. MS. Alex. qui Londini in Biblioth. Musei Britann. asservatur, Typis ad Similitudinem Cod. Scripture fideliter descriptum. Cur. *Henr. Harveji Baber*, vol. i. 1823, gr. fol.

^b See *Le Long*, Bib. sac. ed. *Masch*, vol. ii. p. 262. *Rosenmüller*, Handbuch, vol. ii. p. 279. *Grabe*, Prolegg. ad ed. LXX. i. 3. *Lamb. Bos*, Prolegg. ad ed. LXX. *Fabricius*, Bib. Græc. vol. iii. p. 673, sqq., ed. *Harles*, *Carpzov*, Crit. sac. p. 533, sqq. *Amersfoordt*, l. c. p. 23, sqq. *Morus*, ed. *Eichstädt*, p. 103, sqq.

There are four important editions, with their descendants, namely:—

1. Bibl. Polyglott.; Complut. 1514—1517, fol. On the critical character of this text, see *Lamb. Bos*, l. c. ch. 2. On the contrary, *Eichhorn*, Einleit. § 181. Allg. Bib. vol. i. p. 851. *Holmes*, l. c. ch. 4. 1. Bibl. Polyglott.; Antverp. (Regia), 1572, fol. 2. Polyglott. Bertrami (Vatabli, Heidelb.) with the various editions: Ex offic. Sanctandreana; 1588, fol. Ex off. Sanctandr.; 1587, fol. Ex. off. Commelin.; 1599, fol. Ex off. Commel.; 1616, fol.

times contradictory judgments have been passed upon the two chief manuscripts, the Vatican and Alexandrian.

3. Bibl. Polyglott. Wolderi; Hamb. 1596, fol. 4. Bibl. Polyglott.; Par. 1645, fol.

II. Bibl. Græc. Venet. in Ædib. Aldi et Andreæ Soceri; 1518, fol. min. See *Lamb. Bos*, l. c., and *Eichhorn*, l. c. 1. Argentorati ap Wolph. Cephalæum, (cur. Loniceri;) 1526, 4 vols. 8vo.; ib. 1529, 8vo. 2. Basil. per Joa. Hervag. (cum Præf. Phil. Melancth.) 1545, fol. 3. Ib. per Brylinger, 1550, 8vo. 4. Francof. ap. Andr. Wechel. hæc.; 1597, fol.

III. Vet. Test. juxta LXX. ex Auct. Sixti v. ed. Rom. 1587, fol., according to the Cod. Vat. Compare *Stroth*, in Repert. vol. v. p. 105. 1. Vet. Test. sec. LXX. et ex Auct. Sixti v. ed. (cur. Jo. Morini;) Par. 1628, 3 vols. fol. 2. Lond., 1653, 4to. and 8vo. See *Walton*, Prolegg. ix. § 33. (a) Cantabrig. cum Præf. Jo. Pearson, 1665, 3 vols. 12mo. (b) Amstel. ed. *Leusden*; 1683, 12mo. maj. (c) Lips. cur. *Cluveri* et *Klumpffii*, cum Prolegg. *Frickii*; 1697, 8vo. maj. 3. Bibl. Polyglott., Lond. ed. *Walton*; 1657, fol., (with var. of the Cod. Alex.) 4. Lips. ed. *Reinecc.*; 1730, 8vo., ed. 2, 1757, 8vo. 5. Vet. Test. ex Vers. LXX. interpr., sec. exemplar. Vatican. Rom. ed., accuratissime denuo recognitum, una cum Scholiis ejusdem ed., variis motorum Codd. veterumque Exemplarium Lectt. nec non Fragmentis Aquilæ, Symmachii et Theodot., ed. *Lamb. Bos*; Franequ, 1709, 4to. See *Breitinger*, Præf. ad ed. LXX. After this, ed. *Dav. Mill.*; Amstel. 1725, 8vo. 6. Vet. Test. Gr. juxta LXX. intt. ex auct. Sixti v. juxta Exemplar orig. Vatican.; Rom. ed. 1587, recus. c. *L. van Ess.*; Lips. 1824, 8vo.

IV. Septuaginta Intt. tom. i. ex antiquiss. MS. Cod. Alex. accurate descript. et Ope aliorum Exemplarium ac priscorum Scriptorum, præsertim vero hexaplaris ed. Origen. emend. atque supplet. addit. sæpe Asteriscorum et Obelorum Signis ed. *J. Ern. Græbe*; Ox. 1707, tom. ii. 1719; tom. iii. 1720; tom. iv. fol. (continued by *Fr. Lee*,) in 8 vols. 8vo. On the order of the text, see *Eichhorn*, Einl. § 181. *Amersfoordt*, l. c. p. 31. *Stroth*, p. 100, sqq. Hence, Vet. Test. ex Vers. LXX. Intt. olim ad Fidem Cod. MS. Alex. express. emend. et supplet. a *J. E. Græbio*. Nunc vero Exemplaris Vatic. aliorumque MSS. Cod. Lectt. variis nec non criticis. Dissert. illustrat. ed. *J. J. Breitinger*; Zür. 1730—1732, 4 vols. 4to. (with varr.)

The Vatican text is contained in Vet. Test. Gr. cum variis lectt. ed. *Rob. Holmes*; Oxon. fol. tom. i. 1798—1806. (Pentat. cont.) Contin. *Jac. Parsons*, tom. ii. 1810—1816. (Jos., Ruth., Sam., Regg., Paralip. cont.) Tom. iii. 1823. (Esr., Neh., Esth., Job, Ps., Prov., Eccl., Cant. Cant. cont.) Tom. iv. 1825. (Proph. cont.) Tom. v. 1827, (librr. Apocr. cont.) See Dissert. phil. de variis Lectt. Holmesiensis locorum quorundam Pentateuchi. Auct. *Jac. Amersfoordt*, L. B. 1815, 4to. See *Gesenius*, in A. L. Z., 1816, 1 St., 1832, 1 St.

Daniel, sec. LXX. ex Tetrapl. Origenis nunc primum ed. e singulari

The criticism of the Seventy has hitherto advanced no farther, — and perhaps it never can, — than to a collection of the various readings. The editions hitherto published do not afford the true and exact text of the manuscripts.

§ 48.

IV. THE DESCENDANTS OF THE ALEXANDRIAN VERSION.

1. THE OLD LATIN VERSION, AND JEROME'S RECENSION OF IT.

In the time of Augustine, there were several Latin versions of the Bible. Among these, he preferred the *Itala*, which was, perhaps, the most widely used. Its origin belongs to the earliest times of Christianity.

Augustine thus speaks of these versions: "They who have translated from the Hebrew into the Greek can be numbered, but the Latin interpreters can by no means

Chisiano Cod. annorum supra DCCC. Rom. typ. Propagandæ, 1772, fol. cura J. D. Michaelis, Gott. 1773, 8vo. 1774, 4to. c. animadverss. et Præf. C. Se-guar, Traj. 1775, 8vo.

[See, also, *Horne*, l. c. Bibliographical Appendix, pt. i. ch. i. sect. v. § 2

It may not be unnecessary to give a list of the most noteworthy abbreviations which occur in the margin of the MSS., and are often used in critical writings.

'Eβq., or 'Eβq. Ell., the *Hebrew* text in *Greek* letters.

'O., the *LXX.* E., the *quinta*, the *fifth* version.

A., *Aquila.* S., the *sixth* version.

C., *Symmachus.* Z., the *seventh* version.

Θ., *Theodotion.* A., or AO., the *other* versions.

Of Γ., the *three* versions of *Aquila*, *Symmachus*, and *Theodotion.*

Of Δ., the *four* versions above, and the *LXX.* in the *common* text.

Π., *all* the *Greek* versions.

Τὸ ἔσω, united with the name of the author, shows that he agrees with the reading.

Ανών., an *anonymous* translator.

Αλ., *another* *anonymous* translator.

Xω. is still doubtful. — *Eichhorn*, § 205.]

be counted; for, even in the first ages of Christianity, if any man could lay his hands on a Greek codex [of the Scriptures,] he made bold to translate it into Latin, howsoever small his skill might be in either tongue." And again, "But among these interpretations the *Itala* is to be preferred to the others, for it is more literal and perspicuous."^a

These passages afford a clear proof that there were numerous versions of the whole Bible. But it can scarcely be contested, after what has been quoted, that

^a *Augustine*, De Doctrina Christ. ii. 11: Qui Scripturas ex Hebræa lingua in Græcam verterunt, numerari possunt: Latini autem interpretes nullo modo. Ut enim cuius primis fidei temporibus in manus venit codex Græcus, et aliquantulum facultatis sibi utriusque linguae habere videbatur, ausus est interpretari. Ch. 15: In ipsis autem interpretationibus *Itala* cæteris præferatur: nam est verborum tenacior cum perspicuitate sententiæ. Some critics maintain that in this passage we should read *Itala* for *Itala*. Such is the opinion of *Bentley*, *Casley*, *Ernesti*, *Lardner*, and of many eminent critics. See *Lardner*, l. c. vol. iv. p. 525, 526, v. p. 229. *Marsh's Michaelis*, vol. ii. pt. i. ch. vii. sect. xxiii. *Ernesti*, Institut. Int. N. T. iii. p. 4, 13. Bishop *Potter*, (cited in *Marsh*, l. c., in notes on ch. vii. sect. xxiii., and in *Lardner*, vol. v. p. 229,) and *Kreysig*, (Observatt. phil. crit., &c., cited in *Eichhorn*, § 331,) adopt the reading *Usitata*. [This conjectural emendation is ingenious. In copying the genuine passage, "interpretationibus usitata," the *us* in the last word was accidentally omitted, and then *itata* stood in place of *usitata*. This might easily be mistaken for *itala* by a subsequent copyist. See *Monk's* Life of Bentley, p. 433, sqq. *Wrangham's* ed. of *Walton's* Prolegg., vol. ii. p. 271.] *Hug*, l. c. 115, defends the reading *Itala*. See, also, *Van Ess*, Geschichte der Vulg. *Augustine*, De Consens. Evang. ii. 66, uses the word *usitata* — codices ecclesiasticos interpretationis usitatae. But this and the similar terms in *Jerome* — *Vulgata* and *communis editio* — refer to the LXX. On the other hand, the common reading is confirmed by this passage of *Augustine*, Cont. Faust. ix. 2: Ita si de fide exemplarium questio vertetur, sicut in nonnullis, quæ paucæ sunt, et sacrarum litterarum notissimæ sententiarum varietates vel in aliarum regionum codicibus, unde ipsa doctrina commearit: nostra dubitatio dijudicaretur: vel si hi ipsi quoque codices variarent, plures paucioribus, vetustiores recentioribus præferrentur; et si ad huc esset incerta varietas, præcedens lingua, unde illud interpretatum est, consuleretur. *Eichhorn*, § 321, thinks there was but one old version of the O. T. See, on the other hand, *Jahn*, vol. i. p. 315, sqq.

the following passages may be understood to relate either to several different *versions*, or to the different *texts* of one, and perhaps the common version. He writes to Jerome, "You would do the greatest service if you would add the Greek version of the Seventy to the true Latin text, which is now so different in different manuscripts, that it can hardly be tolerated, and so strongly suspected of differing from the Greek, that it is doubtful if any thing can be proved by it." Again, "Therefore I wish for your translation of the Seventy, that we may, as far as possible, be free from the great unskilfulness of the Latin interpreters, who have had the rashness to undertake it."

Jerome also testifies to the same thing: "For the most part, among the Latins, there are as many different Bibles as copies of the Bible; for every man has added or subtracted, according to his own caprice, as he saw fit." "If faith is to be placed in the Latin books, there are almost as many books as copies."*

[*Jerome* sometimes calls the old Latin version the *common*, — for it contained the text generally used before that of *Origen's Hexapla* took its place, — and sometimes the *old*. *Eichhorn* thinks there was but *one* version in common use before the time of *Jerome*; that

* *Augustine*, Ep. 88, ad Hieron. vol. iv. pt. ii. p. 611: Per hoc plurimum profueris, si eam Scripturam Græcam, quam LXX. interpretati sunt, Latine veritati addideris, quæ in diversis codicibus ita varia est, ut tolerari vix possit, et ita suspecta, ne in Græco aliud inveniatur, ut inde aliquid proferri aut probari dubitetur. Ep. 97, p. 641: Ideo autem desidero interpretationem tuam de LXX., ut ea tanta *Latinorum interpretum*, qui qualescunque hoc ausi sunt, quantum possumus, imperitia careamus. *Jerome*, Præf. in Jos.: Maxime cum apud Latinos tot sint exemplaria quot codices, et unus quisque pro arbitrio suo vel addiderit vel subtraxerit, quod ei visum est. Præf. in Evangg.: Si Latinis exemplaribus fides est abhibenda, respondeant quibus: tot enim sunt exemplaria pæne quot codices.

others were made, but never obtained general circulation. He says, all the quotations from the Latin Bible, before Jerome, belong to the same text, though he admits that it was most grossly corrupted. He thinks this version — called the Italian,* the common, the old — was made in the first century A. C., and by African Christians. His arguments for the latter are as follows : There were learned Christians in Africa at that time ; a translation was more needed than in Italy, where many understood Greek ; the old version was more highly prized in Africa than elsewhere ; none but an African would have written such bad Latin in that age, and some expressions betray the African author. But the whole of this reasoning is extremely unsatisfactory and insecure.]^b There is no proof of its African origin.

The version of the Old Testament, of which some fragments still remain,^c was made literally from the Alex-

* If *Itala* be the true reading.

^b [Eichhorn, § 320—323.]

^c The fragments may be seen in the following works : Vet. Test. sec. LXX. Latine redditum ex Auct. Sixti V. Pont. Max. editum. Additus est index dictionum et locutt. Hebr., Gr., Lat., (Auct. *Flaminio Nobilio*;) Rom. 1588, fol. Quincuplex Psalterium, Gallicum, Roman., Hebr., Vetus, conciliatum, (Ed. *Faber Stapulensis*;) Par. 1509, fol.; ed. 2, 1513; ed. 3, Caen. 1515. Psalterium Davidicum Græco-Lat. ad fidem vet. exemplarium atque adeo cod. Gr. MS. etc.; Par. 1645, 16mo. Excudebat Carola Guillard. Psalterium duplex cum canticis juxta vulgatam Gr. LXX. Seniorum et antiquam Lat. Ital. vers. Prodit ex insigni cod. Græco-Lat. Capituli Veron. uncialibus characteribus ante sept. sec. exarato; Rom. 1740, fol. (The second part of *Blanchini's* Vindiciæ Canon. Scripturarum vulg. Lat. editionis; Rom. 1740. *Mittenzwey*, Dissert. Anti-Blanch. und *Ernesti*, Neu. theol. Biblioth. vol. i. p. 856.) Ecclesiastes ex Vers. Itala cum notis *Bossueti*; Par. 1693. Capitula Bibliorum antiqua sec. interpretationem τῶν LXX. ed. *Jos. Maria Carus*, (*Tommasi*;) Rom. 1688. Bibliorum sac. Latine verss. antiquæ, seu vetus Itala et cett., quæcunque in codd. MSS. et antiquorum libris reperiri potuerunt: quæ cum vulgata Lat. et cum textu Gr. comparantur. Acc. præff., observatt. et notæ indexque novus ad vulgatam e regione ed. Op. D. *Petri Sabatier*, ord. S. Bened. e congreg. S. Mauri; Remis, 1743, 3 vols. fol.; ed. auct. 1749—1751,

andrian version, and from the common text, (*κοινή*), and preserves even its defects. It agrees most closely with the Vatican codex,* and is a valuable help in restoring the text of the Septuagint.

[The following is a specimen of that version, and shows its literal character :—

Deut. xxxii. 1, sqq.

ALEXANDRIAN VERSION.

OLD LATIN.

1. *Πρόσχε οὐρανὲ καὶ λαλήσω καὶ ἀκούειω ἡ γῆ ῥήματα στόματός μου.*

1. Attende, cælum, et loquar; et audiat, terra, verba ex ore meo.

2. *Προσδοκᾶσθω ὡς θετός τὸ ἀπὸ φθεγγύμῳ καὶ καταβήτω ὡς δρόσος τα ῥήματά μου. ὥσει ὄμβρος; ἐπ' ἄγρωσιν, καὶ ὥσει νιφετός ἐπὶ χόρτον.*

2. Expectetur sicut pluvia adpronunciatio mea, et descendant sicut ros verba mea, sicut imber super gramen, et sicut nix super fœnum.

3. *Ὅτι τὸ ὄνομα κυρίου ἐκάλεσα, δὴτε μεγαλυσήνῃ τῷ Θεῷ ἡμῶν.*

3. Quia nomen Domini invocavi; date magnificentiam Deo Nostro.^b

The whole of the book of Job, the Psalms, and some of the apocryphal books, are still extant, while only fragments exist of the rest. These are found in the

3 vols. fol. *Frid. Münter*, Fragmenta vers. antiqu. Latinæ antehieronym. Prophetarum Jer., Ezech., Dan., et Hos., e cod. rescr. Wirceburg; Hafn. 1819, in Miscell. Hafn. vol. i. pt. i. p. 81, sqq.

* The LXX. omit יְהוָה in Isa. lx. 5. The *Itala* reads *et gaudebis*; Theodotion, καὶ χαρήσῃ.

^b [See these and more specimens in *Eichhorn*, § 324.

In Gen. xv. 15, it reads, Tu autem ibis ad patres suos *nutritus* in senecta bona, instead of *sepultus* in senecta bona, because the Greek MS. had *τραφεὶς* instead of *ταφείς*. In Ps. xvii. 14, it retained a singular error. The Greek MS. read *θῶν*, (swine,) for *θῶν*, (sons;) so the translator rendered it *suillam* instead of *filiorum*. *Eichhorn*, l. c.]

Fathers, in old Latin manuscripts, in Psalters, missals, and breviaries.]*

Since the diversity and imperfections of the text of this version had become greater than that of the Septuagint before the time of Origen, Jerome, in the year 382, undertook a similar critical revision of it.^a After finishing the New Testament, he corrected the Psalms, though without following any critical method. He thus prepared the *Psalterium Romanum*. He then wrought this work over anew, making use of Origen's Hexapla and critical marks. The result was the *Psalterium Gallicanum*.

He thus speaks of the work: "While I was at Rome, I revised the Psalter, following the Seventy; though hastily, (*cursim*,) yet I corrected it extensively, (*magna tamen ex parte*.) But now, O Paula and Eustochium, since you see it is again corrupted by the fault of transcribers, and that the ancient error prevails more than the recent correction, you compel me, as it were, to plough the field just now reaped with my sickle, and, with cross furrows, tear up the thorns which begin to show their heads anew. Let each one observe the horizontal line, or the prominent marks, that is, the obelisks or asterisks; and whenever he sees a mark, (*virgulam*,) let him understand that, from thence to the two points which follow, the Septuagint contains more than my version. But when he sees *stars*, he may know that, from thence to the two points, something has been added from the Hebrew text, according to the version of Theodotion, which does not differ from the Septuagint in

* [See *Eichhorn*, § 324, sqq.]

^b *Martianay*, Prolegg. ii. ad *Jerome*, Div. Bib.

literalness." Again, "Have I not said something against the Seventy, whom I diligently corrected, some years ago, and gave to those who speak my language, whom I daily use in the assembly of brethren, and whose Psalms I sing in continual meditation?" Again he says, "I do not doubt that you have the *edition of the Seventy*, which I *carefully corrected*, many years ago, and gave to the studious." Still further, he adds, "This, [edition of the Septuagint,] which is contained in the Hexapla, and which we have *translated*, is the same translation of the Septuagint which is preserved spotless and uncorrupted in the copies of the learned."^a

In this way he gradually wrought over the whole of the Old Testament. He says of part of his labor, "Rejoice because you receive the blessed Job safe and sound, who formerly, among the Latins, lay prostrate in filth and worms, and was full of offences. And as, after his

^a *Jerome, Præf. ad Edit. poster. Psalmorum: Psalterium, Romæ dudum positus, emendarum, et juxta LXX. interpretes, licet cursim, magna tamen ex parte correxeram. Quod quia rursus videtis, o Paula et Eustochium, scriptorum vitio depravatum, plusque antiquum errorem, quam novam emendationem valere, cogitis, ut veluti quodam novali scissum jam arvum exerceam, et obliquis sulcis renascentes spinas eradicem. Notet sibi unus quisque vel jacentem lineam vel radiantia signa, id est, vel obelos vel asteriscos: et ubicunque viderit virgulam præcedentem ab ea usque ad duo puncta quæ impressimus, sciat in LXX. translatoribus plus haberi: ubi autem stellæ similitudinem perspexerit, de Hebræis voluminibus additum noverit æque usque ad duo puncta, juxta Theodotionis duntaxat editionem, qui simplicitate sermonis a LXX. interpretibus non discordat. Apolog. adv. Rufin. ii. 24: Egone contra LXX. interpretes aliquid sum locutus, quos ante annos plurimos diligentissime emendatos meæ linguæ studiosis dedi, quos quotidie in conventu fratrum edissero, quorum Psalmos jugi meditatione decanto? Ep. 23, ad Lucinium, Opp. iv. pt. ii. p. 574: *Septuagintæ interpretum editionem* et te habere non dubito, et ante annos plurimos diligentissime *emendatam* studiosis tradidi. Ep. 135, ad Sunn. et Fret. Opp. ii. p. 627: Ea autem, (editio LXX. intt.,) quæ habetur in Hexaplis et quam nos *vertimus*, ipsa est, quæ in eruditorum libris incorrupta et immaculata LXX. interpretum translatio reservatur.*

trial and his triumph, all his possessions are given back to him double, so in our language I have made him receive what he had lost." "But among the Latins, before that translation was made which we have recently published with its asterisks and obelisks, nearly seventy or eighty verses were lacking." Again, "When you demanded of me, in your letters, a short time ago, that I should translate the Chronicles for you into the Latin tongue, I engaged a certain doctor of the law, from Tiberias, who is held in great admiration among the Hebrews, and with him I have examined it from end to end ; and, thus confirmed, I have dared to undertake what you command. For I speak freely. This book of names [Chronicles] is so corrupt in the Greek and Latin manuscript, that you would think they were barbarian and Sarmatic, rather than Hebrew names, which are here thrown together."*

He speaks, in his Apology against Rufin, of revising only six books, namely, Psalms, Job, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Canticles, and Chronicles. Double prefaces of these, and no others, are extant. Perhaps he did not revise the whole of the Old Testament ; [but it is more probable that he did, for he complains that the greater

* Præf. in Job : *Beatum Job, qui adhuc apud Latinos jacebat in stercore et vermibus scatebat errorum, integrum et immaculatum gaudete. Quomodo enim post probationem atque victoriam duplicia sunt et universa reddita : ita ego in lingua nostra feci eum habere quæ amiserat, etc.* Præf. alt. : *Cæterum apud Latinos ante eam translationem, quam sub asteriscis et obelis nuper edidimus, septingenti ferme aut octingenti versus desunt.* See Ep. ad Pammachium. Præf. ad Paralip. : *Cum a me nuper litteris flagitassetis, ut vobis Paralipomenon Latino sermone transferrem, de Tiberiade quendam legis auctorem, qui apud Hebræos admirationi habebatur, assumpsi et contuli cum eo a vertice (ut ajunt) usque ad extremum unguem, et sic confirmatus ausus sum facere quod jubebatis. Libere enim loquor. Ita in Græcis et Latinis codicibus hic nominum liber vitiosus est, ut non Hebræa quam barbara quedam et Sarmatica nomina conjecta arbitrandum sit.* See *Hody*, p. 352, sqq.

part of his work was destroyed by the fraud of some one. In his Apology, he did not need to speak of books which perished almost as soon as they were completed, and therefore he mentions only such as were preserved. It is uncertain whether he revised the Apocrypha.]^a Only three passages of this revision have been printed.^b

[“Jerome acquired great fame by this recension of the old Latin version..... In Rome and Gaul, his revision of the Psalms was admitted into the churches, and Augustine commented on his improved edition of Job. But this prosperity excited envy against this meritorious man, and Rufinus, bishop of Aquileia, made the bitterest reproaches against the good Father, on account of this, as well as his other learned labors. He considered that Jerome had committed an offence, because he approved the use which Origen had made of the other Greek versions to improve the Seventy, and preferred the hexaplay to the common text.” The few relics of this recension are valuable aids in the criticism of the hexaplay text of the Alexandrian version.]^c

^a *Jerome*, Ep. 94, ad August. Opp. iv. pt. ii. p. 644: Grandem Latini sermonis in ista provincia notariorum patimur penuriam: et idcirco præceptis tuis parere non possumus, maxime in editione Septuaginta, quæ asteriscis veribusque distincta est. Pleraque enim prioris laboris fraude amisimus.

^b *Fabri Stap.* Psalter. quincuplex. *Jos. Mar. Cari (Tommasi)* Psalter: Juxta duplicem edit, Romanum et Gallicanum, una cum Canticis ex duplici item edit. et Hymnarium atque Orationale: edit. ad veterem eccles. formam ex antiquis MSS. exemplaribus digesta; Rom. 1683, 4to.; reprinted with *Tommasi's* corrections, and *A. F. Vezzosi* and *Luc. Holsten's* Remarks in *Tommasi's* works; Rome, 1747, vol. ii. Psalter, cum Canticis versibus prisco more distinctum, argumentis et orationibus vetustis novaque litterali explanatione delucidatum; Rom. 1697, 4to.; Einsied. 1727; Vien. 1735, and in the 3d vol. of *Tommasi's* works. Both the Psalters and Job may be found in *Jerome's* Biblioth. div. Opp. i. p. 1186, sqq.

^c [*Eichhorn*, § 330.]

§ 49.

2. THE VERSIONS INDIRECTLY MADE INTO SYRIAC.

According to Abulfaragius, the western Syrians had another version, besides the Peshito, which was made from the Septuagint. This, following Pococke's reading and translation, has commonly been called FIGURATA.* [The Alexandrian version was held in superstitious veneration by the Syrians, and therefore it is no wonder it was the parent of many new Syriac versions.]

The following Syriac versions of the Septuagint are known to us : —

1. In the year 617 A. C., Paul, bishop of Tela, at the request of the Monophysite patriarch Athanasius of Antioch, made, at Alexandria, a Syriac version of the hex-

* Pococke, Spec. Hist. Arabum, p. 184. (Compare Abulfaragius, Histor. Dynast. p. 100.) "The more western Syrians have two versions; the direct one, (istam simplicem,) which was translated from the Hebrew language into the Syriac, after the advent of Christ, the Lord, in the time of Addeus, [Thaddeus,] the apostle; or, according to others, before Christ, in the time of Hiram and Solomon, son of David. And they have another, called *figuratam*, made according to the translation of the LXX. elders, from the Greek into the Syriac, long after the incarnation of the Savior." De Rossi translates the passage, "another made after the rule of the LXX., from the Greek language into the Syriac." Spec. mediet et Hexapl. Biblior. Vers. Syro-Estranghele, p. 1. Compare Eichhorn, Repert. vol. iii. p. 197. Bruns, ad Kennicott, Diss. Gen. p. 181, says, "I will add (from Asseman's Bib. Or. vol. iii. pt. i. p. 146,) that the word צור־דָּבָר, which properly means *figure, image*, is used for *text* by the Syrians, when it is applied to the Scripture." Michælis, Or. Bib. vol. xiii. p. 150. Sylb. de Sacy (in Eichhorn's Allg. Bib. vol. viii. p. 588, following Renaudot, Perpet. de la Foi, vol. v. p. 554) proposes a different reading of the text, and translates it, "In the time of Solomon, son of David, and Hiram, king of Tyre, and [they have] another edition, called *the version according to the LXX.*," instead of Pococke's text and version, as above. De Sacy's conjecture is favored by the notes of Abraham Ecchellensis, on Ebedjesu's Catal. Lib. Chaldæorum, (Rom. 1653,) and by MSS. See Jahn, vol. ii. p. vi. sqq.

apulary text.* Andrew Masius once had and used a manuscript containing this version ; but it has since been lost.^b However, in the Ambrosian manuscript at Milan,^c the following books are contained, namely : the Psalms, Job, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, the Song of Solomon, the Wisdom of Solomon, Ecclesiasticus, the twelve minor Prophets, Jeremiah, Baruch, the Lamentations, Daniel, Ezekiel, and Isaiah. The fourth book of Kings is contained in manuscript at Paris.^d All of these have been published, with the exception of the apocryphal books.

This version follows the hexaplay text, literally, even imitating the Greek etymologies, preserving the article and the Greek words. It contains also the hexaplay

* *Eichhorn's* Essay on the Author of the Syriac Version of the Hexapla, in his *Repert.* vol. iii. p. 220, sqq.

^b *Josue Imperatoris* Hist. illust. atque explic. ab *And. Masio* ; Antwerp, 1573, fol. Ep. dedic. p. 6. "In preparing this work," says Masius, "I have followed the old MSS. [of the LXX.,] and in particular that which is preserved in the Vatican library. I had also the Syriac version, a most certain guide, that literally expresses the Greek text as it was 900 years ago, which was contained in Origen's Hexapla, deposited by Eusebius in that noble library at Cesarea. . . . From the same Syriac interpreter I have the books of Judges, and the Kings, besides the Chronicles, Esdras, Esther, Judith, and, finally, a good part of Tobit and Deuteronomy."

^c *Bruns*, in *Eichhorn's* *Repert.* vol. iii. p. 166—212. *De Rossi*, l. c. Compare *Eichhorn*, l. c. vol. iii. p. 197, sqq.

^d *Codex Syriaco-Hexaplaris Ambrosiano-Mediolanensis* ed. et Latine vera. a *Matth. Norberg*, tom. i. (Jer. et Ez. ;) Lond. Goth. 1787. Daniel sec. ed. LXX. Intt. ex Tetraplis desumptam. Ex Cod. Syro-Estranghelo Bibliothecæ Ambros. Syriace edidit, Lat. vertit, Præf. Notisque crit. illustr. *Cajet. Bugatus* ; Mediol. 1788. Cursus hexaplares in Jobum. E Cod. Syriaco-Hexapl. Ambros.-Mediol. scripsit *H. Middeldorpf* ; Vratisl. 1817, 4to.

Description and critical use of them by *Bruns*, Cursus Hexapl. in iv. libr. Reg. in *Eichhorn's* *Repert.* vols. viii., ix., x. Libri iv. Regum Syro-Heptaplaris Spec. e MS. ; Paris, Syriace ed., textum vera. Alex. Hexapl. restit. notisque illustravit *J. Gdfr. Haase* ; Jen. 1782. [The following portions of the Ambrosian MS. have been printed, in *Eichhorn's* *Repert.* vol. iii., with all the marginal notes, &c.: Isa. iv. 6, 7. Dan. ix. 24—27. Ps. i., and fragments of Ps. xl.]

marks, and is a valuable aid in restoring the text of the Hexapla.

[This celebrated Milan manuscript was first made known by J. J. Bjiornstrahl, a Swedish professor. He published a letter (dated Milan, 1773) in a Swedish journal, and stated that he had seen a Syriac version of a part of Origen's Hexapla, in a manuscript written in the old Estranghelo character; that the manuscript was not known to the learned. In the margin, he says, are Origen's critical notes. At the end of almost every book, it is said, "This was translated from Origen's Tetrapla," which had been copied by Eusebius and Pamphilus. There is reason to suppose that the manuscript in the hands of Masius, and this at Milan, are parts of the same whole.*

To judge from the printed extracts, the version is very literal; it sacrifices the purity of the Syriac, for the sake of a literal rendering. It seeks etymologies of the Greek words. This servile adherence to the letter enhances its value for critical purposes. In general it follows the hexaplar text of the Seventy, but sometimes it agrees with the Vatican, sometimes with the Complutensian text. Sometimes it attempts to reconcile the

* *Eichhorn*, Repert. vol. vii. p. 220, sqq. [*De Rossi* published an account of this version. Spec. inedit. et hexap. Bib. Vers. Syro-Estranghelæ cum simplici atque utriusque fontibus, Græco et Hebræo, collatæ, &c.; Parm. 1778, 4to. He gives several specimens of it, comprising Ps. i., reprinted with valuable additions, in *Eichhorn*, l. c. vol. iii. p. 197, sqq. See the valuable article of *Bruns*, on the Syriac hexaplar MS. at Milan. Ibid. p. 166, sqq.]

Psalmi sec. ed. LXX. Interp. quos ex Cod. Syr.-Estrang. Bib. Ambros. Syriace imprimendos curavit. *C. Bugatus*; Med. 1820. See *Pluschke*, De Psalteri Syr. Mediol. a C. Bugato ed. pec. indole ejusdemque usu critico, Bonn, 1835. Cod. Syr. Hexapl. lib. iv. Regum, e Cod.; Paris, ed. *H. Middelдорff*; Berlin, 1835, 2 vols. 4to.: vol. i. contains Isaiah, the twelve minor Prophets, Ruth, Job, Solomon's Song, Lament., Eccles.; vol. ii. contains the critical commentary.

various readings still extant in the manuscripts. The use of it is limited mostly to the criticism of the hexaplar text of the Seventy, which is quite imperfectly represented by the Alexandrian manuscript. In many places it supplies the words which are now wanting in the Seventy, but found in the Hebrew, and sometimes it omits the redundancies of the Greek. It does not always give a good sense, by combining the words of the several versions. It agrees closely with the Marshaline codex, the most valuable manuscript for the restoration of the hexaplar text. This version generally omits the passages of the Seventy not found in the Hebrew, though not always, and sometimes it furnishes readings peculiar to itself.]^a

In 1486 A. C., Hareth Ben Senan made an Arabic version of the hexaplar Syriac translation. Two manuscripts of this are still preserved in the Bodleian library at Oxford, and two in Paris.

[They are mainly useful in revising the Syriac version of the Hexapla, and thereby restoring the true text of the Septuagint.]^b

2. In the Paris manuscript we find a version of the Pentateuch and Daniel, which was made from the Septuagint and Theodotion, and which was revised in the beginning of the eighth century, by James of Edessa, "from the version used by the Greeks and the Syrians," that is, from the Peshito. It usually follows the text of

^a [Eichhorn, § 256.]

^b Eichhorn, § 294, c. *Paulus*, Com. Crit. exhibens e Bibliotheca Bodlejan. Specimina Versa. Pentateuchi septem Arab. p. 70, sqq. Schnurrer, in *Holmes*, Præf. ad tom. i. ed. LXX. c. 4. [See some extracts from the Bodleian MS. in *Walton's Polyglot*, vol. vi. See, also, *Joseph White's* letter to the bishop of London; Oxon. 1779, 8vo. p. 56. *Eichhorn's Allg. Bib.* vol. i. p. 605, 652, sqq.]

the Septuagint, and (in the book of Daniel) Theodotion, and agrees only occasionally with the Peshito.*

Eichhorn and De Sacy have conjectured that the so called *Figurata* lies at the bottom of this version. But others think the hexaplar version mentioned above is the same with the *Figurata*, and has been revised by James of Edessa.^b But the hexaplar text never came into common use, but seems to have been used merely for critical purposes.^c

[If we follow the account of the Assemans, James of Edessa was for a time bishop of that place, but retired from his office in disgust, and spent nine years in the solitude of a cloister at Teleda. Some months before his death, he returned to his office, and died, A. C. 708, or, as others say, 712. While at Teleda, he made a revision of the text of the Syriac version of the Old Testament, in the years 1015, 1016, of the era of the Seleucidæ, (that is, 703, 704, A. C.) according to the subscription in the two Paris manuscripts. From the specimens published by Eichhorn, it would appear this could not be a revision of the Peshito, for it agrees, in the Pentateuch, step by step, with the Septuagint; in Daniel, it sometimes agrees closely with Theodotion, though at other times it inclines to the Septuagint. Here, however, he aims to introduce some of the passages of the Peshito. He follows Theodotion in the

* Eichhorn, On the Syriac version of the O. T. which James of Edessa edited, in his *Allg. Bib.* vol. ii. p. 270, sqq. Einleit. § 261. De Sacy, Notice d'un MS. Siriaque du Pent., &c., in *Allg. Bib.* vol. viii. p. 570, sqq., reprinted in *Notices et Extraits de MSS. de la Bibl. nat.* vol. iv. p. 684, sqq. Bugate published fragments of the MS. in his *Syr. Hexap. Daniel*.

^b Hävernik, vol. i. pt. ii. p. 64, 66. Rhode, Gregor. Barhebræus Schol. in Ps. v. et xviii. p. 76.

^c Eichhorn, § 267. Asseman, l. c. vol. ii. p. 411, and vol. iii. pt. i. p. 75, sqq.

apocryphal part of Daniel. This revision became a critical authority in the church.

Asseman^a conjectures that James of Edessa himself made a new version from the Greek, and grounds the conjecture mainly on some various readings of the Psalms, which Barhebræus cites from him, and on a book from his hand, in the Vatican, relating to the Syriac version. But there seems to be little reason for the opinion.]

3. A version of the Old Testament was made, or procured to be made, by Philoxenus, bishop of Hierapolis. But of this we know too little to pronounce, as some have done, that it is the same as the *figurata*.^b [Philoxenus, called also Xenaïas, was bishop of Hierapolis or Mabug, from 488 to 518. At his direction, Polycarp made a Syriac version of the New Testament, which was called the Philoxenian, in honor of the bishop who caused it to be undertaken. It is still a question whether he translated also the Old Testament. Moses Aghelaus,^c who lived in the middle of the sixth century, mentions a version of the Psalms from the Greek, made by Polycarp, the rural bishop. The Milan manuscript of the hexaplar version on Isa. ix. 6, cites a passage from "another version made for the Syrians by the holy Philoxenus, bishop of Mabug." It cannot be determined whether it included all the books of the Old Testament.]^d

4. There is a Syriac version of the patriarch Mar Abba. [He was by birth a Magian, but was converted to Christianity, and applied himself diligently to the

^a [L. c. vol. i. p. 493.]

^b *Adler*, in *Eichhorn*, § 260, vol. ii. p. 180, note.

^c [Cited in *Asseman*, l. c. vol. ii. p. 83.]

^d [*Eichhorn*, § 266. *Repert.* iii. p. 166, sqq., 175, sqq.]

study of languages. He learned the Syriac and the Greek, and then translated several books from the latter into the former tongue. Amongst them was the Old Testament. In translating this, he was assisted by his teacher, one Thomas, who has been confounded with Thomas of Heraclea. It cannot be determined whether this version was ever authorized by the church, or remained entirely in private use. It was made in the sixth century.^a

5. Simeon, abbot of the monastery of Licinius, translated the Psalms from the Greek into the Syriac. He gives an account of his labors in an epistle to a monk, which — as well as his brief exposition of some of the Psalms — is still extant in the Vatican library.^b

6. It is also maintained by some that Thomas of Heraclea, a Monophysite bishop, about 613, made a translation of the Seventy into Syriac. Barhebræus often quotes the Heracleian version. Pococke had a manuscript containing the History of Susannah, which professed to come from the same source. The apocryphal additions to Daniel, ch. xii., in Walton's polyglot, are printed from the Heracleian version. But it is not probable that Thomas ever made such a translation; for he was contemporary with Paul of Tela, another Monophysite bishop, who himself made a version; and it is not probable two independent Syriac versions would be made contemporarily by associated bishops, for the use of the same party in the church. Thomas, it appears, translated a portion, or the whole of the Apocrypha, and revised the Philoxenian version of the New Testament,

^a [Eichhorn, § 267. *Asseman*, l. c. vol. ii. p. 411, sqq., vol. iii. pt. i. p. 75, sqq.]

^b *Eichhorn*, 271. *Asseman*, vol. ii. p. 83.

while Paul translated the hexaplar text of the whole Old Testament into the Syriac. The work of Paul seems sometimes to have been called the *Heracleian* version.*

There was a version called the *Karkuphish* (*versio Karkuphensis*) in use among the Nestorian Christians, who inhabited the mountains of Assyria. It received its name — which signifies the *version of the mountaineers* — from this circumstance. However, but little is known of it. Dr. Wiseman says, it is a recension of the Peshito, made about the end of the tenth century, by David, a Jacobite monk of the convent of St. Aaron, on Mount Sigari, in Mesopotamia. It bears a close affinity with the Peshito, except in proper names and Græco-Syriac words, where it follows the Greek orthography, and that of Thomas of Heraclea. Some think it was made for the Monophysite Christians, which others deny.† There is a valuable manuscript of this recension in the Vatican.]

§ 50.

3. THE ÆTHIOPIAN VERSION.

The Æthiopians have a version of the whole Bible, in their sacred language, called *Geez*.‡ Its origin cannot be placed earlier than the fourth century.§ Its author is

* [Asseman, vol. ii. p. 283. Eichhorn, § 269, 270.]

† [Ibid. Wiseman, *Horæ Syriacæ*; Rome, 1828, 8vo. vol. i. p. 236—240, 162, 163, cited in *Horne*, l. c. pt. i. ch. iii. sect. iii. § 4. *Lee's* Proleg. in *Bib. Polyg. minora*, iii. sect. iii. p. 40. A writer in the *Edinburgh Review* for October, 1840, art. v., says M. Tattam has discovered in Egypt two MSS. of a Syriac version, containing Exodus and Joshua.]

‡ [See an account of this language in *Adelung*, l. c. vol. i. p. 401, sqq., vol. iii. p. 101, sqq.]

§ For an account of the conversion of the Æthiopians by *Frumentius*, (the

unknown.* [This version has been referred to the times of the apostles by some; but the Æthiopians were not converted to Christianity before the first part of the fourth century. It is, therefore, no wonder that traces of this version are not found till near the end of this century. Chrysostom speaks of its existence, though without treating of its history; and no one of ancient times has given us any information about its author.†

Bruce thinks the Old Testament was translated from the Hebrew, before Christ, and the New Testament at the above date. The dialect into which both have been rendered is a dead language, or, at least, it is not spoken. He seldom found *perfect* copies of the Old Testament. They are rare in churches, and still more so in private use. Several books of both the Old and New Testament are almost unknown. The Abyssinians make no careful distinction between canonical and apocryphal books. The story of Bel and the Dragon, the Book of Enoch,

Abba Salama,) about 330, see *Ludolf*, Hist. Æthiop. lib. iii. 2; Franc. ad Mœnum, 1681, fol. [See the other authorities, cited in *Gieseler*, l. c. vol. i. p. 312. It is commonly, perhaps, supposed that the Æthiopians were converted by the servant of Candace, baptized by Philip, (Acts viii. 27,) or by Bartholomew, or Matthew, or Matthias; but the Æthiopians themselves state that Christianity was first taught them by *Frumentius* and *Ædesius*, (Fremonatus and Sydracus,) at the above date. It is supposed the Bible was translated at the above date. *Ludolf*, l. c. See *Bruce's Travels* to discover the Source of the Nile; 1805, vol. ii. p. 416—420. See the most ancient testimony in *Chrysostom*, Hom. in Joh. ii. p. 561.]

A pretence to an apostolical origin of this version has been founded on Acts viii. 27. *Walton*, Prolegg. xv. 12, [maintains that it was made at an early date. His arguments are mainly two: 1. The early church could not flourish without the Scriptures; and, 2. the version agrees with some very ancient readings.] See *Pet. Vict. Cajetan*, Paradig. de Lingua Æthiop. p. 160.

* The Æthiopian legends make Abba Salama the author of it. But there are traces of several hands. See *Ludolf*, l. c. lib. iii. ch. iv. p. 295. *Bruce*, l. c. *Eichhorn*, Allg. Bib. vol. iii. p. 120, sqq.

† [See *Eichhorn*, § 309.]

and Solomon's Song, are common. "Saint George and his Dragon are revered as highly as the heroes of the Old or the saints of the New Testament."]*

The Æthiopian Jews make use of this version, although it originated with Christian authors. The translation of the Old Testament followed the Septuagint, according to the Alexandrian recension, as an original.^b There are in Europe manuscripts of this version entire,^c but only fragments of it have yet been printed.^d

* [Bruce, l. c. in *Eichhorn*, l. c. p. 120, sqq. Bruce brought three MSS. of the Book of Enoch to Europe, and one of the Æthiopic version of the whole Bible. See an account of another MS. in *Horne*, l. c. pt. i. ch. iii. sect. iii.]

^b *Ludolf*, Comment. in Hist. Æthiop. l. c. *Renaudot* thinks the Coptic version is the original of the Æthiopic. *Le Long*, ed. *Masch*, vol. ii. pt. i. p. 142, sq. *Bruce* is of the opinion it is not translated from the LXX. *J. A. B. Dorn*, De Psalterio Æthiop., (Lips. 1825, 4to.,) maintains the author often consulted the Hebrew original; but his reviewer, in A. L. Z. for 1832, No. 8, maintains the contrary.

^c *Ludolf*, l. c. p. 298. *Bruce's* MS. is still in the hands of his heirs. [It is not known in whose hands it now is. Mr. *Horne*, l. c. pt. i. ch. iii. sect. iii. § 3, says, p. 273, sq., the whole Æthiopic version will soon be printed. The Gospels are already in print — Evangelia sancta Ethiopica ad Cod. MSS. Fidem, ed. *T. P. Flatt*; Lond. 1826, 4to.] See a catalogue of the MSS. in *Ludolf*, l. c. Besides the common Apocrypha, they have others; e. g., the Book of Enoch, of which an English version has been published; the Book of Enoch the Prophet, &c., by *Richard Laurence*; Ox. 1821, 2d ed., enlarged, 1833, 8vo. [See the Christian Observer, vol. xxx. p. 417, sqq. Cited in *Horne*, l. c. Bibl. Append. pt. i. ch. iii. sect. ii. No. 11. *A. G. Hoffmann*, Das Buch Henoch; Jena, 1833, 2 vols. 8vo.] See *Gesenius*, article Æthiop. Sprache und Lit., in *Ersch* and *Gruber's* Encyclop.

^d Psalter. cum Cant. Cant. ed. *J. Potken*; Rom. 1513, 4to., and Col. 1518, fol., and in London Polyglot, 1657. Psalterium Davidis Æth. et Lat. cum duobus Impr. et tribus MSS. Codd. diligenter collat. et emend. Accedunt Æthiopice tantum Hymni et Orationes aliquæ Vet. et N. Test., item Cant. Cant. cum var. Lectt. et Notis. Cura *Jobi Ludolfi*, Frcf. ad M. 1701, 4to. Cant. Cant. Schelomonis Æth. e vetusto Cod. summa cum Cura erutum a *J. G. Nisselio*; Lug. Bat. 1656, 4to. Liber Ruth Æth. ed. a *J. G. Nisselio*; Lug. Bat. 1660, 4to. Prophetia Jonæ ex Æth. in Lat. ad Verbum versa. Cui adjunguntur quatuor Genes, Capp. e vetust. Mspto Æth. eruta a *Theod. Petæo*; Lug. Bat. 1660; reprinted by *Staudacher*; Frank. 1706, 4to. The four first chapters of Genesis, by *G. Ch. Bürklin*; Frankfort ad Mœ-

[It follows the Greek text very closely, and sometimes copies its errors. It follows the peculiar readings of the Alexandrian text. It is of no value except as a critical help in restoring the text of the Hexapla. Ludolph speaks unfavorably of that part printed in Walton's Polyglot, and says it has more errors than Potken's edition.

The Æthiopian division of the books is peculiar. They make four classes of books : —

- I. The LAW; that is, the Pentateuch, Joshua, Judges, and Ruth.
- II. The KINGS; Samuel, Kings, Chronicles, Ezra, Tobit, Judith, Esther, Job, Psalms.
- III. SOLOMON; Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Canticles, Ecclesiasticus, Wisdom of Solomon.
- IV. The PROPHETS; Isaiah, Jeremiah, Lamentations, Baruch, Ezekiel, Daniel, the twelve minor Prophets, and the two books of Maccabees.]^a

§ 51.

4. THE EGYPTIAN VERSION.

There is a version of the Bible in the dialect of Lower Egypt, which is called *Coptic*, — though it is better named *Memphitic*, — and another in the dialect of Upper Egypt, which is called *Sahidic* or *Thebaic*.^b

num, 1696, 4to. Prophetia Joel, Æthiop. Lab. et Stud. *Th. Petrai*; Lug. Bat. 1661, 4to. Vaticinium Malachiæ a *Th. Petrai*; Lug. Bat. 1661, 4to. Fragmenta V. T. ex Versione Æthiop. Interpretis ut et alia quædam Opuscula Æthiop. ex Æthiop. Lingua in Latina transtulit. *Ch. A. Bode*; Helmst. 1755, 4to. [See *Platt's Catalogue of the Æthiopic Biblical MSS. in the Library of the Brit. and For. Bible Society, &c. &c.* 1823, 4to.]

^a [Ludolf, l. c. *Eichhorn*, § 309, 310. *Hug*, l. c. § 97, 98.]

^b On the Egyptian language and its dialects, see *Quatremère, Re-*

[A great part of the Old Testament is still extant in the manuscripts of the Coptic version, and it is probable the translation included the whole of the Old Testament. The Sahidic version also included the same.]^a The origin of these versions is probably to be referred to the end of the third and the beginning of the fourth century; for at that time Christianity seems first to have been extended to the Egyptian provinces.^b Both follow the Alexandrian version, but it is doubtful which of the two is the oldest.^c [Woide^d maintains that an Egyptian version was made in the first century. His arguments are as follows: Christianity early penetrated into Egypt; a version would be needed, for Greek was not correctly spoken. To prove the latter point, he cites Athanasius

cherches critiques et historiques sur la Langue et la Lit. de l'Égypte; Paris, 1808, 8vo. [See the "Précis," of this work in *Classical Journal*, vol. i. p. 101, sqq.] Hug, in *Ersch and Gruber's Encyclop.*, art. *Egypt. Sprache, &c.* [M. Quatremère thinks the Coptic and ancient Egyptian were substantially the same language, and that it continued to be spoken long after the Greek became the *legal* tongue. He thinks the Egyptians had many books before the time of Cambyse. See *Bib. Repos.* for July, 1839, art. ii.]

^a [See *Eichhorn*, § 313, sqq.]

^b *Münter* on the age of the Coptic versions of the N. T., in *Eichhorn's Allg. Bib.* vol. iv. p. 24, sq. ["If we attempt to place the origin of the Egyptian versions of the Bible about the end of the third, or the beginning of the fourth century, we do not meet with the same difficulties as in the attempt to refer them to a more ancient date. There are express testimonies to the existence of a Coptic version of the Bible in the fourth century." *Münter*, l. c. 24.] On the other hand, see some of the earlier opinions in *Spec. Vers. Dan. Copt.* (Rom. 1786,) p. 23, and *Woide* in *J. A. Cramer's Beiträge zur Beförd. theol. Kentnitze*, iii. 1. Hug, l. c. and Introduction, § 90, sqq., dates the Lower Egyptian version in the latter half of the third century, and the Upper Egyptian in the first half of that century. *Engelbreth*, *N. Theol. Journal*, vol. vi. p. 844, and *Adler*, l. c. p. 186, give a catalogue of the MSS.

^c See *Woide's* comparisons of the Greek and Egyptian versions, in *Holmes's* ed. of the LXX. In Daniel, Theodotion's version was the basis. See *Adler*, l. c. p. 187. *Münter*, l. c. p. 139, sqq.

^d [Cited in *Eichhorn*, § 316, a.]

and Sozomen^a to show that Antony, an Egyptian hermit, could not speak Greek. Pachomius wrote rules for seven thousand monks in the Egyptian tongue; some of Chrysostom's homilies, and passages from the writings of Athanasius, Basil, Gregory, and Cyril, were also translated into Egyptian. The Bible must have been translated much earlier. However, these arguments are not conclusive. But if the version is quoted in Valentinian's *Sophia*, — written in the first quarter of the second century, — as Woide maintains, the conclusion is irresistible. He finds traces of the Memphitic version in the third century. Saint Antony, who lived in Lower Egypt, could not read Greek, but yet read the Bible. But the date of both these versions rests mainly on conjecture. Yet, if one of them follows the recension of Hesychius, as Münster supposes, we have good reason for placing it after the middle of the third century.]^b

Whole books and a couple of fragments of the Lower Egyptian version have been printed,^c but only fragments of the Upper Egyptian.^d

[“ The Egyptian versions in general adopt words and phrases from the Seventy, though sometimes they are differently divided. Whatever is added, omitted, or

^a [Eichhorn, l. c. See, also, *Hug*, l. c. § 90—96, and the authorities he cites, and *Marsh's Michaelis*, vol. ii. pt. ii. p. 595, sqq.]

^b [Eichhorn, l. c.]

^c *Quinque Libri Mosis Proph. in Lingua Ægypt. descripti et Lat. versi a Dav. Wilkins*; Lond. 1731, 4to. The Psalms were printed at Rome, 1744 and 1749, at the expense of the Propaganda. The fragment *Jer. ix. 17—xiii.* is published in *Reliquiis Ægypt. Codd. Venetiis in Biblioth. Naniana asservatorum*, (ed. *Mingarelli*), Fasc. i.; Bol. 1785, and *Daniel*, ch. ix. in *Münster's Specimina* above cited.

^d *Daniel*, ch. ix. in *Münster*, l. c. *Jer. xiii. 14. xiv. 19*, in *Mingarelli*, l. c. *Isa. i. 1—v. 18, 25*, in *Engelbreth*, *Frag. Basmuricocopt. V. et N. T.*; *Hafn.* 1811. See *Engelbreth's Catalogue of the MSS. in Neue Theol. Journal*, vol. vi. p. 844. [See *Horne*, pt. i. ch. iii. sect. iii. § 3.]

transposed in the Seventy, is added, omitted, or transposed, likewise in the version. Yet this harmony is not without exceptions. Sometimes the Egyptians insert something in the text; sometimes omit something through negligence. It often agrees with the Alexandrian codex, in particular when this accords with the Oxford and Marshalian manuscript, and the Aldine and Complutensian editions. Sometimes it contains readings peculiar to these authorities, or to Origen, Theodotion, Symmachus, and Aquila; sometimes it follows the Hebrew text, and departs from all the readings of the Seventy hitherto known. Both of these versions were made independently from the Greek, as it is evident from the great diversities between the two. Their critical use is limited to the correction of the Seventy. Sometimes they retain what is lost from the Greek; sometimes explain obscure words; sometimes correct errors; and sometimes they confound the Egyptian names with the Greek names of places." The Sahidic version of Daniel — in which both versions follow Theodotion — differs from the Memphitic enough to show they were not both from the same text of that version. From this circumstance Münter concludes they did not use Origen's recension of Theodotion's text. Both must have been made after Theodotion's work had acquired ecclesiastical authority.]^a

There is still another Egyptian version, in the Bas-muric dialect, of which Engelbreth has published some fragments.^b [Athanasius, bishop of Rus, mentions a

^a [Eichhorn, § 315, sqq. A writer in the *Edinburgh Review* for October, 1840, art. v., states that Mr. Tattam has recovered some valuable MSS. of the "Coptic," which "will soon be published."]

^b See, as above, p. 204, note d, [and *Hug*, l. c. § 96.]

third dialect of the old Egyptian language, the *Basmuric*, which, however, became extinct in his time. It is mentioned in his Copto-Arabic Grammar, still preserved in manuscript, in the Royal Library at Paris ;^a from which Picques gave the first information concerning this dialect to the learned of Europe,^b but without being able to make it further known by publishing any specimens of it. At last, Georgi^c found a fragment of a version of the New Testament, (1 Cor. ix. 9—16,) in an old Egyptian dialect which differed from that of Upper and Lower Egypt. He conjectured it was the Basmuric. This version was made from the Alexandrian, but it cannot be determined from what text.]^d

§ 52.

5. THE ARMENIAN VERSION.

Miesrob, or Mesrobes, with the assistance of John Echellensis and Joseph Palnensis, [or Planensis,] about 410 A. C., gave the Armenians a translation of the Bible, and also an alphabet.* [The Armenian literature commences with him. Before his time, the Armenians must have used the alphabet of their neighbors, the Persians, Syrians, or Greeks. Perhaps the first literary work

* [Quatremère, l. c. p. 20, 147.]

^b [Commercium lit. p. 284.]

^c [Georgi, Fragm. Evang. Joh. Præf. p. 75. Quatremère published the Lamentations, Jer. iv. 22—v. 22, and Jeremiah's Epistle to the Jews in Babylon. Engelbreth, i. 1—16, and v. 8—25. See, also, Zoega, Catalogus Codd. Copt. MSS. qui in Museo Borgiano asservantur; Rom. 1810, p. 145—169, et al. Woidius, De Vers. Bibliorum Ægypt. Diss.]

^d [See Eichhorn, § 316, c.]

^e Mosis Chorenensis, Hist. Armeniæ, ch. 54, p. 299. Comp. ch. 61, p. 313. Schöder, Diss. de Ling. Armen. in Thes. Ling. Armen. p. 59.

written in the new character of Miesrob was this translation of the Bible. The Proverbs were first translated.]^a

In the Old Testament, this version follows the Septuagint very closely, and Theodotion's translation of Daniel. It is made from a mixed text, which does not agree with any of our most important recensions.^b It oftener agrees with the Alexandrian codex than with the Aldine or Complutensian editions. But sometimes it follows a reading contained only in the two latter, and not in the former. In passages where all these differ from Bos's printed text, the Armenian version retains the diverse reading. Since this does not follow any text now known, it is thought to be peculiarly valuable for correcting the Seventy; but its value is limited to that object.^c

It has often been supposed that this version was interpolated from the Peshito in the sixth century; but this opinion is unfounded, and rests only on a conjecture of Barhebræus, which has been repeated by Walton and Wiseman.^d It is doubtful that it was interpolated from the Vulgate in the thirteenth century, as La Croze and Michaelis suppose.^e [However, Eichhorn believes that it has been corrupted from the Syriac and the Vulgate,

^a [Eichhorn, § 306. Hug, § 86.]

^b Bredencamp, on the Armenian version of the O. T., in Eichhorn, Allg. Bib. vol. iv. p. 630, sqq. Whiston, Præf. ad Mosis Chorenensis, Hist. Armen. p. xii. sqq.

^c [Eichhorn, § 307. Marsh's Michaelis, vol. ii. pt. i. p. 98, sqq.]

^d See Gregory, on Ps. xvi., repeated in Walton, Proleg. xiii. 16; more fully in Wiseman. Hor. Syriacæ, p. 142. Comp. Rhode, Gregor. Barhebræi Scholia on Ps. v. et xviii. p. 74, and, on the other hand, Bredencamp, l. c. p. 634, sqq.

^e La Croze, Thes. Epist. vol. iii. p. 3, sq., 69. Marsh's Michaelis, vol. ii. pt. i. p. 98, sqq. Bredencamp, l. c. p. 635, sqq. See, on the other side, Adler, Philol. Krit. Miscell. p. 140, sqq. Holmes, Præf. in ed. LXX. ch. 4.

but thinks it doubtful from which Syriac version the interpolations have been made. But its agreements with the Syriac may be accounted for without the hypothesis of *interpolations* from it; for Isaac, the patriarch of Armenia, was engaged in translating a Syriac version into Armenian, when Miesrob returned to the country with the Greek manuscripts he had procured. The version from the Syriac text was then thrown aside. But it may, naturally enough, have given a Syriac tinge to the new version from the Greek. Gregory says, as soon as finished, it was altered to accord with the Syriac.*

The alterations from the Vulgate, says Eichhorn, are indisputable. Even the inscriptions of the books in the Vulgate have sometimes been translated.^b Here and there, the text also has been corrupted from this source, though it does not always agree with the present readings of that version. But since we do not know what Greek text was the basis of the Armenian translation, we cannot, in all cases, determine how much has been taken from the Latin. In one instance, the Armenian text reads *three hundred* instead of *two hundred*, the common reading, and a marginal note refers to the Vulgate as authority for the alteration. But the reading is not in the common text of the Vulgate, though it is found in the edition of 1587. In the book of Daniel, it followed Theodotion, though it has peculiar readings.]^c

Bishop Uscan, the first editor of the Armenian Bible,

* [Eichhorn, § 307, 308. Hug, § 86.]

^b [La Croze and others think Haitho II., an Armenian king, from 1224 to 1270, caused this version to be revised and corrected from the Vulgate, and Jerome's Prefaces to be translated. But Holmes, l. c. ch. 4, does not admit this.]

^c [Eichhorn, § 307, 308, c.]

has been accused of making interpolations in this version.*

§ 53.

6. THE GEORGIAN OR GRUSINIAN VERSION.

In the sixth century, the Georgians procured themselves a translation of the Bible, after the example of the Armenians, from whom they had received the Scriptures. It is made in their sacred language and writing character, from Greek manuscripts, and, in the Old Testament, from the Septuagint. The authors are not known. In the Moscow edition^b the text is altered from the Slavic version.^c

[Before the beginning of the fifth century, the Georgians, like the Armenians, — on whom they depended

* *La Croze*, l. c. vol. ii. p. 290, iii. p. 3, sqq. *Whiston*, l. c. p. x., sqq. *Rosenmüller*, Handbuch, vol. iii. p. 79, sq.

EDITIONS OF THIS VERSION. — *Uscan's*, (Osgan,) Amst. 1666, 4to., reprinted at Constantinople, 1705, 4to., [this edition was collated by Brendenkamp for Dr. *Holmes's* edition of the LXX.;] Venice, 1733, fol., [with marginal notes.] The last edition at Venice, 1805, 4to. [contains the Old and New Testament, with various readings from about twenty MSS., and short Armenian scholia to explain the text. *Hug*, § 89.] The Psalms were published at Rome, 1565; Venice, 1642; Amst. 1661, 4to.; *ibid.* 1666 and 1672, 16mo.; Mars. 1673, 8vo. Obadiah, Armen. et Lat. cum Annotatt. *And. Acoluthi*; Lips. 1680, 4to. [Psalms of David; Venice, 4to.; no date.]

According to *Hug*, § 89, the bishop of Erivan, the capital of Armenia, — the same who translated the Life of *Mesrob* into Latin, — was sent to Europe in 1662, by a synod, to print an Armenian Bible. "He took up his residence in the monastery of Usci," from which circumstance he was called *Uscanus*. But this may be, perhaps, a mistake; for he seems to have had the name from his bishopric, Erivan, (*Yushavan*.) He acknowledges, in his preface, that he altered the text of his MSS. to suit the Vulgate. See a list of the principal MSS. used in preparing *Uscan's* ed. in *Holmes*, l. c. ch. iv.]

^b Folio, 1743.

^c *Eichhorn*, § 318, b, and Allg. Bib. vol. i. p. 153.

in political and ecclesiastical matters, — made use of the Greek language and ritual in their religious services, and of the Greek alphabet in all their writings. But after Miesrob had invented the Armenian alphabet, about 420, at the request of Isaac Bartik, the Armenian patriarch, the Georgians made use of it, and since that time the Georgian alphabet has been formed out of the Armenian.*

The proper literature of the Armenians begins soon after the invention of their alphabet. The Georgians expected advantages from this circumstance; but, before the Armenian patriarch could procure a translation of the Bible from the Greek into the Georgian tongue, the Armenians were subjected to the iron yoke of Persia, in 460, and their nascent literature interrupted. Even the influence of the Greeks ceased to affect them after 520; for the Persians separated them from the Greek church. But the Georgians soon returned to its bosom, and then their own literature commenced. Following the example of the Armenians, they sent promising young men to Greece to learn its language, and obtain a generous education. After their return, they seem to have translated the Bible and ecclesiastical books into the Georgian language.

Two dialects prevail in this country — the *book language* and the *common language*. The latter is, however, only a corruption of the former, — in which the version of the Bible is made. There are likewise two alphabets, or kinds of writing. The one is called the sacred character, and is the same which Miesrob invented for the Armenians. It is called *Kuzuri*, and the

* [See *Gruzii, Istoricheskoje izobrahenije*; Petersburg, 1802, 8vo. ch. iii. Allg. Bib. l. c. *Mosis Chorensis*, l. c. vol. iii. p. 53—62.]

Scriptures are written and printed in this character. The other is called *Kedvuli*, and seems to have originated among the Georgians themselves, perhaps from simplifying the former characters. The early history of this version and the names of its authors are not known. It remained in manuscript till the beginning of the eighteenth century, when Waktangh caused the Psalms, Prophets, and the New Testament, to be printed at Tiflis. The whole Bible was printed at Moscow, 1743, in folio, but altered after the Slavonic version. The Georgian names for the Scriptures are *Zminda Zerili*, the holy writing; *Samkto Zerili*, the divine writing; *Bibbia*, the Bible; *Zighni Zvelisa da akalio aghtikmisa*, the book of the Old and New Testament.]*

§ 54.

7. THE SLAVIC OR SLAVONIC VERSION.

The Slavic [or old Russian] version, also, — which is supposed to have been made by Methodius and Cyril in the ninth century, — is commonly considered a descendant of the Seventy.^b But according to the ancients,^c it was originally made from the *Itala*, and in the Glagolitic character, and was, perhaps for the first time, corrected from Greek manuscripts in the fourteenth century.^d

* [Eichhorn, Allg. Bib. vol. i. p. 153—169. Einleit. § 318, b.]

^b Eichhorn, § 318, a. Kohl, Introduct. in Hist. et Lit. Slavorum, &c. [Henderson, Biblical Researches and Travels in Russia; Lond. 1526. Horne, pt. i. ch. ii. sect. iii. § 4. See an article on the Russian dialects, in the Wiener Jahrbücher, vol. xcv. p. 186, sqq., 189, sqq.]

^c Holmes, Pref. in LXX. ch. iv. [Marsh's Michaelis, vol. ii. pt. i. p. 153, sqq.]

^d EDITIONS OF THIS VERSION. — The Pentateuch, by Franz Scornia; Prag. 1519. The whole Bible; Prag. 1570, fol., [revised, and in some places corrected;] Ostrog. 1581, [revised after an old MS. of Wasiljewicz;]

§ 55.

8. SEVERAL ARABIC VERSIONS.

I. The Arabic translation of the *Prophets* contained in the Paris and London polyglots, according to the subscription of the Parisian manuscript, was made [from the Septuagint] by a priest of Alexandria. His age is not determined; but it was somewhat later than the tenth century.*

[The subscription is curious. "The end of the prediction of the Prophet Malachi, and also of the book of the sixteen Prophets, after the version of the celebrated and learned Father, an accomplished priest, of Alexandria, from an old, finely-written Greek manuscript. Copied by the little, unworthy Abdrabbih, son of Mohammed, son of Achmed, son of Abdarrachman, son of Ali by Saara, a Christian woman. He prays, and supplicates each man to pray for him, that he may receive favor and forgiveness, and that the Lord would take him to heaven. Praise to God forever! In the month Dsubhadsha, A. 992, (A. C. 1584.)" A hasty comparison shows this statement to be accurate. It seems to follow the hexaplar text of the Seventy, except in Daniel, where it follows Theodotion, and contains some peculiar readings of the Alexandrian codex.†

The *Hagiographa* and *historical books*, till *Joshua*,

Moscow, 1663, 1751, 1756, 1757, 1759, 1766; Kiow, 1758; and Supraal, in Poland, 1743. [See an account of this version, with specimens of the MSS., in the Origin and Progress of Writing, by *Thomas Astle*; Lond. 1803, 4to. p. 100. See *Hug*, l. c. § 142, sqq.]

* *Gabr. Sion*. Præf. ab Psalter. Syr.; Par. 1625. *Gesenius*, *Comm. tib. Jes.* l. 1, p. 98, who describes the characteristics of this version of *Isaiah*, and shows that it follows the hexaplar text. *Spohn*, *Jerem. Vat. i.* Præf. p. 21. This version was reprinted at Newcastle, 1811.

† [*Eichhorn*, § 295.]

the book of *Judges*, *Chronicles*, and *Job*, were also translated from the Greek, and may serve as a valuable means of correcting the Seventy.]^a

II. The *writings of Solomon*, in the same polyglots.

III. The book of *Ezra*, which is contained in the same polyglots.

IV. The *Psalms* according to the *Egyptian* recension, which are found in the same place; and that according to the *Syriac* recension, as printed in Justiniani's Psalter, and in Liber Psalmorum of Justiniani and Gabriel Sionita.^b

[Sometimes the two agree very closely, sometimes they differ widely. Some have concluded from this circumstance that they are only two recensions of the same old manuscript.]

V. The common version of the *Psalms* used by the Melchites — an orthodox sect of Oriental Christians — was made by Abdallah Ben Alfadl, before the twelfth century.^c

VI. There are some Arabic translations from the Greek, which are still unprinted.^d

§ 56.

V. THE VENETIAN VERSION.

In the library of Saint Mark, at Venice, there is a

^a [Eichhorn, § 295.]

^b Justinianus, Psalterium octaplum; Gen. 1516, fol. Liber Psalmorum A Gabr. Sionita et Victorio Scialæ; Rom. 1614, 4to. [See Eichhorn, § 295, 296.]

^c Printed at Haleb, 1706; Padua, 1709; Halm, 1735, and frequently; Lond. 1725; Vienna, 1792. See Rosenmüller's Handbuch, vol. iii. p. 495, sqq. Döderlein, On the Arabic Psalters, in Eichhorn's Repert. vol. ii. p. 176, sqq., vol. iv. p. 187, sqq. [See the specimen in Eichhorn, § 301, a.]

^d Adler, l. c. p. 68, 179. Paulus, Specim. Verss. Pentateuchi septem Arab. p. 58, sqq.

manuscript of the fourteenth century, containing a Greek translation of several books of the Old Testament.* It is the only copy. This version belongs to the middle ages.^b It makes frequent use of the Seventy, and the other old Greek versions; and, under the guidance of the Jewish expositors, follows the masoretic (pointed) text, with a slavish fidelity. It is written in a sort of mongrel dialect, and is proportionally of little importance for criticism.^c

[The manuscript containing this celebrated version is a long quarto, consisting of three hundred and two parchment leaves, written in very unusual characters, and in the Oriental style; so that its first page occupies the place of the last one with us. It is divided into passages, corresponding to the Sabbath-readings of the Jews. To judge from the common means of estimating the age of manuscripts, it belongs to the fourteenth century. It contains the Pentateuch, Proverbs, Ruth, Song of Solomon, Ecclesiastes, Jeremiah's Lamenta-

* Nova Versio Gr. Proverbb., Eccles., Cant. Cant., Ruthi, (sic,) Thren., Dan. et selectorum Pentat. Locorum ex unico S. Marci Biblioth. Cod. Ven. nunc primum eruta et Notulis illustr. a *J. Bapt. Casp. d'Ansse de Villosion*. Reg. Inscriptt. Acad. Paris. socius (sic;) Argent. 1784, 8vo. Nova Versio Græc. Pentateuchi. Ex unico S. Marci Bibliothec. Cod. Ven. nunc primum ed. atque recens. *Christoph. Frid. Ammon*. pt. i. Gen. contin. atque Exod.; pt. ii. Levit. contin. et Num.; Erl. 1790; pt. iii. contin. Deut. addenda, Indicem, Comment. de Usu, Indole et Ætate hujus Vers. c. Tab. æri incisa; ibid. 1791, 8vo.

^b See the different opinions in *Döderlein's* Theol. Beiträge, vol. iii. p. 248. *Bruns*, in *Eichhorn's* Repert. vol. iv. p. 281. *Michaelis*, Neue Or. Bib. vol. ii. p. 226. *De Rossi*, Var. Lect. V. T. vol. i. p. xxviii. *Eichhorn*, § 211, p. 573. On the author, see *Ammon*, Comment. vol. iii. p. 112. *Bertholdt*, p. 568. *Ziegler*, Spruchwörter, p. 55. *Bauer*, Crit. sac. p. 286.

^c *Ammon*, l. c. *Dahler*, Animadvers. in Vers. Gr. Prov. Salom. ex Vers. Sancti Marci Bibliotheca nuper ed.; Arg. 1786, 8vo. *Pfannkuche*, on passages of the new Greek version of the O. T. in the library at Venice, in *Eichhorn*, Allg. Bib. vol. viii. p. 193, sqq.

tions, and Daniel. It is an imperfect copy of an old manuscript.

It was made directly from the Hebrew text. It adheres to the letter of the text more than any other ancient version, and expresses it more carefully, and with greater regard to etymology than even Aquila himself. Where it differs from him, the fact must be explained by the direct use of a Hebrew manuscript; for consonants are mistaken for one another, which are alike only in Hebrew. In the Chaldee parts of Daniel, he uses the Doric instead of the Attic dialect, which prevails in the rest of his work. The orthography of proper names is carefully preserved, and their pronunciation carefully expressed. He unites poetic and prosaic forms; Attic elegance and the rudest barbarisms stand side by side. He is fond of *nice* Attic expressions.* He connects the most elegant language of the best Greek writers with expressions, new and un-Grecian, which he had coined, or borrowed from his contemporaries. Sometimes he very happily translates a doubtful expression in the Hebrew by one equally ambiguous. None of the peculiarities of the original seem to have been lost.

In respect to the consonants, he had the complete masoretic recension before him. Sometimes he follows the *Keri*; sometimes the *Kethib*. No one has hitherto discovered readings in him which are not found in the present masoretic manuscripts, and none peculiar to him

* [Centoribus atticis undequaque collectis versionem suam distinguere gestivit auctor noster, haud secus ac scriptores male Latini, qui, ut faciem et speciem conciliarent orationi, flosculis undique conquisitis illam ornare comptamque reddere cupiunt, says *Ammon*, Comment. p. 84, sq.]

In hoc studio auctoris plane singulari, ut una ex parte venantur atticismos, ex altera autem verba hebraica anxie expriment, admistis solœcismis et vocabulis plane novis, bona græcitas subnasci nullo modo poterat. Ibid. p. 95.]

which are to be preferred to the common text. Eichhorn thinks he did not make use of a manuscript *with points*, since he sometimes differs from the present pointing, though less frequently than the other old translators.

Before the sixth century, scarcely any one could have the knowledge possessed by this translator, and make such a childish mixture of old and new, elegant and barbarous, regular and lawless speech ; and after the tenth century, our present punctuation was fixed, and a translator would not be likely to reject it. In some places, he follows the Jewish scholars, and therefore very often agrees with the Targums, and the Vulgate, which had a great influence on the rabbinic explanations. Whence it appears the author lived between the sixth and tenth centuries.]^a

CHAPTER II.

DIRECT ORIENTAL VERSIONS.

§ 57.

I. THE CHALDEE PARAPHRASES, OR TARGUMS.

ORIGIN OF THE CHALDEE PARAPHRASES.

AFTER the extinction of the Hebrew language, it became customary to give an oral explanation in Chaldee of those passages of the Old Testament which were read in the synagogues.^b In consequence of this custom,

^a [See *Annon.* l. c., and *Eichhorn*, § 211.]

^b *Megilla*, col. iv. § 10, ed. *Surenkianus* : "The history of Reuben is read

it is certain that written translations were soon made into this language.*

[“The original language of Abraham was the East Aramean^b dialect, which was commonly called the *Chaldee*, from the Chaldees in Babylon, who used it. When Abraham went down to Palestine, he became acquainted with the Shemitic dialect of the nation in the midst of whom he wandered with his herds, that is, with that of the Canaanites, or Phœnicians, as the Greeks called them. His nearest descendants followed him in this, and so the Canaanitish (or Phœnician) became the vernacular language of the descendants of Abraham. This was not commonly called *Canaanitish*, or *Phœnician*, but *Hebrew*, because it was spoken chiefly by the sons of Abraham, who, as the posterity of a Hibri, (man who had come over the Euphrates to Canaan,) took the name of *Hebrews*. Yet they only spoke the language called *Shemitic*, so long as they dwelt in the land of Canaan. After Nebuchadnezzar, angry at their repeated revolts, had carried them away from Canaan, to the Euphrates and Chaboras, they returned again to the original language of Abraham, the dialect of the inhabitants of these latter places.

“Yet, from the nature of things, and from traces that

but not explained (into Chaldee;) the history of Tamar is read (in Chaldee) and explained,” &c. *Maimonides*, also, authenticates the custom of reading in Hebrew, and explaining in Chaldee. Hilcoth Tephillim, ch. xii. Compare *Vitrina*, De Synag. Vet. p. 689, sqq., 1015, sqq. *Prideaux*, Connect. pt. ii. b. viii. p. 527, sqq.; Lond. 1720, 8vo. There is a trace of the Targumic version in Matt. xxvii. 46. The rabbins *R. Asaria* (Meor Enaim, iii. 9) and *El. Levita* (Præf. ad Methurg) follow the Talmud, (Nedarim, fol. 37, col. 2,) and place the origin of this custom too high, by misunderstanding Neh. viii. 8. See *Carpzov*, Crit. sac. p. 432.

* See the Hypothesis of an oral and gradual Origin of the Targums, according to *Asaria* and *El. Levita*, l. c. in *Bartolucci*, Biblioth. Rabb. vol. i. p. 406, sqq., and *Carpzov*, l. c. p. 436. *Walton*, Prol. xi. 7.

^b [Gen. xxxi. 47.]

are left, the disuse of the language they had hitherto employed in writing and conversation, took place but gradually. The adult men, who migrated in the Babylonian exile, even in the foreign land, materially adhered to the dialect which they were accustomed to use from their youth up, and therefore Ezekiel addressed his fellow-exiles on the Chaboras in the Hebrew language. The elder generation of exiles used the Chaldee dialect only so far as it was indispensable in dealing with the natives of the land.

“But this was not without influence on the Hebrew language, whether it was written or spoken by them. Imperceptibly it acquired an Aramean tinge, by receiving Aramean forms, inflections, and idioms. But among such as had grown up to the age of youth or manhood in exile, the Aramean became far more common than among their older fellow-exiles; and by their twofold intercourse with the Hebrews and the Chaldees, among whom they lived, they acquired a second dialect, which was both spoken and written. Now, in the age of this young generation, the return from exile took place; and with this second dialect in their mouths the Jews came back to the land of their forefathers. They adhered to the Aramean dialect (which was the most frequent with them) as the language of conversation. Yet, among the people, some knowledge of the old Hebrew long continued, and among the educated portion of them, we find vestiges of attempts to write it until within a hundred years before Christ. Not only Haggai, Zachariah, and Malachi, but Ezra also, under Artaxerxes Longimanus, and the author of Daniel, after Antiochus Epiphanes, wrote in the old Hebrew, — if not in the purest style, at least in one which was intelligible to such as understood the old Hebrew.”

“After this, we can now distinguish three Aramean dialects ; the first spoken on the Euphrates, the second on the Jordan, and the third on the Orontes, — or the Babylonian, the Palestinian, and the Antiochian. The first must have been the purest ; because, in its original home, it was spoken under the same influences, with slight exceptions, which had acted on it in earlier times. The Chaldee passages in Ezra and Daniel show its character at the time the Jews received it. But they do not disclose it in its whole compass, for they are too short, and are, perhaps, mixed with Hebrew idioms. But in Ezra, according to all appearances, the Chaldee passages originated with a member of the first Jewish colony. His language must therefore be pure ; the passages of Daniel agree with it, and may therefore be regarded as genuine sources of the language.

“The returning exiles brought the Babylonian-Chaldee to Palestine, and used it as their common language, and it was spoken by their posterity at the time of Christ. But under the influence of different neighbors from the inhabitants of the banks of the Euphrates, in the course of centuries, it must have been altered in many respects. Many foreign words must have been introduced ; the pronunciation, form, and inflections of words, must have changed.

“In both these dialects of the Chaldee language, there are versions of the Old Testament. They differ in respect to their authors, their value, and the date of their composition ; but they are generally united under the common title *Targums*, that is, the *most excellent versions* ; for such they were in the eyes of a Jew.”*

* תַּרְגּוּמִים, i. e. *interpretation*.

See the derivation and meaning of the word in *Wolf, Bib. Heb.* ii. 1135,

Although we cannot prove the high antiquity of these writings, which the Jews themselves acknowledge to be a later collection of old traditions,* yet we may justly recede from the modern skepticism in respect to them, which in general is quite too great.^b

[Eichhorn opposes the antiquity of these works, and says the Jewish history of the Targums contradicts itself, and shows that the rabbins and the Talmud rather followed uncertain legends, than grave history. Extravagant pretensions have been made, by some modern writers, respecting their antiquity. Some suppose that

sq. The word originally meant *a translation* in general; but as the Jews had no translation for a long time, except the Chaldee paraphrases, the latter appropriated the word exclusively to themselves, so that other translations are called by a different name.—See *Eichhorn*, § 213.]

* Megilla, fol. 3, col. 1. *R. Asaria, El. Levita*, l. c. *Abarbanel*, on Num. xv. 30. Compare *A. Pfeiffer*, Exercitt. de Targumim in Theol. Jud. et Muham. Opp. ii. 864. *Wolf*, l. c. p. 1137. See § 58 and 59.

^b *Eichhorn*, § 213, repeats, with some modification, the arguments of *Jo. Morinus*, (Exercit. Bib. p. 321, sqq.) *Havemann*, (Wegeleuchte wider die jüd. Finsterniss, p. 594,) and *J. H. Vorstius*, (Discerpt. de Sermone Dei, p. 24,) against the antiquity of Onkelos and Jonathan. But these have been well answered by *A. Pfeiffer*, (Crit. sac. ch. 8, § 2, quest. 1. Opp. ii. p. 756, and De Targ. p. 869,) *Wolf*, *Carpzov*, and *Jahn*. The silence of the Fathers proves nothing. The argument drawn from Luke iv. 17, sqq., and Acts xiii. 15, for the use of the LXX. in the synagogues, is very doubtful. The Talmud quotes the Targums of Onkelos and Jonathan.

[*Walton* cites the foolish statement in the Talmud, Zacut, fol. 53, sqq., which says *Moses made Chaldee paraphrases, which Onkelos and Jonathan only revived*. He thinks, in the time of Ezra, a popular and oral paraphrase was made into the common language, but no written one was made before the time of Jonathan and Onkelos. *Prideaux*, l. c., supposes there were many paraphrases written before these authors, as there were many Greek versions before Origen made the Hexapla.] The statement that the Targums arose from glosses and scholia, may be seen in *Wolf*, Bib. Heb. vol. ii. p. 1143.

We see a trace of a Targumic translation in Matt. xviii. 46. A written Targum on Job, in the first century, is mentioned in Tr. Schabb, fol. 115. *Zunz*, p. 62. It has been conjectured that Josephus used the Targum *Pfannkuche*, in *Eichhorn's Allg. Bib.* vol. viii. p. 47, sq.

Ezra read the Law to the Jews, and caused it to be translated into Chaldee to them, and thus left an example to succeeding teachers. A written paraphrase would, therefore, naturally arise; and this supposition agrees with the state of things among the Jews a little before the time of Christ; for, if the Hebrew language was extinct, and was yet read in the synagogues, a paraphrase into the popular tongue was needed to render it intelligible. But history is at variance with this hypothesis; for it does not appear that Nehemiah read the Law, and accompanied it with a Chaldee paraphrase, but only that he caused it to be explained to them in the vernacular language.* Imitation of his practice, therefore, would lead to no *written* translation. The two passages in the New Testament (Luke iv. 17, sqq. Acts xiii. 15) do not allude to such a translation.

Subsequently it was forbidden to read a translation *out of a book*, in the synagogue; the passage was translated orally—a prohibition, as Eichhorn thinks, not likely to be made, if this version was ancient and well known, especially if authorized by Nehemiah. It seems to have been necessary for every well-educated Jew to be able to read the Scriptures in the original old Hebrew; and this circumstance, it is thought, led to the establishment of the synagogues, where the youth could be instructed in this language.

There was, therefore, he concludes, no necessity for Chaldee paraphrases before the time of Christ. For several centuries after him, we find no trace of them. The Targums are never mentioned in the Mishna, nor the Jerusalem Gemara. Epiphanius, a Jew by birth, and

* [Neh. viii. 8. *וַיִּקְרָא עֲזָרָה בְּשֵׁם הַלְלוֹתָם* is to make clear.]

that diligent scholar, Origen, make no mention of them. Jerome knew nothing of them, though he was deeply skilled in the Hebrew, and intimate with Jewish scholars. No Jew mentions them in any controversy with the Christians. From these considerations, it appears, the Jews in Palestine could not have had such paraphrases before the first century after Christ; and even then they were probably confined mostly to private use. Afterwards, when the old Hebrew was far less known, the Chaldee paraphrases were introduced to the synagogues.*

But this skepticism seems excessive; for, though a written paraphrase was not allowed in the synagogue, it would still be useful at home. The design of the prohibition doubtless was to make the teacher more thoroughly acquainted with the original. It does not appear^b that the old Hebrew could be understood in Judea, at the time of Christ, without an explanation; and in the passages in the New Testament where reading the Scriptures is spoken of, there is nothing which *forbids* us to suppose the section was explained into the common tongue.

Origen and Jerome do not speak of the Targums, and were doubtless unacquainted with them. The former had no occasion to use them, and was rather an indifferent Hebrew scholar. The latter himself complains of the scarcity of Hebrew books, and Elias the Levite says, in his own time, there was not more than one or two manuscripts of the Targum, or the Prophets, or the Hagiographa, in a single province. Besides, Jerome, though a good Hebrician, only learned the Chaldee late in life, and, perhaps, could not have used the Targums,

* [Eichhorn, § 213.]

^b [See Eichhorn, Allg. Bib. vol. viii. p. 421—431. Carpzov, l. c. p. 430, seq., and Wolf, l. c. vol. ii. p. 1139—1141.]

had they been in his hands. However, it is remarkable that none of his *four Hebrew teachers* should mention these versions. There is a good reason why the Jews should never appeal to them in controversies with the Christians; for the latter could make no use of them, and while they preferred the Seventy to the Hebrew text, which they could not read, they would treat a Chaldee paraphrase of it as a deceitful invention of the hated Jews. Maimonides says a written version was forbidden in the synagogue *before* the time of Onkelos and Jonathan; but pointed manuscripts of the Hebrew are still forbidden in the synagogue, though the Jews use them in private.

Bertholdt* has made a good use of these stories. The old Jewish story that Onkelos and Jonathan derived their Targums from more ancient oral traditions, cannot be entirely destitute of a foundation in facts. In this way it may be placed in its true light. The circumstance that there are several Targums on the Pentateuch and the book of Esther, which were the first and the most important books publicly read, and, on the contrary, that on the other books there is only one, and on some of them not one, and only a single Targum on the five Megilloth, is a striking proof that the whole matter began with the synagogue, and that the Targums of the first-named books were designed for use in the synagogue. In order to a conviction of the truth of this hypothesis, that the present Targums on the Law and the Prophets were composed from fragmentary translations or paraphrases of these books, we need only cast our eyes on the Jerusalem Targum; for this is merely a fragmentary and imperfect collection of some small

* [P. 572, sqq.]

Targums of the synagogue at Jerusalem on the Penta-teuch. It is quite a recent production, though it contains some old ingredients.]

The present Targums are in a very uncertain state in respect to their punctuation and their text.* [At first they were written without points; but when points were used in the Hebrew, they were gradually applied to the paraphrase also. But, at first, the present strict rules of punctuation were unknown, and copyists took great license in pointing; and since the Targums were not watched over by the same jealous care which guarded the original text, greater errors crept into them. Attempts have been made to supply this defect, especially by Buxtorf; but their punctuation is still uncertain. The text also has been greatly corrupted. One version is interpolated, or corrected, from another, and sometimes the Targum is altered from the Hebrew. One copy of a Targum will express the old Hebrew reading, where another forsakes it, to agree with the other old translations of the Bible. And the editors of the Targums have sometimes applied their hands to passages which had escaped other dangers.†]

The Hebrew text has sometimes been corrected from the Targums. Their division of words and verses has sometimes been followed, and difficult passages have been satisfactorily explained. These writings were highly esteemed by the Jews, and therefore in some ages the Christians have sought arguments from this source to facilitate their conversion to Christianity.‡

* See *El. Levita*, Præf. ad Methurg. Buxtorf improved the punctuation of the Targums. [But his work has been severely criticised by Simon. *Hist. crit. du V. T.* p. 300, sqq., 507. Compare Buxtorf's punctuation in the *Biblia Hebraica cum Masora*, with the Targums in the Antwerp and Complutensian Polyglota.]

† [Eichhorn, § 216, 217.]

‡ [Eichhorn, § 218, sqq.]

§ 58.

1. THE TARGUM OF ONKELOS.

We have only very uncertain accounts of the person and age of Onkelos. (אונקלוס.) *

[But these uncertain and contradictory accounts may in some measure be reconciled. He seems to have been a Babylonian Jew. This appears, as Eichhorn thinks, from the fact that there is an account of him in the Babylon, but not in the Jerusalem Talmud; from the dialect in which his paraphrase is written; from his freedom from Jewish fables; and from the circumstance that Origen and Jerome were not acquainted with this Tar-

* אונקלוס. In the Babylonian Talmud he is mentioned four times.

1. Megilla, fol. 1, col. 5: "Onkelos, a proselyte, wrote a paraphrase of the Law, from the mouth of R. Eliezer and R. Joshua." In the Jerusalem Talmud, Tract. Megil. fol. 1, col. 3, the same is said of Aquilas, who, from the connection, seems to be a Greek translator. See *R. Asaria*, Meor Enaim, p. 146, b. Comp. *Morinus*, l. c. p. 431, and *Eichhorn*, § 210.

2. There is a similar confusion about Onkelos in the Babylonian Talmud, Demai Thosaphta, ch. 5, and in the Jerusalem, Demai, fol. 25, col. 4.

3. Onkelos, son of Calonymus, and grandson of Titus, (who is mentioned in Bab. Avoda Sara, fol. 11, col. 1, ed. *Edzard*, p. 78, Gittin. fol. 56, col. 2,) is probably the Greek Aquila, to judge from what *Epiphanius* says of him, *De Pond. et Mens.* ch. 15.

4. According to Avoda Sara, fol. 11, col. 1, ed. *Edzard*, p. 51, and Tosiphta Schabb. ch. 8, he must have been an older contemporary of Gamaliel.

However, this is the same Onkelos who is mentioned in the Gemara, for they are mentioned in passages that are near one another. The book *Zohar*, in the section *אור חיים* on Lev. xviii. 4, col. 131, makes him a scholar of Hillel and Shammai, and obviously sets him too high. From the purity of his style, it has been concluded that he was a Babylonian; for it is supposed a more corrupt dialect prevailed in Palestine. But this conclusion is uncertain; still less certain is that drawn from the silence of the Jerusalem Gemara. Against *Eichhorn*, § 222, and *Bertholdt*, p. 576, see *Winer*, *De Onkeloso, ejusque Paraphrasi Chald.*; Lips. 1820, 4to. p. 8, sqq. *Morinus*, l. c. p. 343, places him too low.

gum, as they must have been, he thinks, if it had been written or used in Jerusalem, or its vicinity. He was, probably, a contemporary of the Savior, if any one may venture to decide in so perplexed a matter. Some place him later, and others earlier.]^a

His Targum on the Pentateuch, written in pure Chaldee, is a faithful and literal version, except that it never reflects the hues of the original, and contains arbitrary alterations of the text.^b It contains, also, great additions to the poetic passages, which many ascribe to the hand of an interpolator.^c The best argument for its

^a [See the authorities in *Carpzov*, p. 441, sqq., and *Wolf*, l. c. vol. ii. p. 1147, sqq.]

^b On the omission of the anthropopathies, obscenities, &c., see *Winer*, *De Onkeloso*, &c. p. 36, sqq.

^c *Helvicus*, *De Paraph. Chald.* c. 3, and *Carpzov*, l. c. p. 456. [But all the poetic passages are not of this character; e. g. the song of Moses after the passage of the Red Sea, and Deut. xxxiii., which is not uniformly expanded, like Gen. xlix., for example.]

EDITIONS OF THIS WORK. — Bologna, 1482, folio, accompanied with the Hebrew text, and *Jarchi's* Com. (Comp. *De Rossi*, *Annal. Heb. Typog.*; Parm. 1795, 4to. p. 24. *O. G. Tychsen*, *Krit. Beschreib. des Bonon. Pent.* in *Eichhorn's* *Repert.* vol. vi. p. 65.) See an account of other editions in the 15th and 16th centuries, in *Le Long*, ed. *Masch*, pt. i. ch. ii. sect. 2, pt. ii. vol. i. sect. a, § 13. *De Rossi*, pp. 73, 81, 150. *Winer*, p. 16. It was printed in the Complutensian Polyglot, 1517; in the Antwerp Polyglot, 1569; in the three Bomberg Bibles, Venice, 1518, 1526, 1547—1549, probably from a MS.; afterwards it was printed in the Rabbinical Bible of *Buxtorf*, (Bas. 1618, 1719,) who has been falsely accused of violent treatment of the text, (see *Eichhorn*, vol. i. p. 437, 3d edition, and his milder remarks in the 4th, vol. ii. p. 38,) though he only altered the punctuation. It is also printed in the Paris and London Polyglots, 1657.

For the criticism, see *Philoxenus, sive de Onkelosi Chald. Pentateuchi vers. dissert. hermaneut. crit. in qua vet. paraphrastæ e textu Heb. crebræ deflexiones in xxxii. classes distribuuntur, et lucido, novoque ordine illustrantur atque ccccl. in locis variæ ejusd. vers. lectiones perpenduntur, et ex antiquioribus edit. codd. que emendantur, a Sam. Dav. Lazatto, in coll. Rabb. Patavino, Prof.; Vienna, 1830. Comp. the Allg. Litt. Zeitung. 1832, 3d Stücke. It was translated by Paul Fagius, 1556, fol. For the accentuation of this Targum, see *Masora Hattargum*.*

high antiquity lies in its character. Its doctrinal explanations are very simple. It explains Gen. xlix. 10, and Num. xxiv. 17, as relating to the Messiah. It contains additions to the poetic passages, which some consider interpolations.

[This is the only good Targum, and is far above all comparison with any of the others. The style is pure, and resembles that of the Chaldee parts of Daniel and Ezra. This version follows the original text, word for word, so closely that it may be sung with the same accents as the original. Sometimes it gives the sense rather than the words. It avoids figurative expressions, which relate to the Deity.* In some few instances, a different plan is pursued, and the Targum gives less a version than an explanation. Gen. xlix., Num. xxiii. 24, Deut. xxxii. 33, are instances of this treatment of the text. This difference does not arise from a corruption of the text, and still less from carelessness of the author, for the expressions are chosen with careful attention; but these passages stand as they were read in the synagogues to the people. They are not translations, but explanations, and these passages are such as were deemed of great importance by the Jews. Jonathan and the Targum of Jerusalem have treated them in the same manner.

Where this Targum differs from the received text, it is usually supported by other ancient versions; and this shows that the text once contained the peculiar read-

* [E. g. Gen. iii. 5 : You shall become *gods*. אֱלֹהִים in the original, shall become *princes*, רִבְרִי, in Onkelos. Again, v. 5, 8, the *voice* of Jehovah Elohim, (*the Lord God*), in the original; it is the voice of the *word* of the Lord God, in the Targum. So the celebrated passage in Ex. xxxiii. 23, אֲנִי אֶחָד, is rendered *what is after me*, אֶחָד אֶחָד.]

ings. The Jews held the work of Onkelos in high esteem, since it furnished them with the explanations of many words. They even furnished the text of it with accents, as in the original.*

“The Samaritan dialect agrees with the Chaldee — excepting a few variations — in grammar, and in the use of several words; therefore it is not to be wondered at that the Samaritans made great use of Onkelos in translating the Pentateuch into their dialect. In the printed copies of the Samaritan version, their close agreement with Onkelos is remarkable; but it is far more striking in the Barberine Triglôt, where Onkelos is copied almost literally in all the sections, where the Samaritan-Hebrew does not differ from the Jewish-Hebrew Pentateuch.”†]

§ 59.

2. TARGUM OF JONATHAN BEN UZZIEL.

This Targum on the former and the later Prophets has the pretended Jonathan Ben Uzziel for its author. He is said to have been a pupil of Hillel, and therefore must have lived before the birth of Christ, and have written before Onkelos. [The life of Jonathan is enveloped in fables. Sometimes it is said that he was the disciple of Hillel the elder, whom tradition makes head of the academy at Jerusalem, about thirty years before Christ. But sometimes it is said he derived the materials for his Targum from the mouth of Haggai, Zachariah, and Malachi, and yet lived in the age of Hillel; so that he must have lived three centuries, at the least.

* *Eichhorn*, § 223, sqq.

† [*Eichhorn*, § 225, b.]

But others think he lived at the date alleged, and recorded a tradition said to have proceeded from their prophets.

But there is good reason for believing he flourished at a later date. He was evidently a Palestine Jew, — for no other man could have believed his wondrous legends, — and yet the Jerusalem Gemara, Origen, and Jerome, knew nothing of this Targum. But this fact might easily be accounted for while the work remained obscure. Again, he retails fables which did not come into circulation till a later date. He seeks to explain away the passages respecting Christ which the Christians interpreted in their favor. From these considerations, Eichhorn concludes it could not have been written before the fourth century after Christ. Jahn places it in the latter part of the third century, and Morinus and Vossius bring it down to the seventh or eighth. But they do not sufficiently consider the purity of its style, compared with that of the Jewish writings of that date.]

The Talmud says of him, "Our rabbins inform us that Hillel the elder had eighty disciples, thirty of whom were worthy; the Shekinah dwelt above them, as above Moses, our teacher. . . . But thirty were so worthy that the sun might stay for them, as for Joshua the son of Nun. Twenty among them were intermediate men,* between them. The greatest of all was Jonathan the son of Uzziel, and the least of all was Jonathan the son of Saccai. . . . They say of Jonathan the son of Uzziel, that, when he was sitting down at work upon the Law, if a bird happened to fly over him, it was immediately burnt up."^b

Again, "Jonathan son of Uzziel wrote his paraphrase

* בימורים.

^b Baba Bathra, fol. 134, col. 1. Compare Succa, fol. 28, col. 1

on the Prophets, from the mouth of Haggai, Zachariah, and Malachi. Then the land of Israel was shaken for four hundred parasangs; the voice of God^a came forth, and said, 'Who is he that has revealed my secrets to the sons of men?' Jonathan the son of Uzziel stood upon his feet, and said, 'It is I, who have revealed thy secrets to the sons of men.'"^b

Some have contested the claim of this Targum to antiquity, but on insufficient grounds; namely, from the silence of the Fathers, from the presence of more modern fables, — whose date and origin, however, cannot be determined, — from the impurity of its style, which is yet similar to that of Onkelos.^c The statement that it attempts to explain away the passages relating to the Messiah, is entirely without foundation.^d Some later passages may have been interpolated.^e The fact that Jonathan cites passages from the Pentateuch according to Onkelos, seems rather to prove a later date. But Hävernik^f thinks that Onkelos has made use of Jonathan. The greater simplicity of Onkelos may be regarded as a proof that he is the oldest; but the explanation of the Law admitted less freedom than the Prophets.^g It has been erroneously maintained that, be-

^a ברוך.

^b *A. Pfeiffer*, l. c. p. 876. *Walther*, Offic. Bib. p. 256. *Wolf*, vol. ii. p. 1159.

^c *Eichhorn*, § 226. *Bertholdt*, p. 579, sqq. *Jahn*, vol. i. p. 193, sqq.

^d *Gesenius*, *Jes.* vol. i. p. 66, sqq.

^e *Zunz*, p. 63, against *Morinus*, *Ex. Bib.* p. 321, sq., and *I. Fossius*, who date it too low. See *Wolf*, l. c. p. 1160, sqq., and *Bertholdt*, p. 580. [*Wolf* places it a little before Christ; *Bertholdt* thinks the work could not have been written before the latter part of the second century.]

^f P. 78.

^g Targ. Jud. v. 26, agrees with Targ. Deut. xxii. 5; Targ. 2 Kings iv. 6, almost the same with Targ. Deut. xxiv. 16; Targ. Jer. xlviii. 45, 46, uniform with Targ. Num. xxi. 28, 29. — *Zunz*, p. 68.

cause the historical books were translated more literally than the prophetic, there must have been two different authors.

The version is less faithful and more paraphrastic than that of Onkelos,* and therefore its critical and exegetical value is less. [Eichhorn, Bertholdt, and Jahn, think the author collected the Targums of several rabbins, perhaps corrected them, here and there, and reduced them to a whole. The arguments in favor of several authors are somewhat satisfactory. In the early Prophets, the version is pretty close and literal; in the later, it often "swims in a flood of words," and is paraphrastic. In Joshua and Judges, it is simple and literal; in Samuel and Kings, it is more free. Ruth is disfigured by rabbinical legends. Talmudic stories are sometimes inserted in Samuel.^b In the later Prophets, the manner of the version is not uniform; for a whole series of chapters, it will be pretty close and literal; then it is loose and discursive. It renders poetry tame.^c]

* Gesenius, l. c. p. 76, 77.

^b [E. g. 1 Sam. ii. 1—8, where a romantic interpolation is made; 1 Sam. xvii. 12—31, additions to the story of Goliath; 2 Sam. xxiii. 3, sqq.; 1 Kings iv. 33, Solomon's knowledge of natural history is taken in a mystical sense.]

^c [Eichhorn, § 227.]

EDITIONS OF THIS TARGUM. — First at Leiria, 1494, fol., with the Hebrew text and the commentaries of *Kimchi*, and *Levi*, son of *Gerson*. See *De Rossi*, *Annal.* p. 104. Afterwards it was printed in the Rabbinical Bibles of *Bomburg* and *Buxtorf*, and in the London Polyglot. Hosea, Joel, Amos, Obadiah, and Jonah, by *Robt. Stephens*, 1546. Chald. *Jonathas Uzzielis Filii Interpret.* per *J. Mercerus*; Pav. 1557, 4to., ex Offic. *Car. Stephens*. Amos, Obadiah, and Nahum, per *J. Mercerus*; ibid. 1557, 4to. Micah, Nahum, Habakkuk, Zephaniah, Haggai, Zachariah, Malachi; ibid. 1552, 4to. Hosea Hebr. cum Targ. Jonath. et Comment. *Raschi*, *Aben Ezra*, et *Kimchi*, per *Herm. von der Hardt*; Helmst. 1702, 4to.; reprinted by *Michaelis*, Gött. 1775, 4to. [The MSS. often differ from the printed text. *Lilienthal*, *Com. crit.* duorum Codd., &c., (Lips. 1770, 8vo. p. 50,) as cited by *Eichhorn*, § 230.

§ 60.

3. THE TARGUM OF THE PSEUDO-JONATHAN, ON THE
PENTATEUCH.

A Targum on the five books of Moses is attributed to the same Jonathan Ben Uzziel.^a But from its meaner style and other characteristics, and from the references to later events, it is judged to belong to a period far more recent.^b

[It is only the late writers of the Talmud who ascribe this to Jonathan. They seem to have thought it strange he should translate the Prophets, but not the Law. Eichhorn thinks it was written after the sixth century, from the following reasons: It mentions the *Mishna*, which originated in the third century; *Constantinople*, which first received that name in the fourth; and it speaks of *Lombardy*, which was not possessed by the *Lombards* till 570. It is filled with stories too absurd to repeat. It details the conversation between Cain and Abel, before the former murdered the latter; and makes Og, the giant, place a mountain on his head six miles high.

The Venice edition of 1518, is the basis of all that has been since published. Ibid.]

^a *R. Menachem Rekanensis*, Com. ad Lev. xiv. 7. *R. Asaria*, l. c. iii. 9. *R. Gedaliah*, Schalschel. Habak. fol. 28, col. 1. *Pet. Galatin*, De Arcan. cath. Verit. i. 3. *P. Fugius*, Præf. in Paraph. Onkel, and others, cited by *A. Pfeiffer*, l. c. p. 875.

^b *Morinus*, p. 322, sqq. *A. Pfeiffer*, p. 878, et al. *Winer* de Jonathanis in Pentat. Paraph. Chald. spec. i.; Erl. 1823, 4to. *J. H. Petermann*, De duobus Pentat. Paraphrasibus Chald. pt. i. de Indole Paraph., quæ Jonathanis esse dicitur; Berol. 1829, 8vo.

EDITIONS. — First, with the Hebrew Text, *Onkelos*, the Jerusalem Targum, and *Raschi's* Com. by *Ascher Phorins*; Venice, 1590, 1594, 8vo.; Han. 1614, 8vo.; Amst. 1640, 4to.; Prag. 1646, 8vo.; and in the Lond. Polyglot, vol. iv.

It need scarcely be said that the work is of little value to the critic, for "it contains more figments, of the most monstrous character, than Mahomet's Alcoran; yet it is not to be wrested from the hands of Christians; for there is no book so bad but something may be learned from it."]*

§ 61.

4. THE JERUSALEM TARGUM ON THE PENTATEUCH.

This Targum extends only to single verses, and often to separate words. Its affinity with the former has been long acknowledged. It is nothing but a different recension of that which is often cited with the title *Jerusalem Targum*. The codex which forms the basis of our editions was made by taking different passages and words out of some other recension.¹

[It agrees with the Pseudo-Jonathan in whole passages; but sometimes it repeats his fables, and sometimes abbreviates them. Sometimes the Hebrew text is not translated; at others there are several translations of the same passage. The manuscripts differ widely from one another. Kimchi cites passages from this Targum which are not now to be found in it. Long additions are often made to the text of the Bible, and foolish fables are subjoined.

Thus it adds, "When Esau fell upon Jacob's neck and kissed him, he bit him severely; but Jacob's neck was changed to alabaster, and the fragments clung to the teeth of the treacherous brother."

This Targum covers the whole Pentateuch, but does

* [Carpzov p. 459, sqq. Eichhorn, § 231, sqq.]

¹ Zunz, p. 66, sqq.

not include every chapter. It seems to have arisen from the notes some one wrote on the margin of his manuscript, which he had collected from the other Targums, the teaching of the synagogue, and his own fancy. Subsequent transcribers added to the collection, and so it came down to us, a collection of fragments, without wholeness or unity.

The style is various. Latin, Greek, and Persian words occur frequently, as well as modern geographical names. This is a proof of its late composition. The style differs as much from that of Onkelos and Jonathan, as the style of Thomas Aquinas differs from that of Cicero, and Apuleius from Livy. It claims no higher antiquity than the sixth century, and is of scarce any value for criticism or exegesis. Not a single good reading is to be expected from this source. However, something has been gleaned from it of use in the interpretation of the New Testament.* There is also a Jerusalem Targum on the Prophets.^b The following passage in Zach. xii. 10 is all that has been found of it: "I will pour out the spirit of prophecy and faithful prayer on the house of David, and the inhabitants of Jerusalem. Afterwards, the Messiah, the son of Ephraim, shall go out to war

* [See *Bart. Mayer*, *Philolog. sac.* pt. p. ii. 184—200. *Owen*, l. c., has condemned this Targum in bitter words. *Plura etenim figmentorum monstra in ipso Mahomitico Alcorano non inveniri, quam in paraphrasin istam coacerravit impurus audaciorum artifex, haud vereor affirmare. Vix quidquam est putidissimarum nœniarum, apud ineptissimos Talmudistas, quod in cætonem suum non retulit insignitæ audaciæ impostor. Indignus plane liber iste stercoreus, qui locum illum inter legis expositiones, enarrationes aut Targumim occupet.*]

^b [*Eichhorn*, § 235, sqq., *Carpzov*, *Wolf*, and *Bertholdt*.]

EDITIONS OF THIS TARGUM.—In the *Bomberg Bible*, (Venice, 1518, et sqq.) and in the *London Polyglot*, vol. iv. See *Zunz*, p. 77, sqq. *Bruns*, in *Eichhorn's Repert.* vol. xv. p. 174.

with Gog. Gog shall slay him before the gates of Jerusalem. Then they will consult me, and ask, 'Why have the people pierced the Messiah, the son of Ephraim?' And they shall mourn over him, as a father and mother mourn over their only son; and shall lament over him, as they lament over the first-born."']

§ 62.

5. THE OTHER TARGUMS.

We have also a Targum on the five *Megilloth*—Ruth, Esther, Lamentations, Ecclesiastes, and Canticles.* Besides this, there are two on the book of Esther;† one on the other Hagiographa, namely, on the Psalms,‡ Job,§ and the Proverbs; and one on the Chronicles.¶

The Targum on the Proverbs adheres pretty well to the text.‡ But that on Job and the Psalms is in the paraphrastic manner of Jonathan. All three belong to

* Printed in the Rabbinical Bibles and the Polyglots, and in the Hebrew Bible, with *Raschi's* Comment.; Venice, 1524.

† One of them printed in the former Targum on Esther, the Pentateuch, and the five Megilloth, (Venice, 1591, 8vo.,) and often since; with the Pseudo-Jonathan, (Basil, 1607,) and in the Lond. Polyglot. See other editions in *Wolf*, p. 1178. Both are printed in Targum *prius et posterius*, in *Estheram*, nunc primum in ling. Lat. trans., &c. Op. *Franc. Taileri*; Lond. 1655, 4to.

‡ In the Rabbinical Bible and Polyglots, and in *Giustiniani's* Polyg. Ps.; Gen. 1516.

§ Ed. *Joh. Terentius*; Frank. 1663.

¶ E Cod. Erford, ed. *M. F. Beck*; Aug. Vind. 1680, 1683, 4to. E Cod. Cantab. ed. *Dav. Wilkins*; Amst. 1715, 4to.

‡ On its affinity with the Syriac, see *Dathe*, De Ratione Consensus Vers. Chald. et Syr. Prov. Sal.; Lips. 1764, 4to. Opusc. p. 109, sqq. Compare *Bauer*, Chrest. Chald. p. 140. See, on the other side, *Havernik*, p. 87. It was printed at Leiria, 1492. See *De Rossi*, Annal. p. 92.

the same country, and about the same time.* The Targum on the five Megilloth goes very freely into arbitrary explanation and embellishment. It belongs to the period after the Talmud.^b

[1. The author of the Targum on the five Megilloth is unknown; it bears marks of several hands, but this trait is common to all parts of it. "It makes the Hebrew text swim in a flood of Chaldee words and superstitious fables." Some parts are translated with more freedom than others. The Targum on Ruth and the Lamentations is the best; that on Ecclesiastes is more prolix; but it contains edifying remarks, and applies general rules to particular cases. The Targum on Solomon's Song is the most intolerable, and is merely a fulsome panegyric on the Jewish nation. It is full of ridiculous anachronisms; for example, Antiochus Epiphanes and Alexander the Great are confounded together, and the Romans are mentioned in a writing ascribed to Solomon. It is of no critical or exegetical value.

2. There are three Targums on Esther. The first, short, and without digressions, is printed in the Antwerp Polyglot. The second is contained in the London Polyglot. It is prolix and rambling, full of fables and follies. It was published by Taler, with a Latin version, and called *Targum prius*, to distinguish it from the third book, called *Targum posterius*, which he likewise published, with a Latin version. A fragment of another Targum upon Esther is cited in the Antwerp Polyglot.^c Such versions as these "are to the critic and interpreter

* Zunz, p. 64. According to others, it came from the same author. See Hävernik, p. 88.

^b Zunz, p. 65.

^c Esth. xi. 12, 13.

only — wind and clouds without rain.” There is also a Chaldee version of the apocryphal passages of Esther, published in the Roman edition^a of a version of Daniel by the Seventy.

3. The Targum on the Hagiographa is commonly ascribed to Joseph, the blind, (or the one-eyed,) who presided over the academy at Sora, in Babylonia, about 322 A. C. But writers of the thirteenth century show it was not his.^b But it is evident, from the unequal structure of this version, that it is the work of many hands. The Targum on the Psalms follows a Syriac original. The translation of each book has its own peculiar character. Thus, in Job, two versions have been united together in many places. The author, however, had a pure text before him, which rarely differed from the masoretic. The Targum on the Proverbs is closely related to the Syriac version;^c the Psalms were translated by different writers; sometimes the text is carefully translated, but sometimes it is paraphrased at great length. It is full of Talmudic stories.^d

It is, perhaps, the youngest of all the Chaldee paraphrases; for it bears marks of the use of Pseudo-Jonathan and the Targum of Jerusalem. It has the faults of most of the other Targums.]

^a [1772, republished with title *Specimen variarum Lectionum sac. Textus et Chaldaicæ Estheris*; Tubing. 1783, 8vo.]

^b *Zunz*, p. 65.

^c [See the first five verses of ch. i. compared with the Syriac version, in *Eichhorn*, § 239.]

^d [See some of these stories translated by Prof. *Stuart*, in the *N. A. Review*, for April, 1838, p. 515, sqq. Some of them parallel the wonderful tales in the *Arabian Nights' Entertainment*.]

§ 63.

II. THE SAMARITAN VERSION OF THE PENTATEUCH.*

There is a version of the Pentateuch extant in the Samaritan language. It was made from the Samaritan recension of the text; but its author and age are both unknown. [The Samaritan account states, that it is not clear whether it is to be ascribed to one Nathaniel, or whether it was given the Samaritans by God. There was a pontiff, by name Nathaniel, a little before Christ, who possessed great authority among the Samaritans. Gesenius thinks it possible he was the author.]^b Walton places its date too high.^c It is older than the Greek Samaritan version, for that was made from it. This is cited by the Fathers of the third and fourth centuries.

With some exceptions, it follows the text with sufficient accuracy. The author, however, uses great freedom in regard to the words *Jehovah* (יהוה) and *Elohim*, (אלהים) for example, in Gen. v. 24. xvii. 22. xviii. 33. Num. xxiii. 4, 5. [These words are often exchanged for "Angel of God." Thus, in Gen. iii. 5, it is said, "You shall be like the angels," where *Gods* (אלהים) occurs in the original. Man is made in the likeness of the angels, and Enoch is carried to the angels.] He treats,

* [It is to be remembered, the Samaritan *Pentateuch* and the Samaritan *version* are not the same. The former is simply the *Hebrew Pentateuch in Samaritan letters*. It differs but little from the Hebrew text. But the latter is a *translation* into the Samaritan dialect. See § 86, *infra*.]

^b See *De Sacy*, On the Present State of the Samaritans, in *Tischendorf's Archiv.* vol. i. pt. 3. *Gesenius*, *Com. de Pent. Sam.* p. 18, note 66. *Winer*, *De Versionis Sam. Indole*; Lips. 1817, 8vo.

^c *Prol.* xi. 20.

also, with great freedom all passages which ascribe human passions to God.^a

It agrees with the Targum of Onkelos, and from this circumstance it has been erroneously concluded the author made use of that Targum. But it differs from the latter in important passages, and is, besides, more literal. The agreement may be explained from the affinity of the two languages, and on the supposition that both followed the traditional exegesis.^b In the manuscripts still unprinted, it seems, this version was sometimes interpolated from the work of Onkelos.^c Besides, the double readings and variations of the manuscripts prove that interpolations have been made.^d

[On the whole, the version is of little value, on account of the present imperfection of our knowledge of the Samaritan language. It bears marks of several hands, and of several recensions. It must make one evidence with the Samaritan Pentateuch, and can furnish new readings only where it differs designedly from the latter.]^e

^a On its critical value, see *Gesenius*, l. c. p. 19, and *Winer*, l. c. p. 18.

^b *Winer*, l. c. p. 64.

^c *Blanchini's* Specimens of the Barberine Triglot in Evang. quadruplex, pt. i., in the table after p. dciv. Compare *Adler*, Bib. krit. Reise, p. 138. *Eichhorn*, § 304, 325.

^d *Morinus*, Opusc. Heb. Sam. p. 99. *Castell*, Animadvers. Sam. in totum Pent., in the London Polyglot, vol. vi. *Eichhorn*, § 305. [*Lee*, l. c. Prol. ii.]

^e *Eichhorn*, l. c.

EDITIONS.—It is contained in the Paris and London Polyglots, accompanied with *Morinus's* defective translation, though it is somewhat amended in the latter. [This version is still not trustworthy, for attempts have been made to make it accord with the Vulgate.] The first eighteen chapters of Genesis, in this version, were published at Haleh, 1750, 4to. Some passages are published in *Ch. Cellarius*, Horæ Samarit., i. e. Excerpta, Pentateucho Samaritanæ Versionis; Ciz. 1782, 4to. See *Carpzov*, Crit. sac. p. 617.

§ 64.

III. THE SYRIAC PESHITO.

The version called PESHITO—that is, *the simple, true*—seems to be one of the oldest translations of the Bible.*

[The history of the Peshito, among the Syrians, is lost in wretched fables—the surest proof that all authentic accounts of its origin are wanting. Some refer it to the age of Solomon, and say it was made at the request and for the use of Hiram. And to give a show of probability to this story, they add that only the five books of Moses, Joshua, Judges, Ruth, Samuel, Psalms, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, the Song of Solomon, and Job, were translated at that time, and that the rest of the Old Testament was rendered into Syriac, shortly after the commencement of the Christian era, at the instance of the apostle Thaddeus. But, unluckily, the framers of this theory forgot to tell us why a Phœnician, who spoke Hebrew, needed a Syriac version of a Hebrew book,—and to account for the existence of Greek words in the Syriac language at so early a date.

Others maintain that Asa caused this version to be made, when he first came among the Samaritans. But

* *Bertholdt*, p. 593, thinks the word *Peshito* (ܦܫܝܬܐ) means *extended*, in common use. But *Gesenius*, *Com. in Jes.* vol. i. p. 81, has shown the incorrectness of this opinion. See the tradition of James of Edessa, respecting this version, in *Barhebraeus*, ad Ps. x., and *Wiseman*, *Hor. Syr.* p. 103, sq. *Havernik*, p. 92. *Abulfarag*, *Hist. Dynast.* p. 101. *Gabr. Sionita*, *Pref. in Psalt. Syr.* in *Hoflinger*, *Theol. phil.* p. 262. See *Bertholdt's* arguments for its origin in the second century, p. 594. *Ephraim* the Syrian, who died 378, is the oldest witness. See *Von Lengerke*, *Com. crit. de Ephr. Syr.* p. 10, sqq. *Wiseman*, *l. c.* p. 107; some expressions seem obscure to him. *Von Lengerke*, *De Eph. Syr. Arte hermeneut.* p. 25.

they never spoke the pure Syriac language, and only considered the Pentateuch and the false book of Joshua as canonical.

Some think this version was made before the time of Christ, and rely upon the Syrian tradition, and some passages in the New Testament.* Some of the Syrians, and some modern critics, ascribe this version to the pretended apostle Addeus, or Thaddeus; others refer it to his time, without giving him any share in the version. There are some considerations which render the supposition probable. The Syrians state it as a fact; a version of the Old Testament was needed as soon as Christianity was proclaimed among them, and it is often cited by the Fathers. But the Syrians refer so many things to Addeus, that their testimony deserves little attention; the Greek language was well understood in most of the Syrian cities, and the demands of the new Christians would be answered by the Septuagint; and, finally, it is not cited by the Greek and Latin Fathers before the fifth century.

The age of this version, then, cannot be determined with accuracy. We find no trace of it before the middle of the fourth century, when Ephraim Syrus commented upon it. "Before his time, it may have been long in existence. But how long? a half, or a whole century? or still longer? Who will venture to determine this, in the silence of authentic history? Most voices place it in the second century. But if it is com-

* [Eph. iv. 8, Paul cites Ps. lxxviii. 19, as saying, *δδωνς δδματα τοις ἀνθρώποις*, which is not found in the Hebrew text, (where he is made to receive gifts,) but agrees with the Syriac reading, "and hast sent gifts." But this similarity is easily explained on a different hypothesis; and Walton justly calls the explanation some writers have made of this agreement between the apostle and the Syriac, a most foolish comment — *vanissimum commentum*.]

posed of the labors of several translators, we can only place the beginning of its gradual formation in that age.”^a

It is still a matter of controversy to decide to what nation, or to what religion, its author belonged. Simon thinks he was a Jew. Dathe calls him a Jewish Christian. According to Kirsch and Michaelis, he was a Christian. Eichhorn thinks all these theories might be united by supposing it made by a Jew, born in Syria, and converted to Christianity, if it were probably the work of one man. Gesenius and Hirzel produce satisfactory arguments for believing its author was a Christian.^b Eichhorn and Bertholdt think there were several authors.

Its internal structure is a proof that it has been compiled from the labors of several Syriac translators. Ecclesiastes and the Song of Solomon proceeded from a man who was very familiar with the Chaldee dialect. The translator of the Psalms was evidently a Christian; for he explains Ps. lv. 14 as relating to the Lord’s supper. The tone of the translation of the Pentateuch differs from that of the books of Chronicles. For the most part, the style is pure Syriac, like that of Ephraim Syrus; but some portions are full of barbarisms — a plain proof that our printed Peshito has grown out of the contributions of several translators.]^c

^a [Eichhorn, § 248.]

^b According to *R. Simon*, (Hist. crit. du V. T. p. 274,) the author was a Jew; according to *Dathe*, (Præf. in Psalt. Syr. p. xxiii, sqq.,) a Jewish Christian; according to *Kirsch*, (Præf. in Pent. p. 6,) and *Michaelis*, (Abhandlung von der Syr. Sprache, p. 59,) a Christian. See satisfactory grounds in favor of a Christian author in *Gesenius*, l. c. p. 85, and *Hirzel*, De Pent. Vers. Syr. quam vocant Peshito, Indole; Lips. 1825, 8vo. p. 127, sqq.

^c *Eichhorn*, § 250, sqq. See, also, *Bertholdt*, p. 596. *Ephraim Syrus*, ad Jos. xv. 28, seems to suppose there were several authors. See *Havernik*, l. c. p. 94, sqq.

It extends over the canonical books of the Old Testament. The Syriac version of the Apocrypha does not belong to this version.* It was made from the Hebrew text,^b to which it adheres closely, and for the most part successfully, and answers to the character of a faithful version far better than the Chaldee. It sometimes allows itself arbitrary interpretations, but never introduces any thing foreign into the text.^c [It makes mistakes which are possible only on the supposition of a direct use of the original; sometimes it agrees with one ancient version, and sometimes with another. In the main, it follows correct principles of translation, and sometimes contains excellent explanations, which are too little regarded by our interpreters. The incapacity of the Syriac language for poetry, constrained the translator to strip the Hebrew bards of their poetic garment, and to render their sublimest language into dull prose. Finally, the close affinity between the Syriac and Hebrew dialects aided them much in their labor; it offered them the best explanations of difficult Hebrew words, and often permitted them to adhere to the very expressions of the original.^d

“ All the Syrian churches made use of the Peshito as

* *Ephraim Syrus* had not the apocryphal additions to Daniel in his copy. Yet he was acquainted with the Apocrypha. See *Lengerke*, Daniel, p. cxii, and *De Ephraim. Syr. Arte hermeneut.* p. 8.

^b *Ephraim Syrus*, on Jos. xv. 28. *Barhebraeus*, in *Asseman*, l. c. vol. ii. p. 274. *Hist. Dynast.* p. 100. See his unfavorable judgment of this in *Præf. Horrei Mysteriorum*, and in *Liber Splendorum*, in *Asseman*, l. c. vol. ii. p. 279, 281. *Carpov*, l. c. p. 625. *Semler* thinks this version was made from the Hebrew text of the Hexapla, with the assistance of the versions in the adjoining columns. *Vorbereit zur Theol. Hermeneutic*, vol. i. p. 382. See *Dathe*, l. c. p. 8, sqq. *Eichhorn*, § 249, sqq.

^c *Gesenius*, l. c. p. 81, sqq. *Hirzel*, l. c. p. 51, sqq. *Credner*, *De Proph. minor. Vers. Syr. quam Peshito vocant Indole*; Gott. 1825, p. 82, sqq.

^d *Eichhorn*, § 253.

a church version. Only the Western Syrians regarded the Septuagint, also, as of public authority. But it was not prized very highly by all members of the Syriac church, for Gregory speaks very unfavorably of it, though merely on account of his exaggerated esteem for the Alexandrian version, for historical criticism had not then separated the history of the origin of that from the well-known fables connected with it, and superstitious regard for its inspiration found support in the circumstance that the New Testament made such frequent use of it.]^a

It often inclines strongly towards the Alexandrian version. This conformity seems in many cases — though not so often as it is sometimes pretended — to arise from interpolations.^b It is also sometimes dependent on the Chaldee paraphrase, especially in the Prophets.^c

^a [See *Eichhorn*, § 251. *Asseman*, l. c. p. 279, sqq.]

^b *R. Simon*, l. c. p. 272. *Stark*, *Dav. Carm.* vol. i. p. 209. *Eichhorn*, § 254. *Hirzel*, p. 100, sqq. *Credner* (p. 107) and *Gesenius* think the LXX. was used.

For the criticism of this version, see *Collatio Vers. Syr. quam Peshito vocant, cum Fragmentis in Com. Ephraimi sancti obviis, instituta a G. L. Spohn*, Spec. i. ii.; Lips. 1785—1794, 4to. Compare the Syriac ecclesiastical version of Amos, in the London Polyglot, with Ephraim's Syriac text in *Wahl's Magazin für morg. und bib. Lit.* vol. ii. p. 78, sqq. Compare the Peshito text of Job i.—x. in the Polyglot, with the same chapters in Ephraim's Commentary. Compare *Wahl*, vol. iii. p. 1—7. *Credner*, l. c. p. 65. *Ces. a Lengerke*, *Com. crit. de Ephraimo Syr.* ch. ii.

^c *Gesenius*, l. c. p. 83. *Credner*, l. c. p. 96.

EDITIONS. — In the Paris Polyglot, by *G. Gabriel Sionita*, improved, (?) and enlarged in the London Polyglot. *Vet. Test. Syriacæ, eos tantum libros sistens, qui in canone Hebr. habentur, ordine vero, quoad fieri potuit, apud Syros usitato dispositos. In usum ecclesiæ Syrorum Malabar. jussu Soc. bibl. recognovit et ad fidem codd. MSS. emendavit S. Lee*; Lond. 1823, gr. 4to. *Pentateuchus Syr. ed. G. G. Kirsch*; Lips. 1787, 4to. *The Psalms, Libanon*, 1585, fol., and 1610. *Psalmi Dav. Ed. a Thom. Erpenio*; Lug. Bat. 1625, 4to. *Notas philol. et crit. addidit F. A. Dalhe*; Halle, 1768, 8vo. *Liber Psalmorum. Ex Idiomate Syro in Lat. transl. a G. Sionita*; Par. 1625, 4to.

["Notwithstanding the accuracy with which the Peshito follows the Hebrew, the Greek version of the Seventy," says Eichhorn, "sometimes gleams strongly through the text. From this phenomenon, some have drawn the conclusion that this version has been retouched after the Seventy, and history favors the conjecture. If the Peshito contains readings, and whole passages, of which no trace can be found in the original; or if the versions from the Syriac incline to the Hebrew, while itself inclines to the Greek; or if one manuscript of the Peshito approaches nearer to the Hebrew, while another follows the Greek; — in such cases, must not criticism suspect there have been later alterations made directly from the Greek, or indirectly from the Syriac descendants of the Greek?"]

"If the Peshito were free from such interpolations, it would be an unparalleled anomaly in criticism. From Ephraim the Syrian to Gregory Barhebræus, this version was used by the learned writers on the Old Testament, among the Syrians, in common with the Septuagint. The Syrians had several translations of the Alexandrian version, with which they could compare the Peshito, and thus these several versions would very naturally be corrupted from one another.

"Still further, Gregory says expressly in his commentary on the Old Testament,^a that he has altered the Peshito, several times, after the version of the Seventy, which is far better. Jacob of Edessa, in the beginning of the eighth century, and Dionysius Barsalibi, in the middle of the twelfth, revised the Peshito in the same manner.^b

^a [Horreum Mysteriorum.]

^b [Eichhorn thinks, however, that Jacob of Edessa did not revise the Peshito, but a Greek-Syriac version.]

"Yet we must not ascribe every agreement of the Peshito with the Greek to a later recension; for the original author, as a Syrian, may have had some acquaintance with the Septuagint, and sometimes have followed it."^a

Many critics consider the Peshito as one of the most valuable of the ancient versions. Kennicott and De Rossi have derived valuable readings from it.]^b

§ 65.

IV. DESCENDANTS OF THE PESHITO.

ARABIC VERSIONS FROM THE SYRIAC.

1. Some of the Arabic versions in the Paris and London Polyglots have been made from the Syriac;^c not merely the version of Job and Chronicles,^d but that also of Judges, Ruth, and Samuel, of 1 Kings i.—xi., of 2 Kings xii. 17—xxv., and Nehemiah ix. 28—xiii., have proceeded from this source.^e According to Rödiger, Judges, Ruth, Samuel, and 1 Kings i.—xi., were translated by a Christian in the thirteenth or fourteenth century. Different, but Christian authors translated the passages 2 Kings xiii. 17—xxv., and Nehemiah ix. 28—xiii.^f [Nothing is known of the age or author of the books of Job and Chronicles. This version agrees in general quite closely

^a [Eichhorn, § 254, 255.]

^b [See, also, Horne, pt. i. ch. ii. sect. iii. § 3, and his authorities.]

^c Reprinted by the Bible Society at Newcastle, 1811, in great 4to.

^d Eichhorn, § 290.

^e *Aem. Rödiger*, De Origine et Indole Arab. Libr. V. T. hist. Interpret.; Hal. 1829, 4to. lib. i. ch. ii.

^f Rödiger, l. c. § 62, sqq. ch. iv. § 73, sqq. ch. v.

with the Syriac original, but sometimes follows a reading different from that of the common printed text.]^a

2. There are two versions of the Psalms—one, that of the Syriac edition of the Psalms printed at Mount Lebanon, (§ 64;) the other, an unprinted Arabic Psalter in the British Museum.^b

[Under the direction of Sergius Risius, the learned bishop of Damascus, a Psalter in the Syriac and Arabic languages was printed, at Kasheja, in the valley of Mount Lebanon, in the seventeenth century, for the use of the Syrian Christians. The age and author of the version are unknown; but it evidently follows the Peshito as its original. Sometimes it differs from the Syriac, in minute peculiarities, and even in important readings; but this only shows that attempts had not been made to reconcile the two, before this was printed. The Arabic sometimes inclines to the Greek.

There is an independent Arabic Psalter, in manuscript, in the British Museum, which follows the Syriac, as its original. Its age and author are not known. It differs entirely from that printed at Lebanon, in the position of its words, and in the explanation of difficult places. It appears to have been altered after the Hebrew text. Perhaps the author had, also, the Hebrew original before him, when he translated.]^c

3. There are several Arabic versions of the [Syriac] Pentateuch; but some of them have not been printed, and some are unknown.^d

^a [Eichhorn, § 290.]

^b Döderlein, On the Arabic Psalters, in *Eichhorn's* Repert. vol. ii. p. 159, 170, sqq.

^c [Eichhorn, § 291, 293.]

^d *Asseman*, l. c. vol. ii. p. 309. *Abulfarag*, Hist. Dynast. p. 355. *Schnurzer*, De Pentat. Arab. Polyglot., in his Dissertatt. p. 203. *Paulus*, Spec. Vers.

§ 66.

V. ARABIC VERSIONS.

1. FROM THE JEWISH-HEBREW TEXT.

1. We are still in possession of a translation of the Pentateuch,^a and of Isaiah,^b from the hand of Rabbi

Pent. Arab. p. 36, sqq. [These versions are little known, and are too inaccurate for critical use. See *Paulus*, Com. crit. exhibens..... Spec. Vers. Pent. septem Arabicarum nondum editarum; Jen. 1784, 4to. *Eichhorn*, § 294, b.

See, also, *Hottinger*, Thes. phil. p. 270. *Wallon*, ProL. xiv. 19. *Grabe*, ProL. ad LXX. ch. iii. § 5. *White's* Letter to the Bishop of London, p. 56. *Kennicott*, Diss. Gen. ed. *Bruno*, § 84, and *Eichhorn*, § 294, c. for the Arabic translation of the hexaplaric Syriac version, by Hareth Ben Senan.]

^a This has been printed in Pentat. Heb. Pers. Arab.; Constant. 1516, fol. See *Wolf*, l. c. vol. ii. p. 354. *Le Long*, ed. *Masch*, vol. i. p. 393, sqq. *Adler*, Bibl. krit. Reise, p. 221. — in Paris Polyglot, vol. vi. — in London Polyglot, vol. i. (with the various readings of the Constantinople and Paris editions, vol. vi.) See *O. G. Tychsen*, in *Eichhorn's* Repert. vol. x. p. 95, on the sources whence the MSS. of the Arabic version in the Polyglots have been derived. See, also, his essay, Whether R. Saadiah Haggaon is the author of the Arabic version in the Polyglots, in *Eichhorn*, l. c. vol. xi. p. 82. He thinks *Abu Said* is the author, and not Saadiah. *Hottinger* doubts that the versions in these Polyglots are the same. See his Diss. de Heptaplis Paris; Tig. 1649, 4to. (Analect. Hist. Theol.; Tig. 1653, 8vo.) *Smegma Orient.*; Heidelberg, 1659, 4to. p. 93, sqq. Other doubts arose from misunderstanding the preface to the Paris Polyglot. (See *Michaelis*, Or. Bib. vol. ix. p. 153, sqq.) *Schnurrer* removed these doubts, by republishing that preface. See his Diss. de Pent. Arab. Polygl., (Tub. 1780, 4to.,) and in his Dissertations.

^b R. Saadiah Phijumensis Vers. Jesaie Arab. cum aliis speciminibus Arab. bibl. e MS. Bodlej. nunc primum ed. atque glossar. perpet. instruxit, H. E. G. *Paulus*, Fasc. i. ii.; Jenæ, 1790, 1791, 8vo. See *Eichhorn*, Allg. Bib. vol. iii. p. 19, sqq., 456, sqq.

There are traces of an Arabic version of Job and Hosea, by Saadiah. See *Eichhorn*, on the extent of Saadiah's Arabic version, l. c. vol. ii. p. 181, sqq. *Gesenius* found his version of Job at Oxford, and copied it. See his preface to Isaiah, p. x.

[Traces of Saadiah's version of Job, says *Eichhorn*, may be found in Cod. 40, of the Arabic MSS. in the Bodleyan Library. The preface begins as follows: Hæc interpretatio est liber directionis derivatus ex Jobo juxta interpretationem perfecti synagoge ac magistri Saadia. Kimchi cites him on

Saadias Gaon, who died A. C. 942.^a These versions are executed in an explanatory, paraphrastic style, harmonizing with the explanations of the Targums and the rabbins.^b They are a fine monument of the rabbinical philology and knowledge of the Bible in the tenth century.

[According to Wolf, Rabbi Saadias was a native of Pithom — whence he is often called *Pithumensis* — a city in the Egyptian province of Fagum. He enjoyed such a reputation for his learning, that, in the year 927, he was invited to take charge of the academy at Babylon, then in a declining state. But, two years after, he was obliged to flee for his life. He lived in concealment the next seven years, and wrote various works. Perhaps the Arabic versions of the Pentateuch and Isaiah were composed at this time.^c

Eichhorn thinks there were Arabic versions before the seventh century, though the first version which is known to us belongs to the tenth. Erpenius and Pococke think Saadias translated the whole of the Old Testament. But they ground their belief on the fact that there are manuscripts containing the whole of an Arabic version of the Old Testament, part of which, certainly, proceeded from Saadias.

His version is made directly from the Hebrew; but

Hosea vi. 9. *Eichhorn*, § 282. This MS. is written in Hebrew characters. Erpen was so confident Saadias translated the whole Old Testament, that he promised to publish the entire version. See *Walton*, Prol. xiv. 15.]

^a See accounts of this famous Jewish scholar in *Wolf*, l. c. vol. i. p. 832, sqq. *Gesenius*, Heb. Sprache, p. 96.

^b See more respecting the critical and exegetical value of this version in *Carpov*, Crit. sac. p. 646, sqq. *Gesenius*, Com. lib. Jes. vol. i. p. 90, sqq. On the affinity between the Paris and London impressions of the version of the Pentateuch, see *Eichhorn*, § 281, sq., and *Adler*, l. c. p. 149.

^c [*Wolf*, l. c., who gives a list of his works.]

it dilutes and expands the original till all its poetic beauties are lost. But many of the paraphrastic passages, perhaps, could not have come from Saadiah, and we can never be sure we possess the version in the original form which proceeded from his hand. The transcribers have used great freedom with this, as with all the Arabic versions; and some manuscripts may approach nearer to the Hebrew text,* where the printed copy is paraphrastic. Like other versions, it has been interpolated in the course of time. Some of the manuscripts have been altered systematically, to say nothing of the errors which carelessness has introduced. Even between the two *printed* copies of Saadiah there are many discrepancies.[†] Wherever *God* appears or acts, according to the edition of Constantinople, an *angel of God* appears or acts, according to the text of the Polyglots.[‡]

It has likewise been altered from the Arabic version of the Samaritan Pentateuch. It is a characteristic of the Samaritan version to render the word *God* by *angel of God* in certain connections, and this peculiarity often occurs in the Paris impression, which renders it probable that these passages have been altered by a later interpolator, and made to conform to the Samaritan. There is, besides, that general agreement between the two manuscripts of Saadiah and the fragments of the Samaritan-Arabic version, which is usually found be-

* [See a comparison of a small portion of the text of the Polyglots, with that of the Florentine and Roman MSS., in *Eichhorn*, § 280, and in *Adler*, *Bib. krit. Reise*, p. 175. The Florentine MS. follows the Heb. very closely.]

† [E. g. Deut. xxxiv. 10: "Novit eum Deus presentem," in the Polyglots; but in the Constantinople edition it is "quem Deus allocutus est sine medio," (immediate.) So, in Gen. xviii. 13, in the former it is, "and *the prophet of God* said to Abraham;" but in the latter, "and *God* said to Abraham."]

‡ [*Eichhorn*, § 281.]

tween interpolated manuscripts. The text of the Paris and London Polyglots has been altered more than that of Constantinople, which, however, has not escaped untouched.^a

Only a single manuscript is known of Saadiah's version of Isaiah; the subscription refers it to him, and the style agrees very closely with that of his version of the Pentateuch; so that no one can doubt that both proceeded from the same hand. Its value is inconsiderable; but it is always agreeable to know how one of the best Jewish scholars of the tenth century understood Isaiah. Here and there his version seems to have something peculiar to itself.]^b

2. There is a version of Joshua and the following passages, namely: 1 Kings xiii.—2 Kings xii. 16, and Neh. i.—ix. 27, which is printed in the Polyglots.^c

3. There is also a version of the Pentateuch, made in the thirteenth century by an African Jew. It has been edited by Erpen.^d [In general, this version follows the masoretic text step by step, and a real variant is an extremely rare phenomenon in it. But if the author had an ancient Hebrew text before him, his version would be valuable in criticism to show what readings he followed; for he usually applies himself so closely to the letters that Erpen thought a Latin version was indispensable to his edition. To favor this literalness, the translator indulges in expressions that are foreign to the

^a [Eichhorn, § 282.]

^b [Eichhorn, § 283, b. See, also, Notice sur Rabbi Saadiah Gaon et sa Version Arabe d'Isaïe, et sur une Version Persane MS. de la Bibliothèque royale, suivie d'une Extrait du Livre Dalalat Al Hazerin, en Arabe et en Français, &c., par Salomon Munk; Paris, 1838. See, also, Berlin Jahrbücher, for April, 1840, p. 633, sqq.]

^c Rödiger, l. c. lib. i. ch. iii.

^d Pentateuchus Mosis, Arabice; Lug. Bat. 1622, small 4to.

Arabic usage, and which would be obscure to any one who did not compare them with the original.]^a

4. There is also an Arabic version made directly from the Hebrew, by Rabbi Saadiah Ben Levi Ashkenoth, [of Morocco, a learned Jew of the first part of the seventeenth century.] It exists in manuscript in the British Museum, and contains only Genesis, Psalms, and Daniel.^b [Judging from the printed extracts, it does not follow any of the printed Arabic versions. But it is too modern to furnish us with more than a stiff translation of the masoretic text, made by the help of a rabbinical lexicon. It is of less value than Erpen's edition.]^c

§ 67.

2. THE SAMARITAN-ARABIC VERSION OF ABU-SAID.

To take the place of Saadiah's version, which was used by the Samaritans after the extinction of their language, Abu-Said, a Samaritan,^d made an Arabic version of the

^a [Eichhorn, § 284.]

^b See Döderlein, in Eichhorn's Repert. vol. iii. p. 153, sqq., and Specimens of an unprinted Arabic Version of the Psalms, in the Bodleyan Library, by Schnurrer, in Eichhorn's Allg. Bib. vol. iii. p. 425, sqq., and an article by Rink, on the Arabic Version of Genesis, in the Manheim Library.

^c Ibid. vol. iii. p. 666. [The MS. contains an interlineary version in the Malay language.]

^d See the translator's preface, in Cod. Paris, No. 4, and the imperfect translation of it in *Le Long*, l. c. p. 117, ed. Paris, 1723. [The following is *De Sacy's* more correct translation, taken from *Eichhorn's Allg. Bib.* vol. x. p. 5, sqq. (See, also, vol. iii. art. i. for the Arabic text.)

Qui veritatem sequitur, in viam rectam dirigitur, hæc ait servus, misericordie Dei indigens, Abusaidus, filius Abulhossaini, nepos vero Abusaidi (cujus finem ultimum faustum efficiat Deus.) Cum vidissem versionem libri hujus venerandi, quæ manibus nostrorum sodalium teritur, (quorum numerum augeat Deus, quosque beneficiis, prosequi dignetur,) corruptam esse quoad literas et sensum ideo, quod linguæ Arabicæ sunt rudes omnino: dicentibus tamen quibusdam ex eis, istam versionem a nobilissimo doctore elabora-

Samaritan Pentateuch in the eleventh or twelfth century.*

["It is unknown in what age Abu-Said lived and composed his version; but it must have been between the middle of the tenth and the beginning of the thirteenth centuries. It can be shown, by many arguments, that it is a direct descendant of the Hebrew-Samaritan text, and does not recognize the Samaritan *version* as its original; for the learned Samaritans both understand and write the Hebrew, at this time..... and Hebrew and Samaritan are so closely related, that there can be no reason devised, why, at the time of the composition of this version, it should have been easier for the Samaritans to make an Arabic translation from the Samaritan version, than from the Hebrew original. The doubts not removed by this argument will be destroyed by the internal character of the version. It preserves the Hebrew words, as often as possible, in the Arabic, and departs from the Samaritan version."†

Eichhorn thinks the translator was a Samaritan, be-

tam esse Abulhassano Iyrio, (cujus misereatur Deus,) quamvis hujus viri non sit profecto, nec fieri possit, ut ipse hanc versionem concinnaverit peculiariter hujus loci interpretationem, לשׁיב מער״מ, בלכודך, etc. quæ est impietas evidentissima et alia plura huic non dissimilia et cum revera hæc versio facta sit a Tajumensi doctore e Judæis, (quem Deus debitis tormentis excruciet,) operæ pretium fore mihi visum est, si hocce exemplar transferendum suscepissem: illa quoque exemplaria, quæ jam præcesserunt, et quæ postea, si per Deum licuerit, scripturus sum, interpretatione fideli et concinna, ut ex ea describantur alia exemplaria, quorum ope tollantur errores, in quos incidit Tajumensis, et qui ejus interpretationem probarunt, et ut sit mihi monumentum bonum apud Deum O. M. et apud omnes quicumque ex populo Dei veritati obsequuntur, si Deo placuerit.] See *Pandus*, l. c. p. 33, and his Contributions to the History of the Sam. Pentat., in his Neue Repert. vol. iii. p. 176, and *Schnurrer* on the same subject, in Allg. Bib. vol. iii. p. 814.

* See *De Sacy*, De Vers. Sam. Arab. Libr. Nos. in Allg. Bib. vol. x. p. 16—40. Saadiah is the most certain *terminus a quo*.

† [Eichhorn, § 287.]

cause he uses "angel of God," for "Jehovah," and always adheres to the Hebrew-Samaritan text, where it differs from the Hebrew-Jewish. He sometimes agrees so closely with Saadiah, that some critics conjecture that he was very familiar with his version, and copied it without design, or consulted it, in different places.]*

He translated with literal fidelity, by the aid of the Samaritan version and that of Saadiah, and with some inclination towards the *Jewish* text.[†]

["The version expresses the words of the original text very accurately, and adheres so closely to the letters, that it answers to the Samaritan text and version, word for word, line for line, and period for period. It follows the order of the Hebrew words carefully; it adopts many Hebrew idioms, and very often retains the original word, without translating it. Sometimes it forsakes this character." In particular, it attempts to soften expressions which speak of God as having human limbs or passions. It sometimes elevates the language of the original.

Abu-Said wrote scholia in the margin of his version,

* [Eichhorn, § 287.]

† Gesenius, De Pentat. Sam. p. 20.

See Specimens from the MSS., in Hottinger, Bib. Orient. p. 98, sqq.; from Usher's and Taylor's MSS. in Durell, the Hebrew Text of the parallel Prophecies of Jacob and Moses; Oxf. 1763. Paulus, Spec. p. 8, sqq.; from the Barberine Triglot, in Blanchini, Evang. quadrup. vol. ii. p. 604. (See the description of it, p. 629, and Björnstaht's, in Eichhorn's Repert. vol. iii. p. 84, sq.) Spec. ineditæ Vers. Arab. Sam. Pent. e Cod. Sam. Bibl. Barberinæ, ed. &c. A. Chr. Huiid; Hfn. Rom. 1780, 8vo. See the review of it in Michaelis, Or. Bib. vol. xvi. p. 76, sqq., and the better account of this version in De Rossi, Spec. var. Lect. et Chald. Esth. Addit.; Tub. 1783, p. 150, sqq., and Adler, l. c. p. 137, sqq. See a description of the Paris MSS., No. 2 and 3, and Specimens of them, by De Sacy, in Allg. Bib. vol. x. p. 1, sqq. There is, also, a Leyden MS., for which, see Spec. philol. contin. descript. Cod. MS. Biblioth.; Lug. Bat. Partemque inde excerptam Vers. Sam. Arab. Pentat. Mos. Præa. S. F. J. Ravio, publ. defendit Guil. Van Vloten; Lug. Bat. 1803, 4to.

which sometimes defend his translation of a particular passage, and sometimes make it plainer by a paraphrase. Sometimes he explains difficult words; gives historical or antiquarian information; solves chronological difficulties, and sometimes contends with the Jews, Caraites, and Rabbanites.^a

This version is valuable chiefly in revising the Samaritan text, whose history would be imperfect without it. It is not without value for exegesis, since the interpreter may derive many new explanations from it, which, at least, deserve examination.]^b

§ 68.

VI. PERSIAN VERSION OF THE PENTATEUCH.

In the Constantinople Polyglot-Pentateuch,^c and in the sixth volume of the London Polyglot, there is a modern Persian translation of the Pentateuch, made directly from the Hebrew by a Jew named Jacob, the son of Joseph Tawus.^d At the earliest, it was not made

^a [See Specimens of these scholia, in *Eichhorn's Allg. Bib.* vol. x. p. 149—176.]

^b [In the Bodleyan library there is a MS. which formerly belonged to Dr. Pococke, which contains the Hebrew text of the Psalms, with an Arabic version and explanations. It is of little value for criticism and exegesis. See an account of it, in *Eichhorn's Allg. Bib.* vol. iii. p. 425—436, and Specimens from Ps. xvi., xl., and cx. *ibid.* vol. x. p. 82—88.]

^c See above, § 66, p. 248.

^d In *Adler*, l. c. p. 222, his name is thus given: בֶּרֶךְ יַעֲקֹב בֶּכָר יוֹסֵף טָאוּס, i. e. son of R. Jacob, the son of the honored R. Joseph Tawus. In the Polyglot he is called בֶּרֶךְ יַעֲקֹב, i. e. the honored R. Jacob. See *Bernstein*, in *Berthold's Krit. Journal*, vol. v. p. 21. The name *Tawus* is commonly explained by *Tusensis*, ex urbe *Pernica Tus*; (see *Rosenmüller*, *De Vera. Pentat. Pers.*; Lips. 1813, 4to. p. 4;) but *Lorsbach* (*A. L. Z.* 1816, No. 58, p. 459) explains it as a proper name, which means *Peacock*, in Persian.

before the ninth century.* It is executed in the scrupulously-literal manner of Aquila.

[There was a version of the Bible in the old Persian language in the times of Chrysostom and Theodoret, but it is now lost. Nothing is known of the person or the age of the author of this new version; but he could not have lived before the eighth century; for he calls Babel Bagdad, which was not built till 762. The style of his work renders it probable he lived still later.

This version, following the Hebrew in a very literal manner, often sacrifices the purity of the Persian language for the sake of adhering more closely to the text. It imitates the Hebrew constructions; introduces Hebrew words, foreign as they may be to the Persian tongue; and sometimes inserts the Hebrew text, in Arabic letters, word for word.

There are many chasms in the Constantinople edition; words and whole passages are omitted, so that the text is often without meaning. Hyde attempted to supply these chasms by a new version of his own. On account of its modernness, little can be expected from the Persian version, for the criticism of the Hebrew text. It has scarce any peculiar readings, but follows the masoretic text. It often follows Onkelos in the signification of words, and not unfrequently agrees with Saadiah. It is not known whether the same author translated the whole of the Old Testament. Walton had two manuscripts of the Persian Psalter; but they were both very modern, and made by members of the Roman church.]'

* Rosenmüller, l. c. Lorschach, l. c. p. 460, places him in the 16th century. See, in the *Stud. und Krit.* for 1829, p. 409, sqq., Haseler's account of a version, previously unknown, of the Salomonic writings.

† [Eichhorn, § 317.]

CHAPTER III.

THE PRESENT LATIN VULGATE.

§ 69.

1. JEROME'S VERSION FROM THE HEBREW.

WHILE Jerome was engaged in amending the ancient Vulgate, at the request of his friend he undertook a new translation from the Hebrew, which he commenced after the year A. C. 385, and completed in 405.*

[Some of his friends, it seems, found they were not adequate to contend with the Jews, since the latter appealed to the original, which the Christian writers could not use, and were therefore obliged to resort to the poor substitutes of the Alexandrian and the old Latin version. He began with the books of Samuel, for his friends needed them at the time. He then translated the Prophets, next the Psalms, then the writings of Solomon, Ezra, and Nehemiah, then the Pentateuch, Joshua, Ruth, Judges, and Chronicles; — then Tobit and Judith from the Chaldee. He concluded with Daniel, Esther, and Jeremiah. He translated the apocryphal additions to these three last books, but expressly declared they were not genuine.]^b

He thus speaks of his undertaking: "I have received

* *Martianay*, Proleg. ii. § 1. *Hody*, l. c. p. 536. *Carpzov*, Crit. sac. p. 667—675.

^b [See his Prefaces in Paralip., in *Neemia*, *Pentat.*, and *Psalmos*. See, also, *Martianay*, l. c. See *Eichhorn*, § 332—334. He says, Pref. in *Lib. Salem*, and *Lib. Tobit*, that he translated the *Proverbs*, *Ecclesiastes*, and *Solomon's Song*, in three days, and *Tobit* in a single day.]

the wished-for letters of my Desiderius, entreating me to furnish our friends with a translation of the Pentateuch from the Hebrew into the Latin.

"If the edition of the Seventy translators had remained pure and as they left it when they translated it into Greek, it would have been superfluous for you, Chromati, most learned and holy bishop, to incite me to render the Hebrew volumes into Latin."* Again he writes, —

"Recently, you brought forward from the Psalms some testimonies concerning our Lord, the Savior, as you were disputing with a Hebrew; and he, willing to delude you, asserted of almost every sentence, that it was not in the Hebrew, as you quoted against him, from the Seventy. You then earnestly demanded that I should make a new version into the Latin tongue, following Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion."

Still further he says, "It is now three years that you have been perpetually writing to urge me to translate the book of Ezra and Esther out of the Hebrew for you."†

* *Jerome*, Præf. ad Pentat.: *Desiderii mei desideratas accepi epistolas obsecrantis, ut translatum in Latinam linguam de Hebræo sermone Pentateuchum nostrorum auribus traderem. Præf. in Paralip.: Si LXX. interpretum pura et ut ab eis in Græcum versa est, editio permaneret, superflue me, Chromati, Episcoporum sanctissime atque doctissime, impelleres, ut Hebræa volumina Latino sermone transferrem.*

† *Ad Sophron. Præf. in Psalm. Opp. i. p. 835: Quia nuper cum Hebræo disputans quædam pro Domino salvatore de Psalmis protulisti testimonia, volensque ille te illudere per sermones pene singulos asserebat, non ita haberi in Hebræo, ut tu de LXX. interpretibus opponebas: studiosissime postulasti, ut post Aquilam, Symmachum et Theodotionem novam editionem Latino sermone transferrem. Ad Domnium et Rogatian. Præf. in Ecd. et Neem.: Tertius annus est, quod semper scribitis atque rescribitis, ut Ecd. librum et Hester vobis de Hebræo transferam. See, also, Ep. ad Chromatium et Heliodorum, Præf. in Tobiam. *Hody*, p. 356. *Martianay*, *Prolog.* i. § 4.*

He avows a polemic design. "..... He knows that I have sweat in learning a foreign tongue, only for this reason, that the Jews might no longer insult the churches by charging them with the falsity of their [copies of the] Scriptures."

Again he says, "That our friends may know what the Hebrew truth contains, we have not forged our words, but have translated them as we found them among the Hebrews."*

By means of his diligence, his knowledge of the Hebrew language, acquired with the assistance of some rabbins; by his use of the exegetic *reception* of the Jews, and the earlier versions; and by the sound principles which he observed, he produced, perhaps, the best work of the kind which all antiquity can boast. The following extracts shed light on his work:—

"Suddenly a Jew appeared, bringing out a few volumes, which he had received from the synagogue as if to read, and 'Now,' said he, 'you have what you called for;' and he so startled me, by his suddenness, — as I was doubtful and not knowing what I should do, — that, leaving every thing else, I flew to writing, which I continue to follow to this time."†

"..... I gave myself, to be taught, to a certain brother, who from a Jew had become a Christian."

* Præf. in Jes.: Qui scit, me ob hoc in peregrinæ linguæ eruditione sudasse, ne Judæi falsitate scripturarum ecclesiis ejus diutius insultarent. Ep. 89, ad Augustin. iv. 2, 627: Ut scirent nostri, quid Hebraica veritas contineret, non nostra confinximus, sed ut apud Hebræos invenimus, transtulimus. [*Jahn*, vol. i. p. 222.]

† Epist. 125, ad Damas. Opp. ii. p. 563: Subito Hebræus intervenit, deferens non pauca volumina, quæ de Synagoga quasi lecturus acceperat. Et illico, habes, inquit, quod postulaveras, meque dubium et quid facerem nescientem ita festinus exterruit, ut omnibus prætermisissis ad scribendum transvolarem, quod quidem usque in præsens facio.

“When but a youth, after reading Quintilian, and Tully, and the best of the rhetoricians, I shut myself up in the mill of this language; and after long time, and much ado, I scarcely began to pronounce these panting and creaking words; and, like one walking in a dungeon, discovered a thin, faint light falling from above; and very lately I stumbled upon Daniel.”

“There is a certain man, from whom I rejoice that I have learned many things, and who is such a master of the Hebrew language that he is esteemed a Chaldee among their scribes.”

“I remember that I, for the sake of understanding this book, [Job,] hired, at no small price, a certain Lydian teacher, who was esteemed the first among the Hebrews. I do not know whether I profited at all by his instructions. I only know this, that I could not have made this translation except I had known him before.”

Again: “Since the Chaldee language is very much like the Hebrew, finding a ready speaker, who was well skilled in both languages, I made one day’s work of it, and whatever he translated to me into Hebrew words, I explained in Latin to a scribe, summoned for the purpose.”

“Very lately I have fallen upon Daniel, and have taken so great a disgust to him, that, with a sudden despair, I could wish to condemn all my old labor. But a certain Jew encouraged me, and translated it to me in his own language. Labor conquers all things; and I, who lately seemed to be a sciolist among the Hebrews, began again to be a learner of the Chaldee.”

“I hear that you make a jest of me with Plan-

tinus's wit, because I said that *Barrabas*, a Jew, was my teacher.* Nor is it to be wondered at that you should mistake Barrabas for *Barhanina*, when there is some likeness between the words.”^b

“I will very briefly admonish the reader that I have followed the authority of no man, but, translating from the Hebrew, I have rather conformed to the usage of the Seventy, but only in those parts of it which do not differ much from the Hebrew. Sometimes, also, I have remembered Aquila, and Theodotion, and Symmachus, that [on the one hand] I might not alarm the zeal of the reader by too great novelty, nor, on the other, con-

* See *Rufin.* adv. Hieron.

^b *Jerome*, Ep. 4, ad Rusticum, Opp. iv. pt. ii. p. 774: Cuidam fratri, qui ex Hebræis crediderat, me in disciplinam dedi. Præf. in Dan.: Denique et ego adolescentulus post Quintiliani et Tullii lectionem ac flores rhetoricos cum me in linguæ hujus pistrinum reclusissem, et multo sudore multoque tempore vix cepissem anhelantia stridentiaque verba resonare et quasi per cryptam ambulans rarum desuper lumen aspicerem, impegi novissime in Danielelem, etc. (Comp. *Hody*, p. 359. *Morinus*, Ex. Bibl. lib. i. ex. iii. ch. 2.) Ep. 142, ad Damas. Opp. iii. p. 520: Est vir quidam, a quo ego plura didicisse gaudeo, et qui Hebræum sermonem ita eliminavit, ut inter scribas eorum Chaldæus existimetur. Præf. in Job.: Memini me ob intelligentiam hujus voluminis Lyddæum quendam præceptorem, qui apud Hebræos primus haberi putabatur, non parvis redemisse nummis, cujus doctrina an aliquid profecerim nescio. Hoc unum scio, non potuisse me interpretari, nisi quod ante intellexeram. (Comp. Comment. in Habac. ii.) Præf. in Tobiam: Quia vicina est Chaldæorum lingua sermoni Hebraico, utriusque linguæ peritissimum loquacem reperiens, unius diei laborem arripui, et quicquid ille mihi Hebraicis verbis expressit, hoc ego, accito Notario, sermonibus Latinis exposui. Præf. in Dan.: Impegi novissime in Danielelem et tanto tædio affectus sum, ut desperatione subita omnem laborem veterem voluerim contemnere. Verum adhortante me quodam Hebræo et illud mihi in sua lingua ingerente: Labor omnia vincit, qui mihi videbar sciolus inter Hebræos, cepi rursus esse discipulus Chaldaicus. Apol. cont. *Rufin.* i. 12: Audio te Plautino in me sale ludere, eo quod *Barrabam* Judæum dixerim præceptorem meum. (*Rufin.* adv. Hieron.) Nec mirum, si pro *Barhanina*, ubi est aliqua vocabulorum similitudo, scripseris Barrabam. *Martianay*, Prol. iii. ad Hieron. Opp. vol. ii., prizes his learning too high. But *Leclerc* rates him too low. *Quæst. Hieronym.* iv.—vii.

trary to my conscience, forsake the fountains of truth, and follow the streamlets of opinions."

And again: "This translation follows none of the ancient interpreters; but, from the Hebrew itself, from the Arabic, and sometimes from the Syriac, it takes now the words, now the sense, and now both."^a

"This is the rule of a good translator, that he should express the idiom of the foreign language by the peculiarity of his own. Let no one think the Latin is a very meagre language because it cannot render [the Hebrew] word for word; for even the Greeks translate many passages by a great circumlocution, and do not attempt to express the Hebrew words by a literal translation, but by the peculiarities of their own tongue. We ought not to render word for word, so that while we follow syllables we lose the sense."^b

Had he been less hasty, he would have made a better version. In the following passages, he confesses the

^a Præf. Com. in Eccles.: Hoc breviter admonens, quod nullius auctoritatem sequutus sum: sed de Hebræo transferens, magis me LXX. interpretum consuetudini coaptavi, in his duntaxat, quæ non multum ab Hebræicis discrepabant. Interdum Aquilæ quoque et Theodotionis et Symmachi recordatus sum, ut nec novitate nimia lectoris studium deterrerem, nec rursus contra conscientiam meam fonte veritatis amisso opinionum rivulos consecrarem. (Comp. Epist. 74, ad Marc. § 44.) Præf. in Job.: Hæc autem translatio nullum de veteribus sequitur interpretem, sed ex ipso Hebraico Arabicoque sermone et interdum Syro nunc verba, nunc sensum, nunc simul utrumque resonabit.

^b Ep. 135, ad Sunn. et Fret. Opp. ii. p. 627, sqq.: Et hanc esse regulam boni interpretis, ut ἰδιώματα linguæ alterius suæ linguæ exprimat proprietate. Nec ex eo quis Latinam linguam angustissimam putet, quod non possit verbum de verbo transferre, quum etiam Græci pleraque vasto circuitu transferant et verba Hebraica non interpretationis fide, sed linguæ suæ proprietatibus nitentes exprimere. Ib. p. 639: Non debemus sic verbum de verbo exprimere, ut, dum syllabas sequimur, perdamus intelligentiam. Comp. Ep. 101, ad Pammach. de optimo genere interpret. Opp. iv. pt. ii. p. 248, sqq.: Me in interpretatione Græcorum absque Scripturis sanctis, ubi et verborum ordo et mysterium est, non verbum e verbo, sed sensum exprimere de sensu. But he justly censures Aquila.

haste with which the work was done: "Broken by long sickness, if I had not refrained for this year, and been silent among you, I should [before now] have consecrated to you this work of three days," [namely, a translation of the books of Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and Canticles.] "In that passage which we have translated *incurvantem et refrænantem*, we might have said *incurvum et lascivientem*, meaning an *old man* and a *boy*; but while we were translating rapidly, deceived by the ambiguity of the word תַּמָּא, we translated it by *refrænantem*. But Aquila has more significantly translated it by στεβλοῦντα, that is, one who does nothing right, but every thing perversely, as he would say, a *boy*."^a

§ 70.

THE RECEPTION OF THIS VERSION, AND CORRUPTION OF ITS TEXT. ORIGIN OF THE NEW VULGATE.

A superstitious reverence for the Septuagint caused the contemporaries of Jerome to oppose this version,

^a Præf. in Tob. Præf. in LL. Salomon. Opp. i. p. 938: Longa ægrotatione fractus, ne penitus hoc anno reticerem et apud vos mutus essem, tridui opus nomini vestro consecravi. Com. in Jes. xix.: In eo quoque, quod nos transtulimus incurvantem et refrænantem, possumus dicere incurvum et lascivientem, ut intelligamus senem et puerum. Nos autem verbum תַּמָּא, dum celeriter, quæ scripta sunt, vertimus, ambiguitate decepti, refrænantem diximus, quod significantius Aquila transtulit στεβλοῦντα, i. e. qui nihil recte agit, sed omne perversum, ut puerum significaret.

For the division of the text into *cola* and *commata*, see Præf. in Es.; into *cola*, see Præf. in Paralip., and that in Jos.; for the admission of the apocryphal passages in Daniel and Esther, but marked with *obelisks*, see Præf. in Dan. and Proem. ad Com. in Dan. See *Martianay*, Proleg. iv. iii. § 5. See below, § 80.

On the subject of this section, see *Engelstaf*, Hieronymus Stridon. Interpret. Criticus, Monachus; Havn. 1797. *Rosenmüller*, Hist. Interp. vol. iii. p. 331, sqq.

and declare it heretical. Jerome himself informs us of the reception it met. "To this is added the zeal of the envious, who think all which I write must be censured; and sometimes, their own conscience contending with itself, they condemn in public what they read in private. To such a degree does this extend, that I am compelled to cry out and say, 'O Lord, deliver my soul from lying lips and a deceitful tongue.'"

Again: "I will only make this reply to my calumniators: 'Why do you calumniate and gnaw me with a dog's tooth in public, when you read it [my version of the Bible] in secret corners?'" "My brother Eusebius writes, that among the African bishops, who had come together into a council for ecclesiastical purposes, he found an epistle, purporting to be written in my name, in which I expressed my penitence, and acknowledged that I had been seduced by the Jews, in my youth, to translate the Hebrew books into Latin, in which books there is no truth."*

Rufin thus writes against Jerome: "Who, beside you, ever laid his hand on the divine gift and inheritance of the apostles? [namely, the Alexandrian version.] Who ever dared to plunder the divine Instrument, the deposit of the Holy Spirit, which the apostles transmitted to

* Pref. in Esr.: Accedunt ad hoc invidorum studia, qui omne quod scribimus reprehendendum putant; et interdum contra se conscientia repugnante, publice lacerant, quod occulte legunt: intantum ut clamare compelleret et dicere: Domine, libera animam meam a labiis iniquis et a lingua dolosa. Pref. in Paralip.: Hæc obtrectatoribus meis tantum respondeo, qui cavendo me rodunt in publico detrahentes et legentes in angustia. Apolog. cont. Ruf. ii. 24: Scribit frater Eusebius, se apud Afros Episcopos, qui propter ecclesiasticas causas ad comitatum venerant, epistolam quasi meo scriptam nomine reperisse, in qua agerem penitentiam, et me ab Hebræis in adolescentia inductum esse testarer, ut Hebræa volumina in Latinum verterem, in quibus nulla sit veritas.

the churches? And is not that plundering, where something is changed under pretence of correcting an error? Now, the whole history of Susannah, which formerly afforded the churches an example of chastity, is cut out by this fellow, and cast away and neglected."

Then Jerome complains again: "That servile Palladius attempted to renew the same heresy of iniquity, and to heap a new calumny upon me for my translation of the Hebrew."^a

Even Augustine had doubts about this translation, and writes as follows: "Certainly, I would rather that you had made us a version from the *Greek* canonical Scriptures, which were translated by the Seventy. There will be a great deal of trouble if your version [from the Hebrew] begins to be commonly read in many churches, because the Latin churches will then differ from the Greek; still more, because now, any one who brings an objection [to the old Latin translation of the Alexandrian version] is easily confuted by producing the Greek original, which is in a language very well understood; but if any one is struck with something new in what is translated out of the *Hebrew*, and should bring the charge of falsehood against it, he will seldom, or never, refer to the Hebrew authorities, by which the charge might be staved off. But even if he

^a *Rufinus*, adv. Hieron. lib. ii.: Quis præter te divino muneri et apostolorum hereditati (LXX. interpr.) manus intulerit? Quis ausus est Instrumentum divinum, quod apostoli ecclesiis tradiderunt, et depositum sancti spiritus compilare? Annon est compilare, cum quædam quidem immutantur et error dicitur corrigi? Nam omnis illa historia de Susanna, quæ castitatis exemplum præbebat ecclesiis, ab isto abscissa est et abjecta atque posthabita, etc. [Proem. Dialog. adv. Pelagian.: Palladius servilis nequitie eandem hæresin instaurare conatus est, et novam translationis Hebraicæ mihi calumniam struere, etc.]

should refer to those testimonies, *who could bear to have so many Latin and Greek authorities condemned?*"

And again says Augustine, "Respecting your translation, you have convinced me of the advantage you hope to gain, by translating the Scriptures out of the Hebrew, namely, that you may make known those passages which were omitted or corrupted by the Jews I wish for your translation of the Septuagint, in order that, as far as possible, we may be freed from the great ignorance of the Latin translators, who, with such little ability, have dared to undertake it; and that they who think I envy you on account of your useful works, should at length understand, if it is possible, that *I am unwilling your version from the Hebrew should be read in the churches*, from fear that, by bringing forward something new, and opposed to the authority of the Septuagint, we should disturb the Christians whose hearts and ears have been accustomed to that translation which was even approved of by the apostles themselves."^a

^a *Augustinus*, Ep. 88, Opp. iv. pt. ii. p. 610: Ego sane te malle Græcos potius canonicas nobis interpretari Scripturas, quæ LXX. interpretum perhibentur. Perdurum erit enim, si tua interpretatio per multas ecclesias frequentius cœperit lectitari, quod a Græcis ecclesiis Latine ecclesie dissonabunt, maxime quia facile contradictor convincitur Græco prolato libro, id est, lingua notissima: quisquis autem in eo, quod ex Hebræo translatus est, aliquo insolito permotus fuerit, ut falsi crimen intenderit, vix aut nunquam ad Hebræa testimonia pervenitur, quibus defendatur objectum. Quod si etiam perventum fuerit, *tot Latinas et Græcas auctoritates damnari quis ferat?* Ep. 97, ib. p. 641: De interpretatione jam mihi persuasisti, quæ utilitate Scripturas volueris transferre de Hebræis, ut scilicet ea, quæ a Judæis prætermissa vel corrupta sunt, proferres in medium Ideo autem desidero interpretationem tuam de Septuaginta, ut et tanta Latinorum interpretum, qui qualescunque hoc ausi sunt, quantum possumus imperitia carcamus, et hi qui me invidere putant utilibus laboribus tuis, tandem aliquando, si fieri potest, intelligant, propterea me nolle tuam ex Hebræis interpretationem in ecclesiis legi, ne contra LXX. auctoritatem tanquam novum aliquid

However, others received it favorably. Jerome, in his defence against Rufin, says, "I thought I had deserved well of my *Latin* friends when even the Greeks, notwithstanding they have so many interpreters of their own, did not take offence at a version from the Latin." "How much more ought the Latins to be grateful, when they see Greece rejoicing that something has been borrowed from them!" "Sophronius translated my minor works into elegant Greek; and likewise the Psalter and the Prophets, which I had translated from Hebrew into Latin."^a

Even Augustine both tolerated and used it. About 403 A. C., he writes, "One of our brother bishops, when he commanded that your translation should be read in the church over which he presided, knew there was something which you had put in the prophet Jonah very different from what had been inured in the senses and memory of all, and repeated through the course of so many years."

Jerome himself bears witness to the reception of his version, in a letter to Lucinius, a bishop of Spain: "I gave the canon of Hebrew truth—excepting the Oc-

proferentes, magno scandalo perturbemus plebes Christi, quarum aures et corda illam interpretationem audire consueverunt, quæ etiam ab Apostolis approbata est. See, also, De Civit. Dei, xviii. 43. [See more on this theme in *Hody*, l. c. pt. ii. ch. iv.]

^a Apolog. adv. Rufin. lib. ii.: Putabam bene mereri de Latinis meis quod etiam Græci versum de Latino post tantos interpretes non fastidiunt. Pref. in Eram: Quanto magis Latini grati esse deberent, quod exultantem cernerent Græciam a se aliquid mutuari. Catal. Scriptt. eccles. ch. 134: Sophronius opuscula mea in Græcum eleganti sermone transtulit, Psalterium quoque et Prophetas, quos nos de Hebræo in Latinum transtulimus. [See the testimonies of other ancient writers in *Hody*, l. c. ch. v.]

tateuch, which I have still in my hands — to your servants and notaries to be copied.” This was about 395 A. C.*

Augustine speaks of it in a letter to Audax: “I have not the Psalter translated from the Hebrew by St. Jerome, so that, in common with you, we still lack that which is perfect.” Again: “But not according to the Seventy in whom some things are obscure, because they are figurative, but as they have been translated from the Hebrew into Latin, by Jerome, the presbyter, who is skilled in both languages.”^b

About two hundred years after Jerome’s death, his translation had acquired an importance at Rome, along with the ancient Vulgate. Thus Gregory the Great, who died 604, speaks of it as follows: “I shall discourse, indeed, upon the new translation; but, as the case at issue requires, I shall make use of both the old and the new for evidence; and, since the apostolical chair — over which, by God’s authority, I preside —

* *Augustinus*, Ep. 88, Opp. iv. pt. ii. p. 610: Quidam frater noster Episcopus, quum lectitari instituisset in ecclesia, cui præest, interpretationem tuam, novit quiddam longe aliter abs te positum apud Jonam prophetam, quam erat omnium sensibus memoriæque inveteratum et tot ætatum successione decantatum, etc. *Jerome* ad Lucinium, (Episcop. Hispan.) Ep. 28, ib. p. 579: Canonem Hebraicæ veritatis, excepto Octateucho, quem nunc in manibus habeo, pueris tuis et notariis dedi describendum. See the favorable judgment of *Jo. Cassianus*, *Eucherius Lugdunensis*, *Vincen- tius Lirinensis*, *Salvianus Massiliensis*, and others, in *Hody*, l. c. p. 397, sqq.

^b *Augustinus*, Ep. 261, ad Audacem: Psalterium a sancto Hieronymo translatum ex Hebræo non habeo ita illud, quod perfectum est, tecum nos quoque requirimus. De Doctr. Christ. iv. 7: Non autem secundum LXX. interpretes obscuriora nonnulla, quia magis tropica eorum: sed sicut ex Hebræo in Latinum eloquium Presbytero Hieronymo utriusque linguae perito interpretante translata sunt. Comp. Quæst. 20, 54, in Deuteron.; 7, 15, 19, 24, 25, in librum Jos.; and 16, 37, 47, 56, in Jud.

makes use of both, the work of my zeal will also be sustained by both.”^a

The other churches followed the example of Rome: Isidore of Seville, who died 636, says, “But Jerome, the presbyter, translated the sacred Scriptures from Hebrew into Latin; and, in general, all the churches, every where, use his version, because it is most true in giving the meaning of the original, and the clearest in its language.”^b Thus, gradually, it became the church version universally used. The apocryphal books, Baruch, Ecclesiasticus, the Wisdom of Solomon, the two books of Maccabees, were taken from the Itala.^c

But then it experienced a fate similar to that of the old Latin and Alexandrian versions. It was corrupted by the design or the carelessness of the transcribers. [Eichhorn says, “Now, since this version was authorized in so many churches, many copies became necessary, and multiplication of them must also multiply errors in the text. But the uncritical carelessness of half-learned monks was still more injurious.

“1. The *old* Latin version was used in connection with the *new*, which had proceeded from the Hebrew. The latter was often corrected from the former, with

^a *Gregorius Magnus*, Præf. Moral. in Job.: Novam vero translationem edidit, sed ut comprobationis causa exigit, nunc novam, nunc veterem per testimonia assumo: ut quia sedes Apostolica (cui auctore Deo præsideo) utraque utitur, mei quoque labor studii ex utraque fulciatur. Compare his Moral. xx. 23. *Martianay*, Proleg. ii. § 4. *Hody*, p. 401.

^b *Isidorus Hispalensis*, De Offic. eccles. i. 12: De Hebræo autem in Latinum eloquium tantummodo Hieronymus presbyter sacras Scripturas convertit: *cujus editione generaliter omnes ecclesie usquequaque utuntur*, pro eo quod veracior sit in sententiis, et clarior in verbis.

For the reception of the Psalterium Gallicanum, see *Hody*, p. 385. *Martianay*, Proleg. ii. § 5.

^c See *Hody*, p. 354, sqq. *Jahn*, vol. i. p. 230, sqq.

good intentions, but without critical skill. Martianay has found many passages of this kind in the books of Proverbs and the Kings, and marked them in the margin of his edition of the *Bibliotheca divina*.*

"2. Sometimes scholars, with this uncritical diligence, compared passages where the same thing was related, or the same phrase used, and altered or interpolated one from the other,—a misfortune which the books of Chronicles and the Kings have experienced.

"3. A well-read transcriber enriched his copy, or a learned reader his codex, with glosses from such writers as had made a literary use of the Old Testament, or had revised it from Josephus or Jerome. Others interpolated it from liturgical writings; they mostly adhered to the scriptural expressions, but took some liberties with them which were not to be censured. Sometimes they blended several passages together; sometimes inserted words; here, for the sake of explanation; there, to render the passage more rhythmical, or fit for singing. The monks, intentionally or otherwise, might easily make use of a liturgical text in transcribing, either because they wrote from memory, or because they thought it improper that the church should read in one way, and sing in another. Finally, many pillars of the orthodox church allowed themselves to make orthodox additions, in order to render some passages more convincing in dogmatic theology."†

Roger Bacon, as quoted by Hody, says, "When the saints quote the words of Scripture, according to that

* [See *Martianay*, ad Lib. Sam. I., in his edition of Jerome, vol. i. p. 333, sq. *Mutuata sunt e LXX. interpretibus, sive ab illis Latinorum translationibus, quarum viguit usus ante Hieronymum. Innumera prope ejusmodi additamenta in libris præcious Regum.*]

† [*Eichhorn*, § 335.]

translation, (the Septuagint,) they think that that, which they cite, is the same that is now in the Bible of the Latins. They corrupt the first translation of Jerome, which alone is in the Bibles, by the second, which alone is in the Originals, (that is, in Jerome's Commentaries.) Again, they (the editors) take what they wish from a similar translation, that was made up not only from the versions quoted in the original works of the saints, but from the Antiquities of Josephus, who explains the text. From this source the moderns correct many passages, and change them to conform to him."^a

Even Baronius mentions this corruption: "It happened after the time of Gregory, as there were two translations in common use at the same time, namely, the *old* and the *new*, that they sometimes furnished occasion for disagreement and contention. But it was provided, and most wisely decreed by divine Providence, that one version should be made out of the two, for common use in all the churches; and this one might be said to be common to all, and acknowledged under

^a See *Hody*, p. 427, sq.: Cum sancti recitant verba Scripturæ secundum illam translationem, (LXX.,) putant quod una et eadem est, quam allegant sancti, et quæ dicitur esse nunc in Biblia Latinorum. Corrumpunt primam translationem Jeronymi, quæ sola est in Bibliis, per secundam, quæ sola est in Originalibus. Iterum accipiunt quæ volunt, a simili translatione et composita non solum ab illis translationibus recitatis in Originalibus sanctorum, sed a *Josepho* in antiquitatum libris, qui exponit textum. Unde moderni corrigunt multa et mutant per eum. *Hugo*, in *Correctorium*, ad 1 Kings, xiv. d., says, Hoc [namely, this passage] Hebræi, Bedæ et antiqui non habent, sed sumtum est de *Josepho*. See *Diderlein*, in *Literar. Museum*, vol. i. p. 35. *Roger Bacon*, again, says, Ab officio ecclesiæ multa accipiunt et ponunt in textu. Ib. p. 37, sq. *Hugo*, ad Job. xix.: Hoc enim (*salvatore meum*) quidam scioli apponunt in textu, quod videtur *facere ad fidem*, et quia *cantatur* in ecclesia. However, the judgment of *Pfeiffer* (*Crit. sac. c. xii. p. 790*) and of *Carpezz* (*Crit. sac. p. 672*) is exaggerated, as is also even that of *Baronius*.

one name by all, and then the terms *old* and *new* version would be laid aside.*

§ 71.

CRITICAL ATTEMPTS TO CORRECT THIS VERSION.

In the beginning of the ninth century, about 802, Alcuin, at the command of Charlemagne, amended this version, although, as it appears, he did not follow genuine critical principles. This is shown by various authorities.^b Thus Baronius says, "It had come to pass that it [the Vulgate edition] had become corrupted and full of errors, through the fault of the numerous scribes that had copied it. Charles, bearing this but ill, took great pains that it should be published as correctly as possible, and restored to its original integrity and value. He committed the work to Albinus, [Alcuin,] that he might accomplish it."^c Charles himself says,

* *Baronius*, Annal. ad An. 231, (see § 47:) *Accidit post Gregorii tempora, ut quoniam duæ simul vulgatæ editiones, vetus et nova, dissensionum ac contentionum interdum ministrarent occasionem. Sed divino afflante Numine provisum est optimeque consultum, ut ad ecclesiasticum communem usum una ex duabus, quæ usui omnibus esset ecclesiis, confaberetur, quæ communis omnibus atque vulgata uno nomine a cunctis diceretur, explosa illa Veteris et Novæ nomenclatura.* For the doubts of Catholic writers respecting the author of the Vulgate, see *Hody*, p. 547, sqq.

^b See Capitular. Reg. Franc. bib. vi. c. xxvii. *Siegebert* Gemblac. ad An. 790, and *De Script. eccles.* [See, also, Charlemagne's *Constitutio de Emendatione Librorum*, &c., in *Ideler*, *Leben und Wandel Karls des Grossen*; Ham. 1839, vol. ii. p. 120, sq., and p. 199, sqq., published, also, in *Beluze*, *Capit.* vol. i. p. 203.]

^c *Baronius*, Annal. ad An. 778: *Acciderat, ut ipsa multiplicium librorum exscribentium vitio mendis obsita jam vilesceret. Quod periniquo animo ferens Carolus, ut quam emendatissima ederetur, in pristinamque vindicaretur integritatem atque splendorem, studio propensiori curavit. Opus Albino delegavit, ut absolveret.* See, also, *Alcuin*. Ep. ad *Gislaum*, prefixed to lib. vi. *Comment. in Joannem*.

“It has always been our care to improve the state of our churches by sleepless study; to repair the temple of letters, now fallen to decay through the sloth of our predecessors; and, by our own example, to excite as many others as possible to the study of the sacred books; and, God aiding us in all things, we have now carefully corrected all the books of the Old and New Testaments, which had become corrupted through the unskilfulness of transcribers.”* [“It seems probable,” says Hug, “from his language, that Charles himself assisted in making the correction. The Vulgate, thus amended, was introduced to all the churches of France, by the

* [Carolus, Dei fretus auxilio Rex Francorum et Langobardorum ac Patricius Romanorum, religiosus lectoribus nostræ ditioni subjectis. Cum nos divina semper domi forisque clementia, sive in bellorum eventibus, sive in pacis tranquillitate custodiat, etsi rependere quicquam ejus beneficiis tenuitas humana non prævalet, quia est inestimabilis misericordiæ Deus noster, devotas suæ servituti benigne approbat voluntates. Igitur quia curæ nobis est ut nostrarum Ecclesiarum ad meliora semper proficiat status, oblitteratam pene majorum nostrorum desidia reparare vigilante studio literarum satagimus officinam, et ad pernoscenda studia liberalium artium nostro etiam quos possumus invitamus exemplo. Inter quæ *jampridem universos veteris ac novi instrumenti libros, librarium imperitiâ depravatos, Deo nos in omnibus adjuvante, examissim correximus.* Accensi præterea memoriæ venerandæ Pippini genitoris nostri exemplis, qui totas Galliarum Ecclesias Romanæ traditionis suo studio cantibus decoravit, nos nihilominus sollerti easdem curamus intuitu præcipuarum insignire serie lectionum. Denique quia ad nocturnale officium compilatas quorundam casso labore, licet recto intuitu, minus tamen idoneo, reperimus lectiones, quippe quæ et sine auctorum suorum vocabulis essent positæ, et infinitis vitiorum anfractibus scaterent, non sumus passi nostris in diebus in divinis lectionibus inter sacra officia inconsonantes perstrepere solœcismos, atque earundem lectionum in melius reformare tramitem mentem intendimus. Idque opus Paulo Diacono, familiari clientulo nostro, elimandum injunximus, scilicet ut studiosè Catholicorum Patrum dicta percurrens, veluti ex lectissimis eorum pratis certos quosque flosculos legeret, et in unum quæque essent utilia quasi sertum appareret. Qui nostræ Celsitudini devotè parere desiderans, tractatus atque sermones diversorum Catholicorum Patrum perlegens, et optima quæque decerpens, in duobus voluminibus per totius anni circulum congruentes cuique festivitati distincte et absque vitis nobis obtulit lectiones. Qua-

royal command. Thus Charles decrees, 'It is our will, and we order and command our legates (*missis*) that genuine copies of the canonical books be had in the churches, as we have frequently commanded in another capitulary.'"^a

Baronius says, "The Vulgate was amended from the more ancient and true sources." Hody thinks it was corrected by comparing it with the Hebrew and Greek originals, as well as from the best Latin manuscripts. Alcuin, in his own commentaries, corrects Jerome's version by the Hebrew original.]^b

In the eleventh century, Lanfranc, archbishop of Canterbury, undertook a new emendation. Thus Robertus de Monte says, "Since the Scriptures were greatly corrupted by the errors of transcribers, he (Lanfranc) desired to correct all the books of the Old and New Testament, and also the writings of the Fathers, after the orthodox faith; and, accordingly, he carefully amended many of those [copies] which we use day and night in the service of the church; and this he did, not only with his own hands, but also with those of his pupils. . . . All the church throughout the western world,

rum textum nostra sagacitate perpendentes, nostra eadem volumina auctoritate constabilimus, vestræque religioni in Christi Ecclesiis tradimus ad legendum. *Ideler*, l. c. p. 199, sqq.

Alcuin says, that he "corrected the divine history at the command of the king." See *Hody*, p. 410.] *Caroli M. Præf. Homiliarum Pauli Diaconi*; *Spiræ*, 1482; *Colon.* 1530, 1539, 1557.

^a *Hug.* § 121.

^b [Com. in Gen. xxv. 8: Quomodo convenit Abraham tam sancto viro, quod dicitur et *deficiens mortuus est*? Responsum in Hebræo non habetur *deficiens*, sed a LXX. interpretibus additum est. See this, and other instances, in *Hody*, p. 409.] See *Hug.*'s comparison of *Von Speyer's MS.* of Alcuin's edition, § 123.

both the French and English, rejoices that it is illuminated by the light of this emendation.”^a

In the twelfth century, Cardinal Nicolaus, deacon of St. Damasus, and a good Hebrew scholar, undertook to make a new emendation of the Vulgate. He says, “Looking over the libraries, I was unable to find any correct copies of the Scriptures; for even those which were said to be corrected by the most learned men, differed so much from one another, that I found almost as many different manuscripts as copies.”^b [But this statement applies only to Rome, where, perhaps, the text of Alcuin’s emendation was not received; though Roger Bacon says, “it was horribly corrupted,” in France and England, in his time.]

About this time, also, there appeared the so called *Epanorthotæ*, or *Correctoria Biblica*,^c by which attempts were made to establish the true text. But these were not purely critical, but rather exegetical works. [From these *Correctoria*, says Eichhorn, which are valuable monuments for the critical history of the text of the Latin version, it is evident that the old manuscripts of the Latin version differed far more than the critical editions of the same version; that many of the present readings were formerly declared spurious, and that we cannot hope to recover the genuine text.]^d

^a *Robertus de Monte*, in his *Accessionibus ad Siegbert*. ad An. 1089, in *Hody*, p. 416.

^b [*Nicolaus*, *De sac. Scrip. emendat.*, in *Hody*, p. 417.]

^c *Correctorium Biblicum* of Abbot *Stephen*, about 1150. (See *Hody*, p. 418. *Histoire Litt. de la France*, vol. ix. p. 123, sqq.) *Correctorium Sorbon.*; Paris. (See *R. Simon*, *Hist. Crit. des Verss. du N.T.* ch. ix. p. 114. *Döderlein*, *Litter. Mus.* vol. ii. p. 197, sqq.) *Correctorium Hugonis a Sanct. Caro*, about 1236. (See *Hug*, l. c. *Rosenmüller*, *Handbuch*, vol. iii. p. 263, sqq. *Döderlein*, l. c. p. 14.) See other *Correctoria* of the Dominicans.

^d [*Eichhorn*, § 336. Eichhorn does not treat this subject with his usual

Roger Bacon, in his epistle to Clement IV., speaks of the rashness with which corrections were made in the text. "Every reader, even in the lower order of the clergy, corrects as he pleases; and the same is done by the preachers. . . . Each one changes what he does not understand. But the preachers, especially, have thrust themselves in, to aid in this correction; and now, for twenty years and more, they have presumed to make their own corrections, and insert them in the Scripture. But afterwards they make new alterations to contradict the old, and now others vacillate still more than their predecessors, not knowing where they are. From this cause their correction is the worst of corruptions, and God's text is destroyed."^a

[Again, Bacon says, "The text is, for the most part, horribly corrupted, . . . and it is doubtful *where* it is corrupted. . . . And so doubts arise from the disagreement of the correctors; for the correctors, or rather the *corrupters*, throughout the world, are almost as numerous as the readers; for every one has the presumption to change what he does not understand, — a liberty not to

cipiousness. He declares the version valuable for Protestants as well as Catholics, but does not enter upon the merits or the history of it.]

^a Quilibet lector in ordine Minorum corrigit, ut vult, et similiter apud Prædicatores . . . et quilibet mutat quod non intelligit Sed Prædicatores maxime intromiserunt se de hac correctione, et jam sunt viginti anni et plures, quod præsumpserunt facere suam correctionem et redegerunt eam in scriptis. Sed postea fecerunt aliam ad reprobationem illius, et modo vacillant plusquam alii, nescientes ubi sint. Unde eorum correctio est pessima corruptio et destruitur textus Dei. See, also, *Correctorium Biblie*, cum difficilium quarundam dictionum luculenta interpretatione per *Magdaliū Jacobum*, Gaudensem, Ordinis Prædic.; Col. 1508, 8vo. (*Carpzov*, *Crit. sac.* p. 685, sqq. *Rosenmüller*, l. c. p. 262.) On a *Correctorium* of the Dominicans in MS., at the Pauline library in Leipzig, see *Carpzov*, p. 694, sqq.; on another, in the Academical library, at Freiburg, see *Hug*, l. c. § 125.

be taken even with the works of poets, but here every reader alters to suit his own whim.”^a

In the preface to the Leipsic *Correctorium*, it is said, “We have comprised as much as we could, in a short space, from the glosses of St. Jerome and other teachers, from the books of the Hebrews, and the most ancient manuscripts, written before the time of Charlemagne; and we have inserted here in short notes what we thought was doubtful or superfluous in various modern Bibles. Therefore, in the text of the books of the Old Testament, which are contained in the Hebrew canon, wherever you see a *red point over* a word or syllable, or between two words, you may know that it rests on the authority of many expositors, and ancient books, and was received among the Hebrews. But if a word, or phrase, has a *red line beneath* it, it shows that the ancient books, and the ancient copies, did not contain it; and especial heed must be taken when a *red point* is placed *under* a word, for that shows the word was in the Hebrew.”^b

^a De Lat. Vulg. Erroribus, cited in *Hody*, p. 420.

^b Quantum in brevi potuimus, ex glossis benedicti Hieronymi et aliorum Doctorum et ex libris Hebræorum et antiquissimis exemplaribus, quæ jam ante tempora Caroli M. scripta fuerunt, hic in brevissima notula scripsimus ea, quæ ex novis et diversis Bibliis propter varias litteras magis *dubia* vel *superflua* credebamus. Ubiunque ergo in textu librorum V. T., qui in Hebræo canone continentur, punctum de minio super aliquam dictionem vel syllabam vel inter duas dictiones videris, scias, illuc cum auctoritate multorum expositorum et antiquorum librorum etiam sic apud Hebræos haberi. Si vero dictio illa, vel amplius, linea de minio subjecta fuit, hi libri expositorem et antiqui non habent, et tunc maxime cautum est, si juxta Hebræos punctum de minio suppositum habeat.

The following is a specimen of the *Correctorium* of Cologne. Gen. vi.: *Non permanebit Spiritus meus in homine in æternum.* Hebraica veritas habet: Non disceptabit Spiritus meus in æternum. Expositio Chaldaica sic habet: Non erigetur generatio putrida contendere coram me in æternum. Secundum Paulum Burgensem sic: Non vaginabitur spiritus meus in ho-

§ 72.

HISTORY OF THE PRINTED TEXT OF THE VULGATE.

After the invention of printing, the variations in the text of the Vulgate appeared more plainly, and, at the same time, critical attempts were made to amend it.*

[Stephens was the first to take any important measures to restore the text of this version. His first edition,

mine. *Præcarens*; media correpta, i. e. diligenter cavens. Horatius in sermonibus: vade, vale, cave, ne titubes, mandataque frangas.

* The first editions contain no mention of the time or place of their publication. See *Le Long*, ed. *Masch*, vol. ii. p. 258. For a notice of a copy in the royal library at Berlin, see *ibid.*, p. 67, sqq., and *Berlin Biblioth.* vol. i. p. 169, 429.

The first edition, in which the time and place are named, was published at Mentz, 1462; again, at Rome, 1471; (reprinted at Nürnberg, 1475;) Nürnberg, 1471; Piac. 1471, 1475; Paris, 1475; Naples, 1476; Venice, 1475, 1476, all in folio. This edition has often been reprinted. *Le Long*, l. c. p. 98. [It is printed without a title-page, but at the end of some copies is this subscription: Pñs hoc opusculū artificior ad inventionē impñendi seu characterizandi absque calami ex arācon in civitate Mogunti sic effigiātū et ad eusebiā die industria per Joh' em fust civē et Petrum Schoiffher, de gerns' heym. Consummatus anno dñi MCCCC IXIL &c.]

The following are more critical editions: Bib. Lat. emend. per *Angehum de Monte*; Ulrici. Bresc. 1496, 4to., [here we find the first attempt at a criticism on the printed text of the Vulgate; it contains many errors; see *Rosenmüller*, l. c. p. 204, sqq.,] reprinted at Venice, 1497, 8vo.; 1501, 8vo.; the editions of *J. Parvus*, (*Johannes Petit*), and *J. Prevel*, Par. 1504, sqq., fol., with the emendations of *And. Castellani*; that of *Jac. Saccon*, Lug. 1506, sqq., fol., with the same emendations and variants; that of *And. Castellani*, Venice, 1511, fol.; that in the Complutensian Polyglot, [the text of which was derived from several old MSS. compared with critical care,] 1517; reprinted at Nürnberg, 1527, 8vo.; in the Antwerp Polyglot; the editions of *Colinæ*, Par. 1525, sqq., fol.; those of *Rudel*, Col. 1527, 1529, fol.; that of *Hittorp*, Col. 1530, fol.; those of *Robert Stephens*, Par. 1527, 1532, 1533, fol., with an improved text, 1540, fol., with variants in the margin; that of *Benedictus*, (*Benoist*), Par. 1541, fol. (ad priscorum probatissimorumque exemplarium normam, adhibita interdum fontium autoritate); that of *Irid. Clarius*, Venice, 1542, small fol. (ad Hebraicam et Græcam veritatem emendatum.) See *Le Long*, l. c. p. 143—222.

prepared when he was quite a young man, was a wonder for those times. It was distinguished by the elegance of its typographical execution, and by the improved character of its text, which he had corrected from manuscripts and editions. It excited the indignation of the Paris theologians, who condemned it to be burnt. In the next edition, there were still further improvements. He collated all the good Latin manuscripts he could find, and derived important aid from two codices, one in the library of St. Germain de Pres, the other in that of the Abbey St. Dionysius. His fourth edition, of 1540, is the most valuable: fourteen of the best and most ancient manuscripts, and three editions, were collated to furnish the text, and the various readings were printed in the margin. Richard Simon calls this a masterpiece among editions of the Bible. His next edition, of 1545, besides the Vulgate, contained a new version, in better Latin. That of the Old Testament was made by Leo Juda, Theodore Bibliander, and Peter Cholinus; the version of the New Testament was that of Erasmus, corrected by Rudolph Gualter. There were explanations in the margin, collected from the note-books of the pupils of Francis Vatable. His sixth edition is merely a reprint of that of 1540. His two next editions contain no important improvements, except the insertion of Pagninus's version of the Old Testament, Beza's of the New Testament, and Badwell's of the Apocrypha.*

Benedict attempted to restore Jerome's text. He marked with obelisks and asterisks the passages where the Vulgate added to the original, or omitted something

* [*Rosenmüller*, l. c. p. 220, sqq. See, also, the preface (of *Peter Cholinus* ?) ad *Biblia Lat. Test. V. et N. &c.*; Tiguri, M. D. L.]

from it. His edition has little merit compared with the work of Stephens.*

In the sixteenth century, the renovated study of the original languages of the Bible had disclosed the faults of the Vulgate; various attempts had been made to remedy its defects. Sometimes it was used as the basis for a better work; sometimes parts of it were improved; and sometimes a new version was used instead of it. These causes produced great confusion in the church. Therefore, to remedy these evils, the council of Trent decreed that the Vulgate alone should be publicly used in the church, and should have the same authority as the Hebrew and Greek originals.]

“Moreover,” says the decree of the council, in 1546, “this same most holy council, considering that no small advantage will accrue to the church of God, if, from all the Latin editions of the most holy books which are in circulation, it should designate which is to be held as authentic, does decree and declare that this ancient and Vulgate edition, which has been proved in this church by the long use of so many ages, shall be held authentic in public readings, disputations, preachings, and expositions, and that no man shall dare or presume to reject it, on any pretence whatever.” Thus, by this decree, the admission of exegetical inquiry into the public doctrines of the church is forever prevented. [But Jahn contends, and apparently with justice, that the council did not design to discourage the use of the Scriptures in the original tongues; that, in declaring the Vulgate authentic, it merely pronounced this version free from important errors, which would render it unfit

* [See *Rosenmüller*, l. c. p. 235, sqq.]

for the purpose it was designed to serve; and, in fine, when the council forbids any one to reject the Vulgate, its meaning is, that this version shall be preferred to any other *Latin version in common use at that time*, for the Greek Catholics have always used the Septuagint; the Syrians, the Syriac version; the Arabians, the Arabic; and Catholic as well as Protestant theologians use the Greek and Hebrew originals. However, Möhler, a recent and very able Catholic writer, takes a less liberal view of the purport of this decree.*

Private editions, issued without the authority or sanction of the church, did not furnish an *authentic copy* of this edition, for learned Catholics had long acknowledged the numerous mistakes in the received editions of the Vulgate. Isidore Clarius had pointed out eighty thousand errors. In such a state of the text, men naturally looked to the council itself, or to the holy see, for a correct edition of the authentic text; and, therefore, the council decreed and ordained that, henceforth, "the Vulgate edition of the sacred Scriptures should be printed as accurately as possible."^b

* Concil. Trid. Sess. IV. Decr. 2: *Insuper eadem sacrosancta Synodus considerans, non parum utilitatis accedere posse ecclesiæ Dei, si ex omnibus Latinis editionibus, quæ circumferuntur, sacrarum librorum, quænam pro authentica habenda sit, innotescat, statuit et declarat, ut hæc ipsa vetus et vulgata editio, quæ longo tot sæculorum usu in ipsa ecclesia probata est, in publicis lectionibus, disputationibus, prædicationibus et expositionibus pro authentica habeatur, et ut nemo illam rejicere quovis prætextu audeat vel præsumat.* See what may be said to mitigate the severity of this decree in *Marheinecke, Syst. der Kath. vol. ii. p. 246.*

[See *Jahn*, vol. i. p. 230, seq. *Möhler*, *Symbolik oder Darstellung der dogmatischen Gegensätze der Katholiken und Protestanten*, &c. 5th ed.; Mainz. 1838, § 41 and 42.]

^b Concil. Trid. l. c.: *Ut posthac sacra Scriptura, potissimum vero hæc ipsa vetus vulgata editio, quam emendatissime imprimatur.*

[The council itself appointed a committee of six, to prepare a correct edition of the Vulgate, who commenced the work assigned them, but were

After the decree of this council, the theologians of the university of Louvain, seeing the confusion that prevailed in the editions of the Vulgate then in common use, and noticing, also, the persecutions to which Stephens was exposed, on account of his zeal to amend it, undertook themselves to correct the text of this version. One of them, John Hentenius, was chosen to prepare a new and more correct edition. His work appeared in 1547.* He says, in his preface,] “We have compared together, not only the copies which have been printed with corrections, but about twenty others, the most modern of which was written with the hand, about two hundred years ago, that, from the collation of these, we might restore the old and Vulgate edition to its genuineness and purity. Accordingly, we have consulted these various manuscripts, and, with the help of Stephens’s codex, [his edition of 1540,] and of many others, from which he had collected variants in the margin, we have removed from the text, or altered some things, guided in this by the consent of the greater part of our authorities.”†

prevented by the pope from proceeding, until the cardinals should determine the method to be pursued. *Sarpi*, Hist. du Concile de Trent, traduit par *Amelot de la Houssaie*; Amst. 1713, liv. ii. p. 146, sqq. *Hody*, p. 433.]

* It bears the following title: *Biblia ad vetustissima Exemplaria recens castig., &c., J. Hentenii, &c. fol.*

† *Hentenius*, Præf. ad Bib.: Ut comparatis undique non solum, quæ castigatius excusa erant, exemplaribus, verum aliis quoque plus minus viginti, quorum recentissimum ante ducentos annos manu scriptum erat. ex horum collatione restitueremus veterem et vulgatam editionem sinceritati suæ atque puritati. Itaque acceptis variis exemplaribus et per Rob. Stephani codicem plurimis etiam aliis, quæ ille suis annotarat marginibus, ex complurium consensu nonnulla e textu *sustulimus* aut *immutavimus*. See *Le Long*, l. c. p. 223, sqq. *R. Simon*, Hist. Crit. des Versions du N. T. ch. xi. p. 135.

This edition of *Hentenius* was often reprinted — at Antwerp, by *Stek*, 1560, sqq.; at Lyons, by *Rouillé*, 1566, sqq.; at Venice, by *Giuntas*, 1671

[After the death of Hentenius, the theologians at Louvain prepared a new edition, with a complete collection of various readings. It was prepared by Francis Lucas of Brügge, (Brugensis,) Johan ver Meulen, (Molanus,) Hunnæus, Reyner, and Harlem. The editors gave, in the margin of the Old Testament, the variations of the Hebrew original, the Chaldee paraphrases, and the Septuagint; in that of the New Testament, those of the Greek text and the Syriac version. They also made use of the citations in the Fathers and ecclesiastical writers, but did not give an account of the age and condition of the manuscripts they made use of.*

As corrected editions were now so numerous, and diverse from each other, it naturally became the duty of the church to prepare an *authentic* edition of the sacred text, as the private editions did not satisfy the exigencies of the times.] Accordingly, the pope himself prepared an *authentic* edition.^b [Both Pius IV. and V. applied their hands to this work; the latter labored upon it with great diligence. He collected a

sqq. Biblia sac., per Theologos Lovan; Ant., 1573, 8vo. and 12mo. 3 vols. It is said in the preface, *Imprimis Vulgatæ editionis Latine lectiones variae, in MSS. exemplaribus deprehensæ, cum exemplarium in quibus inventæ sunt numero margini adscriptæ sunt. Cum plurimæ etiam earum lectionum, quæ vere nostri interpretis videri possent, Hentenii diligentiam præterierint, additæ sunt nunc paucae.* This edition was reprinted, 1580, 4to. and 8vo., 1583, fol. and 8vo., and in the following years.

* [Bib. sac. quid in hac Editione a Theologis Lov. præstitum sit, paulo post indicatur; Ant., ex Offic. Ch. Plantini, 1573, 8vo. and 12mo. 3 vols. Rosenmüller, l. c. p. 245.]

^b Biblia sacra vulgatæ editionis tribus tomis distincta; Rom. ex Typogr. Apost. Vatic. 1590, fol. Its second title (on an engraved page) is, *Bib. sac. ed. ad Concilii Trident. Præscriptum emend. et a Sixto V. P. M. recogn. et approbata.* Præf. Sixti V. editioni præfixa; Romæ, 1589.

body of learned men, to make a critical revision of the text. He was himself consulted on the readings to be admitted, and overlooked the printed sheets. The work was finished in 1589, and published the following year.] In the preface, (dated 1589,) the pope says, "We have magnificently erected a printing-office in our palace of the Vatican, and deputed a congregation of cardinals of the holy Roman church, and a distinguished college of the most learned men, assembled from almost all nations of Christendom, and from the most celebrated universities, to take charge of it, who have been recompensed with ample and generous salaries,—in order that an amended edition of the Bible might be printed in it. And, that this business might be performed more accurately, with our own hands we have corrected the faults that occurred in printing; and those things which were, or might easily be, confounded, we have distinguished by an interval between them, and by larger notes and interpunction. But we wish this to be understood by all men, that these, our labors and watchings, were never designed for this end, that a *new* translation might come to light, but that *the ancient Vulgate might be restored to its primitive purity, as it first proceeded from the hand and pen of its translator.* But, in this diligent investigation of the genuine text, it appears sufficiently evident amongst all, that no argument is more certain and solid, than the fidelity of the ancient and approved Latin codices, both written and printed, which we have taken pains to collect from various libraries. Accordingly, wherever the most ancient and correct copies are found to agree, by the wisest rule we have decreed that these readings should be retained, as the words of the primitive text. Accordingly, by this our ordinance,

which is to endure forever, we decree and declare that the Latin Vulgate edition of the sacred pages of both the Old and New Testaments, which has been received as authentic by the council of Trent, is, without any doubt or controversy, to be esteemed to be the very text which we now amend and publish.”*

[The pontiff, relying on his infallibility in matters of criticism no less than in articles of faith, proceeded to decree “that if any inquisitor or bishop should deliver to a printer, to be published, a copy differing in any manner from this now printed in the Vatican press, or should, by his seal or signature, approve any printed copy which differed from this,—to him, if he were alive,—even though he were resplendent with the dignity of an archbishop, primate, patriarch, or any other

* Novam interea Typographiam in Apostolico Vaticano Palatio nostro ad id potissimum magnifice exstruximus, atque ad ejus curam Congregationem aliquot sanctæ Romanæ ecclesiæ Cardinalium et insigne Collegium doctissimorum virorum fere ex omnibus christiani orbis nationibus et celeberrimis studiorum generalium universitatibus, amplis opulentisque redditibus donatum, deputavimus, ut in ea emendatum jam Bibliorum volumen excuderetur: eaque res quo magis incorrupte perficeretur, nostra nos ipsi manu correximus, si qua prelo vitia obrepserant, et quæ confusa aut facile confundi posse videbantur, ea intervallo scripturæ ac majoribus notis et interpunctione distinximus illud sane omnibus certum atque exploratum esse volumus, nostros hos labores ac vigilias nunquam eo spectasse, ut nova editio in lucem exeat, sed ut *Vulgata vetus — emendatissima pristinaque suæ puritati, qualis primum ab ipsius interpretis manu styloque prodierat, restituta imprimatur.* In hac autem germani textus pervestigatione, satis perspicue inter omnes constat, *nullum argumentum esse certius ac firmitus, quam antiquorum probatorumque codicum Latinorum fidem*, quos tam impressos, quam manuscriptos ex Bibliothecis variis conquirendos curavimus. In quacunque igitur lectione *plures vetustiores atque emendatiores libri consentire reperti sunt*, ex jure optimo, tanquam primogeniti textus verba, aut his maxime finitima, retinenda decrevimus. Igitur *hac nostra perpetuo valitura constitutione* statuimus ac declaramus, eam Vulgatam sacræ, tam Vet. quam N. Testamenti paginæ Latinam editionem, quæ pro authentica a Concilio Trid. recepta est, sine ulla dubitatione aut controversia censendam esse hanc ipsam, quam nunc emendatam — evulgamus.

or greater dignity, — it is prohibited to enter any church; but if he is of an inferior rank, he incurs the sentence of excommunication by that very act. Therefore it is unlawful for any man to infringe on the letter of our statute declaration, or, with presumptuous daring, to counteract it. But, if any shall designedly presume to do this, let him know that he will incur the indignation of Almighty God, and of the blessed Peter and Paul, his apostles.”^a

This edition contained numerous errors; many printed passages, especially in the New Testament, were covered over with small slips of paper, on which corrections were printed; others were erased, or merely altered with a pen, and the alterations were not the same in all the copies,—so carelessly was the work prepared and corrected by the papal hand.^b

Pope Sixtus died the year in which his edition appeared. It contained so many errors, that his successor, Urban VII., attempted to suppress it, and substitute another edition in its place. Gregory XIV., the successor of Urban, who held his office but twelve days, assembled many learned men to make another revision of the Vulgate: among these were Cardinals Colonna and Alanus, besides such scholars as Robert Bellarmine, Morinus, Flaminius Nobilius, Lælius, Balverda, and Agelli.^c They soon prepared a new revision, which

^a [Præf. ad Ed. Sixti V., l. c., as quoted in *Hody*, l. c.]

^b [*Hug.*, § 127.]

^c [*Rosenmüller*, l. c. p. 254, sqq. *Le Long*, ed. *Masch*, pt. ii. vol. iii. p. 245. It seems the whole Bible, both Old and New Testament, was revised by these scholars in *nineteen days*, quod vix credibile videbatur, as the account well says. *Rosenmüller*, l. c. p. 255, note. It seems *J. B. Tqfari* found a manuscript list of the members of this body collected to prepare a new edition of the Vulgate, on the margin of a copy of Clement's edition. *Calogier* published it in his *Opuscoli Scientifiche*. It was again published

was issued in 1592.* There were great difficulties in publishing the new edition. It could not agree with that of Sixtus V., for the faults of that edition were as notorious as ludicrous. If it differed from that, the papal infallibility was exposed to derision. Bellarmine luckily hit upon a plan to correct the errors, and save the infallibility of the pontiff. All the blame was laid upon the printer. The plan was worthy of a Jesuit, and the chief of the Louvain divines. He was soon made a cardinal, and subsequently an archbishop.]

In Bellarmine's preface to this edition, it is said, "Sixtus V. commanded the work thus finished to be put to the press; and when it was printed, and ready for publication, that same pontiff, perceiving that many errors had crept into the Holy Bible, *through fault of the press*, declared and decreed that the whole edition should be recalled; but he was unable to accomplish this, being prevented by death. Gregory XIV., who had succeeded Sixtus in the pontificate, — after the twelve days' administration of Urban VII., — determined to follow up and finish his plan. But he, and his successor, Innocent IX., being in a short time taken from this life, the work on which Sixtus was intent was at last finished, in the beginning of the pontificate of Clement VIII. And although, in this revision of the Bible, no moderate labor was applied in comparing manuscripts, the Hebrew and Greek sources, and the com-

in the *Unchuldigen Nachrichten* for 1749, p. 318. The congregation assembled at Zagarola, a little town in the papal dominions. In 1723, Rospigliosi, the present possessor of the town, and a descendant of the family of Pope Clement VIII., erected a monument there containing the names of all who had a hand in that edition. See *Rossmüller*, l. c. p. 255, note.]

* It bears the following title: *Biblia Sacra Vulgatæ Editionis Sixti V. Pont. Max. Jussu recognita et edita, &c.*, fol.

mentaries of the Fathers, nevertheless, in this edition now published, some things are designedly changed, and others, which seem to require change, are designedly left unaltered.”* [This edition contains neither the summaries of the contents of chapters, the parallel passages, nor the various readings. However, the preface promises an edition furnished with these aids. These two papal editions, differing so widely from each other, have furnished occasion for strong arguments and biting jests against the infallibility of the pope.]†

* In multis magnisque beneficiis, etc. *Sixtus V.* opus tandem confectum typis mandari jussit. Quod cum jam esset excusum et ut in lucem emitteretur, idem Pontifex operam daret, animadvertens non pauca in sacra Biblia preli vitio irrepsisse — totum opus sub incudem revocandum censuit atque decrevit. Idque cum morte preventus præstare non potuisset, *Gregor. XIV.*, qui post *Urbani VII.* duodecim dierum Pontificatum *Sixto* successerat, ejus animi intentionem exsecutus perficere aggressus est. — Sed eo quoque, et qui illi successit, *Innocentio IX.* brevissimo tempore de hac luce subtractis, tandem sub initium Pontificatus *Clementis VIII.* opus, in quod *Sixtus V.* intenderat, perfectum est. Et vero quamvis in hac Bibliorum recognitione in codicibus MSS., *Hebræis Græcisque fontibus* et ipsis veterum patrum commentariis conferendis non mediocre studium adhibitum fuerit, in hac tamen pervulgata editione sicut nonnulla de consulto *mutata*, ita etiam *alia, quæ mutanda videbantur, consulto immutata relictæ sunt.*

Clemens P. octavus ad perpetuam rei memoriam: Cum sacrorum Bibliorum Vulgatæ editionis textus — restitutus et mendis repurgatus ex nostra Typographia Vat. in lucem prodeat: Nos, ut in posterum idem textus incorruptus, ut decet, conservetur, opportune providere volentes, etc. Dat. Romæ, 1592.

† See Bellum Papale, sive Concordia discors *Sixti V.* et *Clementis VIII.* circa Hieronymianam Edit., Auct. *Thoma James, &c.*; Lond. 1600, 4to., 1678, 8vo. [See also his Treatise of the Corruptions of Scripture, Councils, and Fathers, by the Prelates, Pastors, and Pillars of the Church of Rome, &c.; Lond. 1688, 8vo.] Hist. de la Bible de Sixte V., par *Prosp. Marchand*, in *Schelhorn*, Amœnitatt. Lit. vol. iv. p. 433, sqq. *Hody*, p. 494, sqq., who gives a specimen of the difference of the two editions, p. 503. *R. Simon*, Hist. crit. des Vers. du N. T. p. 526, sqq. *Rosenmüller*, l. c. vol. iii. p. 242, sqq., 267, sqq. *Hug*, § 127—129.

[Appendix, art. G.]

This recension of Clement was reprinted in 1593, 4to., in 1596, 8vo. The

This is the basis of all subsequent editions of the Vulgate.* [At the present time, the text of the Vulgate consists of passages from the old Latin version, before Jerome; from his improved edition of that version; and from his new version of the Hebrew text. The apocryphal books of Baruch, the Wisdom of Solomon, and Ecclesiasticus, and the first and second of Maccabees, are from the old Latin version. The Psalms are from Jerome's improved version, called *Psalterium Gallicanum*, and all the other books from his own translation of the Hebrew. But, in all these, we must expect to find the text very much changed.][†]

§ 73.

II. DESCENDANTS OF THE VULGATE.

1. THE ANGLO-SAXON VERSION.

There is still extant, in the Anglo-Saxon language, a version of the Pentateuch and of the book of Joshua, made by the Abbot Ælfric, in the tenth century.[‡] It

last edition contains a catalogue of the places to be corrected — one for this edition, one for that of 1592, and a third for that of 1593.

* EDITIONS. — By *Plantin*: Ant. 1599, 4to. and 8vo., reprinted nine times; the last, 1650, 4to. By *Leander Van Ess*, in three parts, Tüb. 1822—1824, 8vo.; editio nova auct. Pont. Max. Leonis XII., Frankfort, 1826, 8vo. See, on this subject, *Leander Van Ess*, *Pragmatische krit. Geschichte der Vulgata in Allgem. und zunächst in Bezeich. auf das Tridentische Decret*; Tüb. 1824. [See *Censura Vulgatæ atque a Tridentinis canonizatæ Versionis quinque Lib. Mosis*, &c. Auct. *Sixtinus Amama*; Franc. 1620, 4to., and his *Antibarbarus Biblicus*, &c.; Amst. 1628, 8vo., and 1656, 4to.]

† [*Eichhorn*, § 238, a. *Jahn*, p. 239—241.]

‡ *Heptateuchus, Liber Job, et Evang. Nicodemi, Anglo-Saxonice. Historie Judith Fragn. Dano-Saxonice*, ed. ex MSS. Codd. *Evd. Thwaites*; Oxon. 1698, 8vo. [See the letter of Archbishop *Nicolson* to Mr. *Thwaites*, in *Nicolson's Letters*, vol. i. p. 111, sqq.]

has been reckoned among the descendants of the Alexandrian version.^a But, after a more accurate comparison with the sources, it is found to belong to the family of the Latin Vulgate.^b To the same source belongs the Anglo-Saxon translation of the Psalter, which is the work of an unknown author, and probably from a later date.^c Ælfric, speaking of his manner of translating, says, "which I briefly, after my manner, translated into English."^d

[Professor Alter concludes Ælfric translated from the Latin, and not the Greek, from the following considerations, namely: 1. It is not probable a monk in England, in that age, would be able to read the Septuagint well enough to translate from it in preference to the Latin Vulgate. 2. This version contains readings peculiar to the Vulgate and its descendants. For example, Gen. viii. 4, the Vulgate reads, *super montes Armeniæ*; the Septuagint, with its descendants, *super montes Ararat*, which was a province of Armenia. The Anglo-Saxon version reads, *ofer tha Muntas Armenies Landes*. Again, Deut. x. 3, the Vulgate has, *de lignis Setim*; the Septuagint, *ἐκ ξύλων ἀσήπτων*; the Anglo-Saxon, *of Sethim Treowum*.^e

^a Eichhorn, § 318, c. Bertholdt, p. 565.

^b Pfannkuche, Contributions to a more accurate Knowledge of the printed Anglo-Saxon Versions of the Old Testament, in the Gottingen Bibliothek der newest. Theol. Lit. vol. lii. p. 616, sqq. Alter, in Paulus, Memorabil. vol. vi. p. 190, vol. viii. p. 194, sqq.

^c Psalterium Davidis Latino-Sax. Vetus, ed. Jo. Spelman; Lond. 1640, 4to.

^d See A Saxon Treatise concerning the Old and New Testaments, written about the Time of King Edgar, by Ælfricus Abbas, thought to be the same that was afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, &c., now first published by Will. L'Isle, of Wilburgham; Lond. 1623, 4to. (or Diverse Ancient Monuments, in the Saxon Tongue, &c.; Lond. 1638, 4to.) p. 22. [See Horn, Bib. App. pt. i. ch. i. sect. v. § 4.]

^e [Alter, l. c., where see other instances of agreement between the Vul-

The version of Ælfric was not the earliest version in the Anglo-Saxon tongue. The Psalter was translated by Adhelm, the first bishop of Sherborn, in the beginning of the eighth century. At his request, Egbert, or Eadfrid, soon after translated the four Gospels.* King Alfred undertook to render the Psalms into Anglo-Saxon, but died in 900, before the work was complete. Besides the Pentateuch and book of Joshua, Ælfric translated, also, Judith, Esther, Maccabees, and part of the Kings.

This version is of little critical value. It may, perhaps, aid in criticising the text of the Vulgate, since it contributes something to the history of its text at that period. However, but little use has hitherto been made of it. Doctor Mill collected various readings of the New Testament from this source.†

§ 74.

2. ARABIC AND PERSIAN TRANSLATIONS OF THE VULGATE.

For the use of the Roman Christians in the East, the Bible has frequently been translated from the Vulgate into the Arabic, and more seldom into the Persian.

[An Arabic translation from the Vulgate was published

gate and Anglo-Saxon version. See *Lingard*, Antiquities of the Anglo-Saxon Church, Philad., Appendix, R., for some information respecting the Latin versions used by the Anglo-Saxons, and *Turner*, Hist. Ang. Sax. book v. ch. iii.]

* [A MS. of this version is still preserved in the British Museum. *Astle*, Origin and Progress of Writing, (Lond. p. 100, sqq.,) who gives a specimen of it.]

† [See *Johnson*, Account of English Translations of the Bible, in *Watson's Tracts*, vol. iii. *Marsh's Michaelis*, vol. ii. p. 159, sqq., 637. *Horne*, l. c. pt. i. ch. iii. sect. iii.]

at Rome in 1671.* It was prepared at the request of some of the Oriental clergy of high rank. The work was executed by Sergius Risius, a Maronite, and archbishop of Damascus, with the assistance of Sciolac Hesronita and Sionita, other Maronites, and of Cappella Malvasia, Guadagnolo, Maracci, Abraham Ecchellensis, and others. Great pains were taken to make the Arabic version conform to the Vulgate.^b However, in the Psalms, the Melchite version lies at the basis, and is adopted with but few alterations. The version is of no value for critical or exegetical purposes; it is so full of barbarisms and Latinisms that it failed of its purpose in the East, and the missionaries who brought it were accused of corrupting the Scriptures.]^c

There are two manuscript versions of the Vulgate Psalter in Persian, mentioned by Walton.^d

* *Biblia Sacra Arabica*, sac. Congregationis de propaganda Fide jussu edita ad Usus Eccles. Orientalium, additis e reg. Bibliis Lat. Vulg.; Rom., &c., 1671, 3 vols. fol.: reprinted by the Bible Society; Lond. 1822, 8vo. A part of the Old Testament was published at Rome, 1752, (1753?) small folio, in the press of *Malchus Rutilius*. See *C. Aurivill.* Diss. de rariis quadam Ed. Vers. Arab. Sac. Bib., (Upsal, 1776,) in his Dissert. ed. *Michaelis*, No. xiii. p. 308. See *Schelling*, On the Arabic Editions of the Bible, in 1752, in *Eichhorn's Repert.* vol. x. p. 154. *Michaelis*, Or. Bib. vol. xii. p. 112, vol. xviii. p. 179, vol. xx. p. 131, sqq. On other MS. versions, see *Adler*, Bib. krit. Reise, p. 177, sqq.

^b [*R. Simon*, *Lettres Choisies*, vol. ii. p. 165. *Le Long*, ed. *Masch*, vol. ii. p. 115, and *Nazari*, *Il Giornale de Letterati*, (Rom. 1673,) cited in *Rosenmüller*, l. c. vol. iii. p. 56, sqq.]

^c [See *Döderlein*, On the Arabic Psalters, in *Eichhorn's Repert.* vol. iv. p. 83, sqq.]

^d *Walton*, Prol. xvi. 8.

BOOK III.

ON THE CRITICISM OF THE TEXT.

 § 75.

GENERAL VIEW OF THE SUBJECT OF THIS BOOK.

By the term *text*, in its more rigorous sense, is to be understood whatever the author has written, or caused to be written, as an expression of his thoughts. In treating of the text, then, the writing characters used by the author, and, in general, whatever relates to the ancient manner of writing, are to be considered but indirectly; and what relates to the division of the work into chapters and verses, and its interpunction, lies still farther from the subject, especially when this division and interpunction did not proceed from the author himself. Both of these subjects may be included and treated of under the head of *external form of the text*.

Now, since the question relates to the genuineness and accuracy of the text, and the restoration thereof to its original purity, we must, therefore, in the first place, be able to understand the alterations it has undergone, or its *history*; and next, the *means* that are employed in criticism to purify and restore it, and also the *method* which we are to follow in this work.

Accordingly, this book on the criticism of the text is separated into two divisions, namely, —

- I. *The History of the Text*; and,
- II. *The Theory of Criticism*.^a

DIVISION I.

HISTORY OF THE TEXT.

CHAPTER I.

HISTORY OF THE EXTERNAL FORM OF THE TEXT.

§ 76.

PRELIMINARY REMARKS ON HEBREW PALÆOGRAPHY.

IN this place it must be taken for granted, without entering into the argument, that, before the exile, the old Hebrew writing characters — such as are still found on the coins of the Maccabees — were in use; but that, after that period, they were supplanted by a sort of Aramean characters, which, in the hands of the caligraphists, were formed into the present square letters; that both of these were destitute of vowels and of diacritical marks; that the division of the written text into its separate words was not observed throughout, though it was not entirely neglected.^b

^a [I have given rather a paraphrase than a close translation of this section.]

^b See *De Wette*, Heb. Jüd. Archäologie, § 278, sqq., and the writers there

[“According to a Jewish tradition, before the exile, the Jews made use of the writing characters employed by the Samaritans; but, to judge from what is alleged to be the most ancient form of the letter *thau*, and from the letters on the Maccabaic coins, only this can be true, — that the present Samaritan character is more closely related to the ancient Hebrew than are the square letters. Still they are not the original characters, for the square letters stand in the closest affinity with the Palmyrene, which agree very nearly with the old Aramean. Therefore it is probable that, a long time after the exile, the square letters were formed under the influence of the Aramean, and, perhaps, out of the Palmyrene characters; and, since they are obviously formed with a view to beauty of writing, it is probable that they are the result of the *holy* art of writing which came into use among the Jews through their zeal for their law.”]*

referred to. Compare with that, *Hupfeld*, Elucidation of some obscure Passages in the History of the Text of the O. T., in Theol. Stud. und Krit. for 1830, pt. 2—4. *Havernik*, vol. i. pt. i. p. 285.

* [*Origen*, ad Ez. ix. 4, says the letter *thau* had formerly the figure of a cross. *Jerome* follows *Origen* in this. Prolog. Galeat. Opp. i. p. 317. On the influence of *Ezra* in changing the writing character, see *Eichhorn*, § 67. *Michaelis*, Or. Bib. vol. xxii. p. 118.

See, on this subject, *Kopp*, Bildern und Schriften der Vorzeit. § 101, sqq. *Eichhorn*, § 66. *Whiston*, Tentamen restaurandi gen. Textum V. T. p. 126. *Bauer*, Crit. sac. V. T. § 10—12. *Gesenius*, Com. de Pent. Sam.

For the opinion that the square letters were the original characters, see *Joa. Buxtorf*, Dissert. Philol. Theol. iv. de Lit. Heb. Antiq. No. 4. *Schickard*, Bechinath Happeruschim, p. 82. *Hottinger*, Exercit. antimorin. p. 33, sqq. *Steph. Morinus*, De Lingua primæva, ii. 10, p. 317. *Wasmuth*, Vind. Hebr. Script. p. 35, sqq. *Loescher*, De Causis Ling. Heb. p. 216. *Lightfoot*, on Matt. v. 18. *Pfeiffer*, Crit. sac. p. 72. *Carpzov*, Crit. sac. p. 228, sqq.

On the opinion that the Samaritan was the original, see *Jo. Morinus*, Exercit. ad Pent. Sam. ii. 1, § 6, p. 91, sqq. *Jos. Scaliger*, De Emend. Temp. p. 185. Animad. ad Chronicon. Eusebii, p. 62, 103. *Is. Vossius*, Diss. de

§ 77.

DIVISION OF THE TEXT.

1. DIVISION INTO LARGER AND SMALLER PASSAGES.

The text of the Pentateuch is divided into six hundred and sixty-nine paragraphs, called *Parashes*, (פָּרָשִׁיּוֹת, in singular פָּרָשָׁה, that is, *separation, division*.) Those *Parashes* which begin with a break in the line, and those with a vacant space between the lines, (פְּתוּחָה, פְּתוּחָה,) are called *open*, (פְּתוּחָה,) and *shut*, (שְׁמוּרָה,) or *bound*, (שְׁמוּרָה, that is, *leaning upon*), and are distinguished in manuscripts and editions by the initial letters פ and ש. The open *Parashes* seem to serve to indicate the different contents of the text, or the greater divisions; the shut, to denote smaller divisions.*

These *Parashes* are mentioned in the *Mishna*, and in the *Gemara*. The difference between the open and shut is mentioned among the essentials of sacred orthography.¹

LXX., c. 29. De Orac. Sibyll. c. 15. *Lud. Cappellus*, Arcanum Puncti i 6 *Walton*, Prol. iii. 33. *Jos. Dobrowsky*, De Antiq. Heb. Charact.; and others referred to by *Pfeiffer* and *Carpzov*, cited in *De Wette*, l. c. See Appendix, D.]

* *Vitranga*, Syn. Vet. p. 965. The minor segments of the Law of Moses did not formerly serve to assist the reading of the Law, but to distinguish the contents. *Huyfeld*, Beleuchtung dunkler Stellen der A. T. Text Geschichte, in Stud. und Krit. for 1837, Heft. 4, whom we follow in this, cites, as a proof, the genealogies, Gen. v. xi.; the history of the flood, vi.—ix.; the collection of the laws, Ex. xx., xxi.—xxiii. Lev. xviii. Num. xxix. Deut. v., xxii.—xxv.; the catalogues, Ex. xl. Num. xxvi. Jos. xv. Jud. i. 2 Sam. xxii. 1 Kings iv.; the blessings and curses, Num. vi. Deut. xxvii. But this will not always apply to the present text. It will to Ex. xx. verse 8, which begins with a פ; but not to Gen. v., which begins with a ש; and vi. 1—4, is only separated from it by a ש. So Ex. xxi.—xxiii., where there are several פ.

¹ Taan. iv. 3. Berach. ii. 2. Tam. v. 1. Mensch. iii. 7. Schabb. Bab. p. 108, c. 2. Megill. Hieros. p. 71, c. 2.

They are referred back to Moses as their author,^a and cited as *Parash* "Balaam," or "Balak," "Sotah," "the Red Cow," &c. They probably began in the earliest times, when their sacred Scriptures were read in public. A similar division was made in the Prophets and Hagiographa.^b

The פָּרָשׁ of the Samaritans,^c and the *Κεφάλαια*, the *Capitula*, *tituli*, and *breves* of the versions, are similar to these. They are often marked, in manuscripts, by spaces between the lines and large initial letters. The *Capitula* of Jerome seem to agree with the *Parashes*, for he appeals to the Hebrew divisions. In Mich. vi. 9, he says, "In the Hebrew, this is the beginning of the next chapter; in the Septuagint, it is the end of the last." They actually agree together. In Sophon. iii. 14, he says, "It need not seem surprising that the Hebrew *Capitula* end in one way, and the Greek of the Septuagint, and the Latin, also, in another."^d "But what we have read is the end of this *Capitulum*, according to the Septuagint." But Hupfeld^e says that, for the most part, these *Capitula* are passages of very various length, taken arbitrarily, not by their connection, and often consist but of a single verse, or half verse, and so are synonymous with *locus*, place, or subject.^f

^a Berach. fol. 12, c. 2.

^b Megill. iv. 4, mention is made of *Parashes* in the Prophets. The single Psalms are called *Parashes*, in Berach. p. 9, c. 2, p. 10, c. 1.

^c See below, § 107.

^d Quæst. Heb. Gen. xxv. 13—18.

^e L. c. p. 842.

^f See Jerome, Quæst. in Gen. iv. 15. xv. 16. xxxvi. 24. xlviii. 5.

§ 78.

THE SAME SUBJECT CONTINUED.

These Parashes differ in their origin and design from the *greater Parashes*, as they are called, (which are also named סדרות,) that is, the passages, fifty-four in number, that are read on the Sabbath in the synagogue. These have a later origin than the others,* for they are not mentioned in the Talmud, but appear first in the Masora, and are not observed in the rolls of the synagogue. The smaller have been sometimes considered as subdivisions of the larger, designed for separate readers on week days. But in dividing the Sabbath lesson among the seven readers, regard was had, as far as possible, to the division of the subject, indicated by the smaller Parashes. These Sabbath Parashes, or *Sidrim*, are not to be confounded with the *Sidrim* which Jacob Ben Chajim has placed in the Rabbinic Bible, and which amount to four hundred and forty-seven, in the Old Testament.

When the Sabbath lessons agree with one of these *greater Parashes*, they are marked, if it is *shut*, with ססס; if *open*, with ססס. However, one (Gen. xlvii. 28) has no vacant space between the lines before it.

The passages of the Prophets called *Haphtaroth*, (חפטרות,) which are written each on a separate roll,

* The opposite doctrine is taught by *Morinus*, p. 493, and others, as well as in the former edition of this work. See *Vitringa*, Syn. Vet. p. 969, sq.

† [Some of the Jews say Moses or Ezra affixed these letters to mark the divisions; but this opinion has no foundation in fact. There is a great diversity in the use of these letters in the MSS. In common editions of the Hebrew Bible, 290 sections of the Pentateuch are marked with a ס. See some curious remarks on this subject in *Leusden*, l. c. diss. iv., particularly § xiv. and xix., sq.]

and are mentioned in the Mishna,^a are similar to these.^b Elias the Levite gives the following unlucky conjecture as to the origin of this custom of reading the prophetic passages: "Antiochus the wicked," says he, "king of Greece, forbade the Israelites to read the law. What did the Israelites? They took a Parash from the Prophets, similar in argument to the Parash of that Sabbath."^c This custom is scarcely to be looked for in the New Testament. It is apparent, from Acts xiii. 18, sqq., and Luke iv. 16, sqq., that the Prophets were then read in the synagogue. But from the latter passage it appears there were then no *Haphtara*.^d

Our present division into chapters, which the Jews also have accepted,^e is of Christian origin, and does not extend beyond the thirteenth century. Gilbert Gene-

^a Megill. iv. 5.

^b *Leusden*, Phil. Heb. diss. iii. § 4, p. 28, says the section of the Prophets is called *הפסקה*, a *dismissal*, (*missa, dimissio*), from *פסק*, to *send away*, and has its name from ceasing or finishing, because the Sabbath reading ceased, and was finished, and the people were dismissed, when this passage from the Prophets was read; and the reader of this section was called *מפסק*, *dismissing*, because he was wont to dismiss the assembly. *Elias*, in *Thisbi*, under the word *פסק*, says *Haphtara* signifies *cessation*.

Bodenschatz, Kirchl. Verf. d. Juden, ii. 26, sqq., gives a catalogue of the *Haphtara*. [See *Horne*, pt. i. ch. ii. sect. iii. § 2, vol. i. p. 213, and pt. iii. ch. i. sect. iv. vol. ii. p. 105, sq., who also gives a catalogue of both.]

^c It may be seen from *Maccab. i. 41*, sqq., and *Josephus*, Ant. xii. 4, 5, whether this was possible for the Jews at that time. Against the well-formed doubts of *Jahn*, p. 367, see *Bertholdt*, p. 204, and the opinion of *Vörling*, l. c. p. 1008.

^d *Jahn*, 366. On the other hand, *Bertholdt*, p. 205, who follows *Carpov*, p. 147. [It has not been shown that Jesus read the "lesson for the day," in the synagogue at Nazareth. It is more probable he selected a passage to suit the occasion.]

^e *R. Nathan*, A. C. 1440, Præf. Concord. Heb. *El. Levita*, Vorrede zur *Hammās*, p. 17. *Buxtorf*, Præf. Concord. Heb. Col. 4—14. *Morinus*, l. c. p. 487. *Carpov*, Crit. sac. p. 152. The Jewish names of these chapters are *ספרים*, *ספרים*, *ספרים*.

brardus* says, "About that time, (that is, 1240 A. C.,) the Bibles were divided into chapters, as we have them at this day. It seems to have been the invention of the scholastics, of those, perhaps, who, with Cardinal Hugo, (1262,) were the authors of the Concordances; for the theologians who lived before this time do not use them, [the chapters,] but those who lived later, use them frequently." Balæus^b ascribes this invention to his countryman Stephen Langthon, archbishop of Canterbury. Jahn unites both accounts.

[In Hugo's Concordance, the chapter was referred to by number, and the page was divided into several sections, marked with the letters of the alphabet. Before his time, the Fathers merely referred to the book; the Jews and Samaritans designated the particular portion of the book by naming the most prominent subject of the passage—the "Bush," the "Deluge," &c., as the Mohamedans, at this day, refer to the Koran, and cite the "Cow," the "Table," the "Woman," and the like.^c

In the absence of more certain marks to indicate the passage, recourse was had to a name casually given to a paragraph from its contents. Thus Philo says, "For the Law says in the Curses."^d So, in Mark ii. 26, as some think, the passage in 1 Sam. xxi.—xxii. is referred under the title "Abiathar."^e In Mark xii. 26, the third chapter of Exodus is apparently referred to as the

* Chron. lib. iv. p. 644.

^b H. E. Cent. xiii. c. 7, 10.—Langthon died 1227.

^c [It is plain, from Acts xiii. 33, 35, that the Psalms were divided and marked at an ancient date.]

^d De Agricult. p. 203.

^e [The words *the days of* are added in the English version of the passage, and are not *certainly* implied in the term ἐπὶ Ἀβιάθαρ; but see the same usage of ἐπὶ, for the time, in Luke iii. 2.]

"Bush." In Romans xi. 2, reference is made to 1 Kings xvii.—xix. under the title "Elias." Raschi, commenting on Hosea ix. 9, "As in the days of Gibeah," says, this is Gibeah of Benjamin, spoken of in the "Harlot," referring to Judges xix.—xxi. In psalm ii. he refers to 2 Sam. ii. 8, sqq., under the title "Abner."^a Sometimes the paragraph is named from the first or second word it contains; thus the first part of Genesis is called "Bereshith;" another passage, "Noah;" another, "Lekâ," לָכָה, that is, *to you*.^b Our English translators were, perhaps, ignorant of this manner of reference, and sometimes made ludicrous mistakes through their ignorance of it. Thus, in 2 Sam. i. 18, it is said David bade them teach the children of Judah the "Bow," referring to the poetical passage from the book of Jasher, that follows, in which the "bow of Jonathan" is mentioned; in our version, it reads, "teach them the *use of* the bow."]

§ 79.

2. THE DIVISION INTO STICHS OR VERSES.

In the poetical books and passages, the separate sentences or members of the rhythmical passage were separated or broken off into *stichs*, (στίχοι,) or verses, or divided into *cola* and *commata*, (κῶλα καὶ κόμματα,) greater and smaller verses.

This custom was observed by the Greeks, Romans, and Arabians. It is proved that it prevailed among the Jews also, by the fact that the manuscripts of the Septuagint and the old Latin versions are written in

^a [Jahn, vol. i. p. 370. Leusden, Phil. Heb. diss. iii. § 4.]

^b [Buxtorf, l. c. p. 281.]

this manner; that the poetic passages of the historical books are still divided in this way, and that the poetical books in the oldest manuscripts, such as the Paris manuscript, the Bodleyan, the Cassel, and Regiomontanus, are still written in this manner.*

Epiphanius says, "There are five books written in verses, namely, Job, the Psalter, the Proverbs of Solomon, Ecclesiastes, and the Song of Songs." So Athanasius, "And rising, she repeated the first *stich*, (that is, from Ps. cxix.,) 'I arose at midnight to praise thee for the judgment of thy righteousness.'" Chrysostom says, "Each *stich* suffices to afford us much philosophy; if we examine each sentence (ῥῆσιν) with care, we shall gain great good."† This division is found in the Alexandrine and Vatican manuscripts, and in several versions.‡

* See Martianay, l. c. Kennicott, Diss. p. 308. Wolf, Bib. Heb. vol. ii. p. 298, 309. Simon, l. c. p. 156.

† Epiphani. De Pond. et Mens. c. iv. p. 162: Πέντε στιχῆρεις, ἡ τοῦ Ἰὸβ βιβλος, εἶτα τὸ Ψαλτήριον, Παροιμίαι Σαλομῶντος, Ἐκκλησιαστής, Ἀσμα ψαμάτων. Comp. Gregor. Naz. Carm. xxxiii. Suicer. Thea. eccles. p. 1020. Athanas. Tract. de Virginit.: Ἀνίσταμένη δὲ πρῶτον τοῦτον τὸν στίχον εἰπὶ Μεσονύκτιον ἐξηγεῖράμην, τοῦ ἐξομολογεῖσθαί σοι τὰ κρίματα τῆς δικαιοσύνης σου, (Ps. cxix.) Chrysost. in Ps. xli. (xlii.): Ἀρκεῖ δὲ ἑκάστος στίχος πολλὴν ἡμῖν ἐκθεῖναι φιλοσοφίαν. καὶ μετὰ ἀκριβείας ἐκάστην διερευνήσωμεν ῥῆσιν, μεγάλα καρπωσόμεθα ἀγαθὰ.

‡ See Breülinger, Proll. T. L. c. 1, § 6. It is found in the Psalter Turic; Psalt. Sangerm, and others; in Fabri Stapul. Psalt. quincupl.; Psalt. Gr. et Lat. Veron; in Blanchini, Ev. quadrup. ii. 532, Tab. 2; Psalt. Gr. et Lat. Coislin.; and in Codd. Lat. in Martianay, Opp. Hierom. tom. i.

Hieron. ad Sunn. et Fretel. on Ps. xvii. 13. Opp. ii. p. 631: *Grando et carbonis ignis.* Et quæritis, cur Græcus istum *versiculum* secundo non habet interpositis *duobus versibus*. Sed sciendum, quia de Hebraico et Theodotionis editione in LXX. interpretibus sub asterisco additum sit. Proem. u. l. xvi. Comment. in Jes.: Non parvam mihi quæstiunculam detulisti, quod scilicet *octo versus*, qui leguntur in Ecclesiis, et in Hebraico non habentur, tertii decimi Psalmi, Apostolus usurparit, scribens ad Romanos. Sepulcrum patens est guttur eorum: linguis suis dolose agebant: venenum aspidum sub labiis eorum. Quorum os maledictione et amaritudine plenum est:

The Talmudic *Pesukim*,^a in their etymology, correspond perfectly with the Greek *commata* (κόμματα) and the Latin *cæsa*, and seem originally to have had this meaning in the rhythmical books. Hupfeld^b comes to this conclusion from the following passage in Kid-dushim: "Our rabbins say the Law contains 5888 verses;"^c and, according to the present division, there are 5845. "The Psalms have eight verses more." At present they contain 2527. "And the Chronicles eight verses less." Their number of verses in the Psalms, 5896, approaches the number 5000 contained in the Greek division.

§ 80, a.

THE SAME SUBJECT CONTINUED.

In the prosaic books, there was a logical division into periods corresponding to the rhythmical division in the

veloces pedes eorum ad effundendum sanguinem. Contritio et infelicitas in viis eorum: et viam pacis non cognoverunt: non est timor Dei ante oculos eorum. *Martianay*, Proleg. iv. 3, ad tom. i.: Octo illi versus, qui tres tantum habent distinctiones in nostra Vulg. Lat. et in Rom. Psalterio, hoc ordine et numero decurrunt in Psalt. sac. Germani, veterem Vulg. et Κοινήν complexo:

Sepulcrum patens est guttur eorum,
Linguis suis dolose agebant:
Venenum aspidum sub labiis eorum.
Quorum os maledictione et amaritudine plenum est:
Veloces pedes eorum ad effundendum sanguinem:
Contritio et infelicitas in viis eorum,
Et viam pacis non cognoverunt:
Non est timor Dei ante oculos eorum.

See Codd. Paria. reg. 5 and 6, b. *Martianay*, l. c. Cod. Bodl. 5, (*Kennicott*, *Dim. super Ratione Text. Heb.* p. 306.) Cod. Cassel. Codd. Regiomont. See others in *Wolf*, *Bib. Heb.* vol. ii. p. 298, 309. *R. Simon*, *Hist. Crit. d. V. T.* p. 156.

^a פסוקים, from פסק, to cut, *seare*, κόμματα.

^b L. c. p. 848.

^c Fol. 30, c. 1.

^d Morinus reads 8888.

poetic books. These divisions are called *Pesukim*, and are mentioned in the Mishna as observed in reading the Law and the Prophets, and probably originated from the public reading of these books. It is said in Megilla, iv. 4, "He who reads in the Law must not read less than three verses, (פסוקים.) Let not more than one verse [at a time] be read to the interpreter, and in the Prophets three." This division into verses is derived from Moses.*

It appears from the number of these *Pesukim*, which has been handed down to us, that they were our present verses. In Megilla, iv. 4, the passage Isa. lii. 3—5 is reckoned as three verses. In Taan. iv. 3, a precept is given for reading the history of the Creation (Gen. i.) according to the Parashes, and the number of the verses in the Law. So in the Babylon Gemara,^b the passage in Deut. xxxiv. 5—12, is called "the last eight verses of the Law."

Besides these, there occur in the Gemara other divisions, called *Pesukim*, (פסוקים, or, more commonly, פסוקים קצתים,) and also *Tamim*, (טעמים,) sentences which sometimes seem to denote reading lessons in general, and sometimes, in a narrower sense, short passages or half verses in the *Pesukim*. Thus, in Nederim,^c it is said, "What is that which is written, 'And they read in the book, in the Law of the Lord, distinctly, and gave the sense, and caused them to understand the reading'?" Neh. viii. 8: "And they read in the book, in the Law of the Lord,"—that is, *the text*,—"distinctly,"—that is, *they read the Targum*,—"and gave the sense,"—that is, *the verses*, (פסוקים,)—"and caused them to understand

* Megill. fol. 22.

^b Bab. Bath. fol. 14, c. 2. Menach. f. 80, c. 1.

^c Fol. 87, col. 2.

the sense,"—that is, the *marks of the sentences*, (מסקים סערים.) Again: "Raf said, 'Is it lawful to receive the price for overseeing the youths?' and R. Johanan said, 'It is lawful to receive a price for teaching the *marks of the sentences*.'" R. Chasda inquired respecting that place where it is written, "And he sent young men of the children of Israel, which offered burnt-offerings," (namely, lambs,) "and sacrificed peace-offerings unto Jehovah," (namely, bullocks.) Ex. xxiv. 5. "How can it be known," he asked, "that they did not sacrifice bullocks in both cases?" To which Mar Sutra replies, "By the *marks of the sentences*," (or, as Buxtorf renders it, the *pauses of the sentences*.)^a

§ 80, b.

THE SAME SUBJECT CONCLUDED.

It appears that these divisions into verses were made originally without any external signs of the division, and were preserved only by oral teaching. This seems to be proved by the fact that the Talmud never mentions any signs of the division, and the first notice of them occurs in Tract Sopherim, iii. 7;^b from the fact that they are not found in the synagogue rolls; that the observance of them is mentioned as a branch which was taught in the schools, as an art to be learned; and from the fact that the old translators differ in their division into verses. Examples of this occur in the Septuagint and the Vulgate.^c

^a Berach. fol. 92, col. 1. Megill. fol. 3, col. 1. Hieros. Megill. fol. 74, col. 6. Buxtorf, Tiberias, ch. 9. Buxtorf the younger, De Punct. p. 80—94.

^b Liber Legis, in quo incisum est et in quo capita incisorum punctata sunt, ne legas in eo.

^c Ex. Ps. xliv. 11, 12. xc. 2. Lam. iii. 5. Jon. ii. 6. Obad. verses 9. In

However, it is possible, reasoning from the analogy of the *shut* Parashes, that the verses may have been marked by leaving a small space between them. It could not be done by a break in the sentence, as Prideaux and Bertholdt suppose,* for this would have destroyed the division into Parashes, which was never to be given up. The decalogue was originally written in ten lines, (שִׁיטִּים,) as it appears from a Targum on Cant. v. 13. The division of the prophetic books into greater and smaller passages, (*cola* and *commata*,) and the historical into *commata*, was an innovation introduced by Jerome. He says, "No one, when he sees the Prophets divided into verses, will suppose that they were bound by metre among the Hebrews, or that they resemble the measure of the Psalms, and the writings of Solomon. But as it is commonly done in the writings of Demosthenes and Tully, which are divided into long and short sentences, (*cola* and *commata*,) though they wrote in prose, and not in verse, so we have consulted the convenience of the reader, and divided our new version after this new manner of writing." Again he says, "Read according to our translation, for when the text is written in *cola* and *commata*, the sense is more obvious to the reader." "That I might arrange it more perspicuously, and in paragraphs." "We admonish the reader that a careful transcriber will preserve the distinctions marked by the paragraphs."† The following passage, "from the above-named verse to the

the Vulg. Cant. v. 5. Eccl. i. 5. *Clericus*, Ars crit. pt. iii. c. 10, § 23. *Cappellus*, Crit. sac. ed. *Vogel*, vol. ii. p. 545, 869.

* *Connections*, vol. i. p. 332. *Bertholdt*, p. 208. This opinion was defended in the earlier editions of this work.

† *Jerome*, Præf. in Isa.: Nemo cum Prophetas versibus viderit esse descriptos, metro eos æstimet apud Hebræos ligari et aliquid simile habere de

end of the book then remains a little *comma*,” (περικοπή,) has led Jahn and Bertholdt astray to the conclusion that the *commata* were longer than the *cola*.^a

The verses were first marked with numbers in Sabionetti's edition of the Pentateuch, 1557; more perfectly in Athias's edition, with Leusden's preface, in 1661, and in Stephens's editions of the Vulgate, since 1558.

CHAPTER II.

HISTORY OF THE TEXT ITSELF.

§ 81.

CORRUPTION OF THE TEXT OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.

THE fact that the text of the Old Testament has not come down to us in a faultless state, forces itself upon

Psalmis et operibus Salomonis: sed quod in Demosthene et in Tullio solet fieri, ut per cola scribantur et commata, qui utique prosa et non versibus conscripserunt, nos quoque utilitati legentium providentes interpretationem novam novo scribendi genere distinximus. Præf. in Ezech.: Legite et hunc juxta translationem nostram: quoniam per cola scriptus et commata, manifestiorem legentibus sensum tribuit. Præf. in Paralip.: — apertius et per versuum cola digererem. Præf. in Jos.: Monemus lectorem, ut — distinctiones per membra divisas diligens scriptor conservet.

^a *Martianay*, Præf. in Opp. Jerome, i. prol. iv. 3, states the matter correctly. *Bertholdt*, p. 209, following *Tychsen*, in *Eichhorn*, Rep. vol. iii. p. 140, thinks Jerome found this division in the Hebrew MSS. On the other hand, see *Morinus*, p. 447. *Eichhorn*, § 77, p. 264. But the latter has not sufficiently attended to the following passages. Ep. ad Cyprian. ad Ps. xc. 11, (Opp. ii. p. 702:) Inter Hebraicum et Septuaginta diversa distinctio est: LXX. enim dinumerationem (למנר) timori et furori domini copulant. Ep. ad Paullam de Alphabeto Hebr. Ps. cxviii. (cxix.) Opp. ii. p. 709: — quod videlicet ex prima littera, quæ apud eos vocatur Aleph, octo versus inciperent. Ad Jerem. ix. 22: LXX. et Theodotion junxerunt illud præterito capitulo,

the thoughtful interpreter in many places, even if he does not make any very extensive critical investigations, by the obvious impropriety and want of sense in the common readings.* Yet the critical skeptics, Morinus, Cappellus, and others, were obliged to fight for the admission of this fact, against the blind defenders of the inviolable purity of the text. Even Kennicott was obliged to contend for it.

§ 82.

PROBABILITY THAT ERRORS WOULD BE INTRODUCED INTO THE TEXT.

From the nature of things and the fate of all ancient books,¹ we must suppose that the Old Testament, in spite of the holy zeal of the Jews to maintain its purity, — which may be called the influence of the Holy Ghost, — would become disfigured by the faults of transcribers, unless a continual miracle took place. The *possible* origin of errors may be traced back to two main causes, namely, to ACCIDENT and DESIGN, both of which have, unquestionably, had an influence on the Old Testament, [Eichhorn and others suppose the original manuscripts, as they proceeded from the hand of the author, or his amanuensis, may have contained mistakes, omissions, repetitions, errors in orthography, and the like.

He is mistaken if he takes this for a mere division of the words into lines — as it is probable he does, following *R. Simon*, l. c. p. 145. Comp. Jerome, *Præf* in Ezek.

* Ex. xvii. 16. (Comp. *Clericus*, *Vater*, in loc.) Num. xvi. 1. (Comp. *Vater*.) 1 Sam. vi. 18. xiii. 1. (Comp. *des Vignoles* Chronol. i. 138, sqq.) xiv. 32. 2 Sam. vi. 4. xix. 25. xxii. 33. xxiii. 8. 1 Kings vii. 15, 20. (xi. 15?) 1 Ch. xxvi. 23. 2 Ch. xx. 1, sq. Jes. vii. 8. Jerem. xxvii. 1. Comp. 3, 12. xviii. 1. Pa. xviii. 5, 4, 3. xxv. 17. xxvii. 13. lxxiii. 7. (Comp. *Schnurrer*, *Diss.* p. 184.)

¹ *Le Clerc*, *Ans crit.* pt. iii. vol. ii. ch. 1—15.

In the short book of Amos there are many orthographical errors, which probably belong to the original manuscript. But it is the duty of the critic to restore the text to the condition in which the author published it; not to correct his errors, though he may attempt to account for them.

1. Eichhorn thinks the authors themselves sometimes made a recension of some parts of the Old Testament, or a new edition, revised throughout, and altered here and there. In some instances, he thinks we have both editions in the original language; for example, Ps. xiv. and liii. In other cases, one edition is in the original, the other in a translation. Such is the Septuagint translation of Jeremiah. Besides this, later writers borrowed passages from their predecessors, after making slight alterations. Thus, for example, the later prophets took much from one another, and from earlier writers; in this manner, Ps. cviii. is compiled from Ps. lvii. 8—12, and lx. 7—14. Compare Jer. xlviii. with Isa. xv. xvi.; Jer. xlix. 7—17, with Obadiah.

2. If a hymn or a proverb were taken from the mouth of the people and reduced to writing,—and this was, perhaps, the case with some psalms and proverbs,—it was almost impossible to avoid errors. Thus some psalms, not always the oldest nor the most recondite, contain numerous inaccuracies, which cannot be corrected by the ancient versions, the present manuscripts, or any critical authorities; while other psalms, of greater antiquity, need scarce any correction, or are easily amended by the common critical methods. Ps. cxix., with its one hundred and seventy-six separate sentences, has come down to us in a remarkably perfect state. If the iron diligence of the Jewish copyists preserved this and others so perfectly, are we to attribute the errors

of other psalms to their negligence? It seems wise, in his view, to refer them to the original state of the text, of which the author published two editions.

3. When the writer cast earlier pieces into a new form, or abridged them, the chances of error were increased. Examples of this kind of error may be found in Gen. vii. 9, 16, compared with vi. 19; in 1 Ch. i. 17, sqq., compared with Gen. x.—xi.*

§ 83.

ORIGIN OF ERRONEOUS READINGS.

1. BY ACCIDENT.

The errors of copyists are manifold.

I. *They saw wrong.*

1. Thus they confounded similar letters.^b Hence, on the supposition that numeral characters were used, we are to explain the difference in numbers. א mistaken for י, 2 Sam. xxiv. 13. *Seven* years, in 1 Ch. xxi. 12; the Septuagint has *three* years. ט mistaken for כ, 1 Kings xii. 21, 180,000; the Septuagint reads 120,000.^c [In this manner many other mistakes in numbers seem to have arisen; for example, 2 Ch.

* [Eichhorn, § 82—86. Teller, Diss. de Judicio super variis Lectt. Cod. Heb. recte faciendo, in his Opuscula, p. 33, sqq.]

^b Cappellus, Crit. sac. ed. Vogel, vol. i. p. 79, sqq. Eichhorn, § 96. Hitzig, Begriff der Kritik. p. 126. Often ד and י. Ps. cx. 3, בְּדִרְרִי קָרָשׁ, var. lect. בְּדִרְרִי ק'. Ps. xix. 14, מִדְּרִים, LXX. ? מִדְּרִים. — ד with ב. Jos. xv. 47, הַגְּבוּל, Keri הַגְּבוּל. — ב with כ. Ps. lxxviii. 69, בְּמִרְץ, Versa. בְּמִרְץ, Neh. xii. 3, שְׁבַנְיָה, Vs. 14, שְׁבַנְיָה. — י with ד. Gen. xxxvi. 23, עֵלְדָּר, 1 Ch. i. 40, עֵלְדָּר.

^c Kennicott, Diss. vol. i. p. 521—527, vol. ii. p. 201—203. Diss. Gen. ed. Bruns, § 27. Bauer, Crit. sac. p. 188, sqq.

xiii. 3, it is said Jeroboam led out an army of 800,000 men, and lost 500,000 in the field; in xvii. 13—19, that Jehoshaphat could bring an army of 1,160,000 into the field; and, xiv. 7, sqq., that Asa had 580,000 men from the two tribes of Judah and Benjamin, that Zerah came out against him with 1,000,000—statements quite incredible.

Other numbers, which make no sense, must be explained in the same manner; for example, 1 Sam. xiii. 1, Saul was one year old when he became king; 2 Ch. xxii. 2, Ahaziah, at the age of forty-two, succeeds his father, who had just died in his fortieth year; 1 Ch. xxix. 4—7, David, of his poverty, gives 3000 talents of gold, and 7000 of silver; others give 5000 of gold, 10,000 of silver, 18,000 of brass, and 100,000 of iron, at a time when the talent of gold was worth 24,309 dollars, and the weight of the talent (of iron and brass) was 125 pounds. The numeral for *ten* is often overlooked; as in Ezra ii. 34, the Hebrew reads 1017, and the Septuagint 1007; Esth. ix. 14, Haman has *ten* sons, in the Hebrew, the Septuagint omits the number. It is to be remembered that formerly the Hebrew letters resembled one another more closely than at present.]^a

2. They misplaced letters.^b

3. They misplaced whole words. 2 Sam. vi. 2. Compare 1 Ch. xiii. 6. Ezra ii. 70. Compare Neh. vii. 73. According to Houbigant and Hitzig, שָׁחַם is transposed in Ps. xxxv. 7.

^a See *Faber's Programm.* in *Eichhorn*, § 96.

^b Ez. ii. 46, שָׁחַם, Neh. vii. 48, שָׁחַם; 1 Kings x. 11, אֶלְמוֹנִים, 2 Ch. ix. 10, אֶלְמוֹנִים; Ps. xviii. 46, וַיִּדְחֶנּוּ, 2 Sam. xxii. וַיִּדְחֶנּוּ. *Cappell.* p. 71, sqq. According to *Movers*, Chron. p. 76, they both confounded and misplaced, in 2 Sam. vi. 5, בְּכָל עֵץ בְּרוֹשִׁים, instead of בְּכָל עֵץ וּבַשִּׁירִים, 1 Ch. xiii. 8.

4. They transposed whole passages. Ps. xcvi. 9—11. Compare 1 Ch. xvi. 30—32. [Eichhorn maintains that Job xl. 32—xli. 3, is transposed from its true place.]^a

5. They omit letters, words, and sentences, especially when two sentences have the same ending.^b

II. *They heard wrong*, or confounded in their mind, letters of a similar sound.^c

III. *Mistakes of memory*. Where the transcriber copied freely, or trusted entirely to memory, he might make mistakes :

1. By transposing words and sentences, as described above, (I. 3, 4.)

2. By omitting words and sentences, (I. 5.)

3. By confounding synonymous words, as in Levit. xxv. 36, אֶל with בֵּל; 2 Kings i. 10, וַיִּדְבֹּר with וַיִּמְדֹּר. יִחִי is often exchanged for אִדְוִי.

4. By alterations from the parallel passages. Jes. vii. 8, עֲשִׂירִים חֹמֶשׁ, Cod. 96, for שְׁשִׁים חֹמֶשׁ, after the frequent parallels; Jes. lxiii. 16, לִמְעַן שֹׁמֵךְ, for מִנְעֹלֶם שֹׁמֵךְ; the former often occurs.

^a Allg. Bib. vol. ii. p. 617, sqq., § 95. *Kennicott*, Diss. Gen. § 22, 23, 71.

^b *Cappellus*, p. 115, sqq., enumerates many erroneous examples. See *Vogel's* remarks, p. 119, sqq. Neh. xi. 5, מִעֲשֵׂהָ, 1 Ch. ix. 5, עֲשֵׂהָ; Ps. xviii. 42, רִשָּׁעִי, 2 Sam. xxii. רִשָּׁעִי; 2 Sam. xxiii. 25, comp. 1 Ch. xi. 27; Gen. xxxvi. 11, 12, comp. 1 Ch. i. 36; Jos. xxi. 23, comp. 1 Ch. v. 53, 54.

Eichhorn, § 105, following *Köhler*, Repert. vol. ii. p. 261, finds such an omission from ὁμοιοτέλευτον, in 1 Ch. xi. 13. Comp. 2 Sam. xxiii. 9—11. According to him, Repert. vol. vi. p. 13, there is another in Ps. xxxvii. 26; (see the LXX, Symmachus, the Vulgate, and *Cappellus*, l. c. p. 119, sqq.) another in 1 Kings xiv. 25. Comp. 2 Ch. xii. 2—9. Perhaps Num. xvi. 3, 4, belongs here.

^c 1 Sam. xxii. 18, דִּוְיָג, Keri דִּוְיָג; Jes. xxxvii. 9, עַל, 2 Kings xix. 9, בָּל, Ps. lix. 9, אֶזְמְרָה, LXX. and Vers. אֶזְמְרָה. See other examples in *Cappellus*, p. 74, and *Eichhorn*, § 97.

IV. *Errors of understanding.*

1. In the division of words, (Ps. xlviii. 15, על-מות, and עלמות; Ps. xxv. 17, הרחיב ומצוקותי for הרחיבו ממצוקותי,) and by the marks in the margin, which were brought into the text.

2. In the use of abbreviations. [Eichhorn cites an error of this kind from Symmachus. Isa. xlii. 19, "כעבד יהוה (which stands for כעבד יהוה, servant of Jehovah) he translates ὁ δοῦλός μου, *my servant*.* Jer. vi. 11, "חמת רי", in the Seventy, θυμὸν μου; as if it were חמת רי.]

3. In the use of the *custodes linearum*. [The transcribers of the Hebrew Bible did not allow themselves to divide a word, when the line would not contain the whole of it, nor to leave a vacant space; so they filled it with some favorite letter, in general with the initial of the next word; but they wrote the next word fully, in its proper place, as if its initial had not been written before. An ignorant or careless copyist was easily led astray by such letters. On the one hand, learned transcribers have sometimes fancied these letters when there were none, and so have omitted what belonged to the text.] There is an example of this mistake in Isa. xxxv. 1, where יששיר is put instead of וששיר; for the מ may belong to the next word, מדבב, and be written as a *custos*.^b

In this manner, explanatory scholia are drawn into the text. So אֵת מִלְכֵּי-יָשָׁרִים, Isa. vii. 17, according to

* Rosenmüller, in loc.; other examples in Eichhorn, § 103, Kennicott, Diss. § 28.

^b Kennicott, Diss. Gen. § 25. Jahn, i. 477. Stark, in Odis Davidis, has collected numerous examples of this kind, from the old versions of the Psalms. See Conjectures in Eichhorn, § 102.

Koppe and Gesenius. Liturgical notes in the margin, also, have come into the text, as, perhaps, וְלֵלֵי יָמֵינוּ.^a

[Such explanative scholia are the following: Isa. xl. 7, "Truly the people is grass," according to Jahn, and the number 50,000, in 1 Sam. vi. 19, which alarmed Tindal and Voltaire so much. So, perhaps, 1 Sam. xvii. 12—31, 41—50, 55—58, xviii. 1—5, 9—11, 17—19, came into the text through the same channel. Originally they were not in the Seventy, but were added by Origen from Theodotion, and the other Greek translators of the second century after Christ.]^b

§ 84.

2. FALSIFICATION BY DESIGN.

The charge has often been brought that the Jews have falsified the text. But the fact cannot be proved. Sometimes Jerome seems to accuse them. "We hold it to be uncertain whether the Seventy added the words *every man* and *in all* to Deut. xxvii. 26, or whether they were in the old Hebrew, and have been erased by the Jews. While reading the Hebrew volume of the Samaritans with reference to this, I found בְּ was written in the text, agreeing with the Seventy. Therefore it was in vain that the Jews *took it away*, so that they might not seem to lie under the curse if they did not fulfil all which is written; for the more ancient writings of both nations bear witness that it was placed there." But again, in Jes. chap. vi., he says, "If any one should say the He-

^a *Bertholdi*, p. 256.

^b [See *Michaelis*, *Or. Bib.* vol. xii. p. 196, and xx. p. 31. *Kennicott*, l. c. p. 407. *Jahn*, l. c. vol. i. p. 479, sqq.]

brew books were falsified by the Jews, let him listen to what Origen has to answer to this question in the eighth volume of his explanations of Esaias, namely, Our Lord and the apostles (who accuse the scribes and Pharisees of other crimes) would never have been silent respecting this, which was the greatest of all. But if it should be said the Hebrew books were falsified after the coming of the Lord, and the preaching of the apostles, I cannot refrain from laughter, that the Savior, and evangelists, and apostles, should have produced testimonies which the Jews were afterwards able to falsify.”*

* *Hieron.* Com. in Gal. iii. 10: Incertum habemus, utrum LXX. interpretes addiderint 5 Mos. xxvii. 26, *omnis homo et in omnibus*, an in veteri Hebræo ita fuerit et postea a Judæis deletum sit. Quam ob causam Samaritanorum Hebræa volumina relegens inveni scriptum esse et cum LXX. interpretibus concordare. Frustra igitur illud *tulerunt* Judæi, ne viderentur esse sub maledicto, si non possent omnia complere, quæ scripta sunt: cum antiquiores alterius quoque gentis litteræ id positum fuisse testentur.

Joseph. c. Ap. i. 8, (§ 15, b.) *Hieron.* Com. in Isa. cap. vi.: Quod si aliquis dixerit, Hebræos libros postea a Judæis esse falsatos, audiat Origenem, quid in octavo volumine explanationum Esaiæ huic respondeat quæstiunculæ: quod nunquam Dominus et apostoli, qui cætera crimina arguunt in scribis et Phariseis, de hoc crimine, quod erat maximum, reticuisissent. Sin autem dixerint post adventum Domini Salvatoris et prædicationem apostolorum libros Hebræos fuisse falsatos, cachinnum tenere non potero, ut Salvator et evangelistæ et apostoli ita testimonia protulerint, ut Judæi postea falsaturi erant. See this charge brought against the Koran, (*Hofstinger*, Theol. Phil. p. 125,) by *Is. Vossius* (de LXX. int. p. 18, sqq. Compare Append. p. 68, sqq.) *Will. Whiston*, (Essay towards restoring the true Text of O. T.; Lond. 1772.) See *Rosenmüller*, l. c., and *Carpzov*, Crit. sac. iii. p. 958, sqq., and *Kennicott*, (diss. ii. 1, p. 17, sqq., and Diss. Gen. § 27,) on account of Deut. xxvii. 4.

Against their corrupting it wilfully, see *Bellarmino*, De Verbo Dei, ii. 2, 7. *Glassius*, De Textus Heb. in V. T. Puritate, in *Bauer*, Crit. sac. p. 76, 102, 186. *Cappel*, Crit. sac. i. p. 1, sqq. *Carpzov*, p. 109, sqq. According to *Eichhorn*, § 95, it is probable they have corrupted only Pa. xxii. 17, and Isa. xix. 18, at the most. [*Carpzov* admits there are faults in each of the MSS. of the O. T., but maintains that all the MSS. now extant, when taken together,

At the utmost, this charge has the appearance of probability only during the period that has elapsed since the origin of Christianity, and here it is rebutted by the history of the text.

["Since we have so little reason," says Eichhorn, "to call in question the testimony of Josephus as to the great veneration which the Jews were wont to pay to their sacred national writings, it is plain that no one, up to his time, would venture to alter them by additions or omissions; and since there are evident marks that, after his time, they copied the text of the sacred books with scrupulous carefulness, it follows that the greatest part of their books are free from intentional alterations. Conjecture can go no farther than to suppose that some Jews, for private ends, have corrupted certain passages." "Before the birth of Christ, they would have made no intentional falsification, as there was no occasion for it. But this charge is brought against the Palestine Jews, that before the birth of Christ, they changed the word *Gerizim* for *Ebal*, in Deut. xxvii. 4; and גֵּרִי הַחַרָּס, *the city of the sun*, Isa. xix. 18, for גֵּרִי הַחַרָּס, *the city of destruction*. They are charged with making the first of these falsifications out of hatred to the Samaritans, to

contain the genuine text. He distributes all who are of a contrary opinion into two classes — 1. The professed enemies of gospel truth. 2. Critics without knowledge or prudence, or who are maliciously skilled in criticism, and wish to brand the Scripture as corrupt, and pierce its side. They are divided into Mohamedans, Papists, and Socinians. He places *Spinoza* (Tr. Theol. pol. ix. p. 122) at the head of those who assert that the writings of the O. T. are too corrupt to be trusted. *Peyrere* followed *Spinoza*, (*System. Præ-Adamitarum*, pt. i. lib. iv. p. 172,) and said, "God suffered the autographs to perish, and only very imperfect copies to come down to us." *Joh. Morinus* contended (*Exercit. in Pent. Sam.*) that the Samaritan was the authentic text. On this question, see *Lud. Cappellus, Clericus, Is. Vossius, Rich. Simon, &c.*]

^a [See *Eichhorn*, § 95, d.]

prove that the curse was uttered on Gerizim, the site of the Samaritan temple, and the second out of hostility to their Egyptian brethren, and to cast a reproach on the city (Leontopolis) in which the Egyptian Jews had built their temple.

“But it is plain they are innocent in both cases. The altar was to be erected on that mountain where the Hebrew nation swore, with sacrifices and imprecations, to observe the Law. This was Mount Ebal; and the Hebrew-Jewish text justly commands that the altar shall be built there. But, on the other hand, on that mountain where the altar was to be built according to the Samaritan text,—that is, on Mount Gerizim,—where the blessings were pronounced, which the people did not swear to by sacrifices, but to which they only responded ‘Amen, Amen,’ no altar was to be erected. A wilful corruption of the second passage is still more inconceivable; for *לְבֵנְתָן* is a literal translation of *Leontopolis*, the place where the Egyptian temple was built.

“After the birth of Christ, perhaps a polemic zeal might seduce the Jews to corrupt those passages which the Christians used as proof-texts in the controversy respecting the Messiah, so that they would prove nothing, or nothing in favor of the Christians. But here they would alter only such passages as did not speak decisively of the Messiah, and would leave unaltered the most obvious. But now, if we examine those passages on which the charge has been rested, their present appearance may be far more naturally explained without this supposition. Finally, the Fathers who charge them with falsifications, only reproach them with corrupting the Alexandrian version, and not the original text.” The only passage in which there is ground for conjecturing the Jews have corrupted the text, for the sake of

avoiding a prophetic reference to Jesus, is Ps. xxii. 17, (16,) where כָּאֵרִי is changed to כְּאֵרִי, so that the sense is changed from *they pierced*, to *like a lion*. But some of the most learned Jews, in the Masora, admit the former is the better reading.]^a

Through the uncritical but innocent manner of treating the text, some have inserted easier, apparently more just, and less offensive, readings in the place of the genuine text.^b They have corrected what they conceived to be errors, which, perhaps, were not; for example, Gen. xi. 31, the Samaritan reads יִרְצִיא instead of יִרְצֵא;^c 2 Sam. viii. 17, "Zadok, the son of Ahitub, and Ahimelech, the son of Abiathar," instead of "Zadok and Abiathar, the son of Ahimelech, the son of Ahitub."^d

They filled places where there seemed a chasm—Gen. iv. 4, where an addition has been made by the Samaritan and other versions,^e though some consider it a scholion. They altered the text to make it conform to certain preconceived opinions of their own; for example, in Deut. xxiii. 3, מוֹרֶס instead of מִמּוֹר.^f They made the text conform to the parallel passages. Thus, perhaps, the reading לְצִמּוֹ, [strength to his people,] Ps.

^a [Eichhorn, § 111, on this reading in Ps. xxii. 17. See Kennicott, Dissertation, vol. i. p. 499, sq. Diss. Gen. p. 345, 448. J. D. Michaelis, in loc.]

^b E. g. 1 Chron. ii. 48, יָלֵד, and Codd. יָלְדָה; Num. xxvii. 7, בָּרְכִים, Codd. בָּרְכִי; Ps. xxxvi. 2, לָבִי, Codd. Verss. לָבוֹ; Gen. ii. 2, וַיִּבְרְאֵהוּ, Samar., LXX., Syr. וַיִּשְׁפֹּר; Jud. xviii. 30, מִשְׁחָה for מִשְׁחָה; Gen. xi. 13, xxi. 53, xxxv. 7. Ex. xxii. 9, where מְלָרִים is construed in the plural, the Samar. puts the sing. Ex. xv. 3, מִלְּקָחָהּ (of God) Samar. גְּבוּרַת מ'. Euphemism of the Samar. Deut. xxv. 12, xxviii. 12, the Keris, (§ 89, § 122, for other examples.)

^c Vater, in loc.

^d Hitzig, p. 146.

^e Gesenius, Pent. Sam. p. 62, sq.

^f Bruns, in Eichhorn's Rep. vol. xv. p. 171. Michaelis, Mos. Recht. pt. ii. p. 435, note. Kennicott, Diss. Gen. p. 61.

xxviii. 8, instead of יְהִי לָם , [*strength to them,*] arose from Ps. xxix. 11.

[Eichhorn enumerates *eighteen* sources of errors in text, namely, 1, from passages which occur twice in the Scripture; 2, from scholia inserted in the text; 3, allegorical explanations written in the margin, and accidentally inserted in the text; 4, alterations after the Targums, &c.; 5, conjecture; 6, designed falsification;* 7, transposition of letters, words, and sentences; 8, errors of sight a source of very numerous errors; 9, errors of hearing; 10, the habit of not reading the words as they were written, particularly in the three names of God, and the quiescent letters; 11, errors of memory; 12, arbitrary use of the *matres lectionis*; 13, acquaintance with other Oriental languages, leading to a confusion of orthography; 14, mistakes from misunderstanding the abbreviations; 15, false division of words; 16, mistaking the *custodes linearum*—letters put to fill up a line; 17, words of a similar termination; 18, fondness for a favorite manuscript.]

§ 85.

FATE OF THE TEXT BEFORE THE CANON WAS CLOSED.

The Hebrew text encountered its most unfortunate fate while the single parts of the books of the Old Testament were in circulation, each as a separate whole, before the collection of the Old Testament had acquired a certain respect and sacredness. The transcribers allowed themselves to proceed with the books before them—which were often anonymous—as if they were their own productions, and so alter the text at their own

* See above, p. 314, sqq.

† [Eichhorn, § 93—106.]

discretion. Examples of this kind of treatment may be seen in the note.* Compilers and revisers made arbitrary insertions in the works of earlier writers, and frequently introduced what was entirely foreign to the text, as it will be shown in the introduction to the Pentateuch, Joshua, Chronicles, and Jeremiah.

[Perhaps Doctor De Wette states the corruption of the text by transcribers in terms stronger than the case requires. The psalms mentioned in the note differ, indeed, from one another; but the difference is scarcely to be ascribed entirely to the carelessness or caprice of the copyists and interpreters. At least, there is another hypothesis, which removes some of the difficulties. It may be supposed that, in some few cases, the author retouched his own work; we may then have two readings in parallel passages, and both genuine. On this supposition, some explain the difference between the odes in the historical books, and the same pieces published in the Psalms.

Those passages in the books of Kings and Chronicles which relate to the same events, and are so similar with some chapters in the Prophets, seem to be accounts of the same events, written by different hands. The later writer had the work of his predecessor before him, and adopted his opinions or words, so far as he understood its language, or as it suited his purpose. Late writers

* Comp. Ps. xiv. and liii.; Ps. xl. 13, sqq., and LXX.; Ps. xviii. and 2 Sam. xxii.; Ps. cviii. and lvii. 8—12, and lx. 7—14; Ps. cv. and 1 Ch. xvi. 8—22; Ps. cxvi. and 1 Ch. xvi. 23—33; Isa. xxxvii.—xxxviii. and 2 Kings xviii.—xix.; Jer. lii. and 2 Kings xxiv.; 1 Sam. xxiii. 8—31, and 1 Ch. xi. 10—17; Ezra ii. and Neh. vii. 6, sqq.

See these various readings collected in *Cappellus, Vogel*, i. 30, sqq., *Eichhorn*, § 139, b, and *Bauer*, *Crit. sac.* p. 236, sqq. [See a list of the parallel passages in Appendix, G.]

borrowed from their predecessors, in old times as in modern days. The different forms which devotional poems are made to assume, are well known. An ode might be changed in form to suit the liturgical purpose to which some one wished to appropriate it. The collectors of the Psalms may sometimes have recast an old piece. The errors of copyists are scarcely an adequate source of the variations in the choruses of Euripides.

Eichhorn wisely observes that kindred passages may differ from one another without giving us occasion to complain of ancient times, or of the carelessness of transcribers. By comparing these kindred passages, discoveries may be made which are important for both higher and lower criticisms. In respect to the former, we may ascertain how some books, or single passages, originated, and in what manner old works were wrought over in more modern times. In respect to lower criticism, we may obtain facts from the history of the Hebrew text, and arguments to show that many striking errors extend back to the remotest times.

“In judging upon the diversities between the parallel passages, much depends upon their authorship, whether they proceeded from the original author of the similar passage, and so are the results of a revision he has himself made of an earlier work. We are to inquire, not merely whether, in the revision, the original design and object remained the same, and the original text was only made more pleasing by more agreeable and choice expressions, and single additions; but, also, whether the two texts had not a different design. Since an earlier composition may be used for a new object, why might not the original author have occasion to return to, and make a new use of his own work? Similar

texts differ from one another merely in rival readings, better or worse, or synonymous, and, therefore, we must renounce the hope of making any decisive judgment whether the original author merely rewrought his earlier text in a new edition, or some other writer has done it. We must be satisfied with a critical probability; for the condition of the text rarely allows a final decision of this kind. Cases are not rare where the first expression is stronger, more natural, and better, than one which the amending hand of the author afterwards inserts in its place. On the contrary, a stranger sometimes sees the faults or imperfections of a piece more justly than the original author; and the best improvements often proceed from another hand. Finally, equivalent expressions—which are often changed to suit the pertness or wisdom of the copyist—may originate with the author himself, and the exchange of the one for the other may seem to him an improvement. Every writer who is attentive to his own mental action, will remember that certain expressions have pleased him at one time more than another, and he has inserted them instead of others which were more usual with him, and yet without being able to tell why he prefers them.”^a

The different original texts of the LXX., in Jeremiah^b and Daniel,^c would also be monuments of this uncritical treatment, if there were sufficient proof of the fact, as many maintain that there were several originals of these books.

^a [Eichhorn, § 139, b.]

^b See § 219, sqq.

^c See § 258.

§ 86.

ORIGIN OF THE SAMARITAN-ALEXANDRIAN RECENSION OF
THE PENTATEUCH.

The origin of that form of the text which is found in the Samaritan manuscripts of the Pentateuch, and which is related to the text of the LXX., is a matter of the highest importance in the history of the text of the Old Testament.

It is still a subject of controversy at what time the Pentateuch came into the hands of the Samaritans. Some think this took place before the separation of the two kingdoms of Israel and Judah.*

[A few words may be said on the history of this form of the Hebrew text.

Before the first quarter of the seventeenth century, it was only known by the citation of the early Fathers; it was doubtful that a single copy was in existence. But in 1616, Petrus a Valle purchased a complete copy of it, which was sent to the library of the Oratory at Paris, 1623. It was printed in the Paris Polyglot. About the same time, (1620—1630,) Usher found six copies in the East. After this time, it was frequently printed, and criticised. Kennicott caused eighteen Samaritan manuscripts to be collated for his work.

These manuscripts are written without vowels, ac-

* *Jo. Morinus*, Exercit. eccless. in utrumque Samaritanorum Pent., (Par. 1631, 4to., p. 62,) and the Epistle to *Ant. Van Dale*, in his Dissertation, p. 691. *Walton*, Prolegg. xi. 9, 11. *Cappellus*, vol. i. p. 576. *Whiston*, An Essay, &c. p. 48, 164. *Carpzov*, Crit. sac. p. 602, sqq. *Kennicott*, Dias. ii. p. 108—113. *J. D. Michaelis*, Einl. in das A. T. p. 315. *Eichhorn*, § 383, sq. *Bauer*, Crit. sac. p. 330. *Jahn*, vol. i. p. 412, sqq. *Bertholdt*, vol. i. p. 471, and an anonymous writer in *Bengel's Archiv*. vol. iii. p. 616.

cents, or any of the Hebrew diacritical marks, though they have others of their own. The text is divided into shorter sentences than the Jewish Parashes. It is difficult to determine the age of these manuscripts; but no one of them can be older, perhaps, than the thirteenth century. Their modernness led Tychsen to the strange theory that the Pentateuch was first copied into Samaritan letters at a recent date — in the 10th or 12th century.*

Since this is a matter of great importance, I shall give the opinions and arguments of two eminent critics, who take a different view of the subject.

Carpzov^b divides the opinions of his predecessors and contemporaries, on this difficult question, into six classes: —

1. That of Morinus, Cappellus, and Whiston — that the Pentateuch was originally written by *Moses*, in the present Samaritan characters. The Samaritan Pentateuch, therefore, is to be preferred to the Hebrew.

2. The impostor *Dositheus*, who pretended to be the Messiah, transcribed the Hebrew Pentateuch into the Samaritan characters, and made some alterations, to suit his own designs. This is the opinion of Usher.^c To this Walton^d pertinently replied, that *Dositheus* — who was so little favored by the Samaritans, and a man of so little note that Josephus does not once name him — could not have changed all the copies of the Pentateuch in Samaria.

3. The *Israelitish Priest*, sent by the Assyrian king

* [See much curious information on this subject, in *Eichhorn*, § 378, 381, and the authors he cites.]

^b [P. 600.]

^c [See the Letter to Cappellus, p. 215, at the end of his *Syntagma de LXX.*]

^d [Proleg. xi, 11, p. 370.]

to teach the new settlers in Palestine "the manner of the God of the Land," (2 Kings xvii. 27,) composed the Pentateuch in these characters. This is supposed to have taken place after the eighteenth year of Josiah.*

4. When the Samaritans built their temple, they received from the Jews their sacred books, and copied them in the Samaritan letters. The variations between the two texts arise from the carelessness of the transcriber; a few alterations, however, were made designedly. Richard Simon proposes this theory.†

5. Van Dale thinks the moral and ceremonial precepts of the Law were brought to the Samaritans by the priest mentioned above, (2 Kings xvii. 27,) and the entire Pentateuch in the Samaritan characters after the time of Ezra.

6. The common opinion of Protestants, says Carpzov, is, that this priest carried from Assyria a true copy of the Pentateuch, written in the present Hebrew, and transcribed it in the Samaritan letters; a few errors stole in through the carelessness of the scribe.

Such is the opinion of Jahn, one of the most learned and cautious of the Germans, and especially trustworthy in what relates to antiquities. He says, after the separation of the kingdom, (975 B. C.,) the Pentateuch, at least, was preserved among the ten tribes, and continued in circulation by new transcriptions. There was scarcely any harmony between the two nations, and eternal hostility prevailed, at least between the priests of the golden calf in Israel and those of Jehovah in Judah. It is inconceivable that copies should pass from one kingdom to the other, or that they should be altered from each

* [Sentimens de quelques Theologiens, lettre vi. p. 129, sqq.]

† [Hist. crit. V. T. i. c. 10, p. 65.]

other. Both copies, therefore, would remain unadulterated. When the ten tribes were carried away from their land, (740 or 722 B. C.,) the priests, at least, carried their copies with them. The foreign colonists, who were sent into the land by Shalmanassar and Esarhaddon, united with the Israelites who remained behind, and constituted one people, called *Samaritans*. But these godless strangers were much disturbed by lions, which increased on account of the small number of inhabitants in the country. They explained this as if the God of the land, whom they did not worship, had sent this plague upon them. So the king of Assyria, at their request, sent them an Israelitish priest to instruct them in the Mosaic religion. This priest made his abode at Bethel, the former seat of a golden calf. Doubtless he was one of the priests of the golden calf,* who certainly did not borrow his books of Moses, which he needed in instructing the people, from the kingdom of Judah, but carried his own copy with him, and circulated it by new transcriptions. In this manner, the Pentateuch may have been preserved among the Samaritans, independently of the Jews; for, at first, while they worshipped idols, they would take nothing from Judah; and, after the exile, the bitterest hatred arose and increased between the Samaritans and the new colony of returned Jews. If any one would add that, under Hezekiah, or Josiah, or, after the exile, under Sanballat, when the apostate Jewish priest Manasseh

* [The remarks of this eminent critic go very smoothly up to this point, but no farther; for it is not even hinted in the Bible that this priest brought any books; the supposition that he brought his own copy of the *Pentateuch*, in its present form, is perfectly gratuitous. "He taught them how they should fear the Lord," says the writer, and adds, "But the people made gods of their own." Here is no allusion to any copy of the *Pentateuch*.]

went over to them, and became their high priest, he carried copies of the Pentateuch from the Jews, it would be inconceivable that they should not take other books, also, such as the Psalms of David, some Prophets, and, in particular, the book of Joshua, by which they might have spared themselves the trouble of forging one or two unguenuine books of Joshua.^a

Eichhorn, who seems naturally to belong on the other side of the question, attempts to construct a still stronger argument than that of Jahn.

There must have been copies of the Pentateuch in the hands of the priests of Israel, or how could they teach the people? When the priests forsook Israel, as they did under Jeroboam, (2 Ch. xi. 13—17,) all their copies of the Law would not be lost. The Mosaic religion was still honored in Israel, as in Judah, though the worship of Baal often prevailed. (2 Kings iii. 2. x. 21—28.) The school of the prophets at Bethel, and the pious men, like Elisha, continually arising, would keep alive the remembrance of Moses. Hosea says they had written laws,^b (viii. 12,) and the writers of Kings seem to suppose they had the same law with the inhabitants of Judah. (2 Kings xviii. 12.)

Now, continues his argument, admitting the Israelites received the Law after the separation, it would not have the force of a law, and the king would not give it his sanction. But the Law was still observed for one hundred years after the captivity of the ten tribes. Some

^a [Jahn, 411—413.]

^b [Hosea, indeed, speaks of written laws, (perhaps only hypothetically, as the LXX. reads,) but it does not follow that he referred to the Pentateuch in its present form. No one doubts there were written laws current in the time of Hosea; but can this verse have any weight in establishing the existence of the present form of the Pentateuch, at that date?]

of the inhabitants of Israel went up to keep the Passover under Josiah. (2 Ch. xxxv. 18.) Therefore they must have had a copy of the Law. The priest whom Essarhaddon sent must likewise have had a copy of the Law; and the fact that the Samaritans wished to join with the Jews in building the second temple, (Ezra iv. 1—4,) shows they observed the same Law with them. Besides, if they had received it from the Jews at this time, would not the historians mention the circumstance? Some say Manasseh, the apostate priest, brought it; but this story is founded on the narrative of Josephus, which is not trustworthy, for he makes him live one hundred years too late. Besides, there is no reason for supposing it was brought by Manasseh.]^a

But this theory, that it was composed before the separation of the kingdoms, is opposed, I. by the circumstance that the Pentateuch was composed and compiled at a more recent date, — a fact which is supported by the strongest critical arguments, and, in particular, by the entire analogy of the history of Hebrew literature, — and, II. by the idolatrous state of the kingdom of the ten tribes, and that of the Samaritans, (before the erection of the temple on Mount Gerizim,) which does not allow us to suppose the existence of a written law like that of the Pentateuch.

Again: the above theory has nothing in its favor, except,

^a [The best work on this subject, in our language, known to the translator, is that of Professor *Stuart*, in *N. A. Review* for April, 1826, reprinted in *Bib. Rep.* vol. ii. p. 681, sq. He comes to different conclusions from those of Doctor *De Wette*.

But see, who will, *Hengstenberg*, *Beiträge* die Authentie des Pent. p. 1, sqq. He says himself, *Der Ton in diesem Buche wird Vielen manchmal nicht zusagen*, and it is very true. But he says he has written his hard words rather in sorrow than in anger, and dares expunge nothing.]

I. *The national hatred of the two people.* But there were many exceptions to this hatred; and sometimes it ceased altogether.^a

II. *The fact that the Samaritans accepted no other book of the Old Testament;* but this can be satisfactorily explained in a different manner.^b And,

III. *The old Hebrew writing character of the Samaritans,* (although this differed somewhat from the *original* character.) But it is possible they received this long after the exile, since the inhabitants of the kingdom of Judah made use of it even under the Maccabees.^c

[The above remarks of the author are too brief and comprehensive to be clear and convincing to an American reader; but in the work referred to, he has treated the subject in detail. From that and other sources I derive what follows:—The history of the Samaritan Pentateuch must always remain obscure, for no ancient writer gives any account of it, and the tradition of the Samaritans that it was made in the thirteenth year of the first settlement in Canaan, is too absurd to deserve notice. We can never attain more than a probable answer to the question, When was it first received by the Samaritans? We find the first mention of it in Origen and Jerome.^d It is, indeed, contended that the version of the Seventy was made from a Samaritan manuscript; but the most, perhaps, that can be proved, is, that it follows a manuscript which agrees remarkably with the Samaritan text, in some places, though it

^a *Vater*, l. c. iii. 626. *De Wette*, *Beit.* vol. i. p. 188.

^b *Gesenius*, *Pent. Sam.* p. 4, [in Appendix, L.]

^c *Morinus* lays great stress on this, (*Ex. ii.*;) but see *Huyfeld* in *Stud. und Kritiken*, 1830, vol. ii. p. 280.

^d [*Montfaucon*, *Hexap. Origenis*, ad Num. xii. 1. xxi. 13. xxxi. 21. *Jerome*, *Prol. ad Reg. Quæst.* in Gen. iv. 8. *Com. in Gal.* iii. 10.]

differs widely in others. But even if this codex were used by the Seventy, the fact only brings us down to the third century before Christ.

When did the Samaritans receive it? Many critics have been led to embrace the opinions of Eichhorn and Jahn, from the alleged difficulty of procuring entrance for the Pentateuch among the Samaritans, after the separation, because a strong religious hatred prevailed between the two nations. This is the difficulty which embarrasses all that follows. Before the separation, there was no hatred; and when that event took place, it was not caused by hatred between the two tribes and the ten. The latter simply desired milder laws; and before the death of Solomon, a prophet of Judah had pointed out to their leader, Jeroboam, the course he was to pursue. (1 Kings xi. 28, sqq.) Before the time of Solomon, the crown had been elective; but the great power of David, and his popularity, enabled him to appoint his successor. But Solomon's despotism, luxury, and idolatry, so far weakened his hold on the people, that it was not very difficult for the ten tribes, on the accession of Rehoboam, either to make terms with the monarch, or to elect a new one, who would support their interests. They are forced to the latter alternative, as the prophet had said; but the only change made in the laws is this — unlevitical priests are established, and images of oxen (probably the cherubim) are set up at Dan and Bethel. There is no deep and deadly hatred between the nations, and, on the eve of a battle, Shemaiah, the man of God, forbids the army of Judah to fight against their *brethren*; they obey, and return home without striking a blow. (1 Kings xii. 21—24.) Before the separation, there was no very strong tie

uniting the tribes, and after that event, there seems to be no deep hostility between the rival kingdoms. They are often at war, it is true, but they are sometimes allies. Jehoshaphat and Jehoram go out together to fight the Moabites. Jehu, the son of Jehoshaphat, king of Judah, was king of Samaria twenty-eight years; and he seems to have owed his accession rather to the Israelites than to his own friends in Jerusalem. Had there been that deadly hatred between the two nations, could these events have taken place? The religious rites in the two countries did not differ much. Jeroboam erected calves; but there were idols even in Josiah's time, in the great temple at Jerusalem. Idolatry prevailed in both kingdoms, and perhaps equally. It were no easy task to tell which was the most idolatrous, Rehoboam or his rival. There were more prophets in Israel than in Judah, and they went from one country to the other. (1 Kings xiii.) Elijah, an Israelite, in a solemn sacrifice, considers them both as one nation, and builds an altar of *twelve* stones, (1 Kings xviii. 31;) and, on another occasion, he helps the king of Judah in preference to the king of Israel. (2 Kings iii. 14.) Ahab and Jehoshaphat assemble all the prophets, four hundred in number, to advise them in their joint undertaking. (1 Kings xxii.) In the chapter (2 Kings xvii.) which treats of the captivity of the Israelites, there is no hatred displayed towards them, and nothing like a tone of triumph over their distress is heard in the books of Kings. Even in speaking of the Cuthites, we find no hatred displayed. But a hostile spirit may be found in the Chronicles, written much later. There was, then, nothing to prevent the passage of the Pentateuch from Judah to Israel, whenever its materials (probably for the most part well known before) were collected into the proper form.

When Ezra attempts to rebuild the temple, (Ez. iv. 1—3,) the Samaritans desire to join in the work, but are repulsed, and then oppose the building. Nehemiah either found them hostile to his undertaking, or rendered them his foes by his own conduct; it is uncertain which commenced the quarrel.* But this, at least, is plain, that there was no religious or other deep hatred between the two nations. Here the history of the Old Testament closes, and we must follow the fluctuating Josephus. In the time of Darius Nothus, contemporary with Nehemiah,^b lived Sanballat, the prince of Samaria, who was desirous of keeping on good terms with the inhabitants of Jerusalem; accordingly he gives his daughter in marriage to Manasseh, the brother of the high priest of Jerusalem. But the high priest expels his brother on account of this marriage. His father-in-law builds a temple on Mount Gerizim, to rival that at Jerusalem, and makes Manasseh high priest of Samaria. Other priests, who were entangled in similar alliances, flee to Manasseh, who is thus made the rival of his brother. After this, there was hatred, deep and deadly hatred, between the two nations. Before this event, there could be no lasting cause of religious dissensions, for the religion of Samaria, perhaps, was not fixed; but after it, religious quarrels occur, and a continual hatred

* [It deserves to be remembered that we have only Nehemiah's version of the story. How much he may have colored his narrative, so as to cast the blame on the Samaritans, we cannot tell. But if his account is perfectly correct, we see the cause of the hostility of the Samaritans toward the Jews.]

^b [Josephus seems to make a great mistake in respect to this affair, for he makes Sanballat live under Darius Codomannus, who was conquered by Alexander the Great, and then adds a long tissue of fictions (they cannot be facts) which he had either forged or borrowed. Probably he confounded the two Dariuses, and then invented the rest, to help out the story. See Eickhorn, § 383. *Hahn's Heb. Commonwealth*, p. 182.]

seems to have made them deadly foes. Josephus (xii. i.) says, expressly, there were disorders because the inhabitants of Judah sent their offerings to Jerusalem, while the Samaritans made their sacrifices at Mount Gerizim. Again, (xiii. ch. iii. § 4,) he says the Jews and Samaritans brought the dispute about their respective temples before Ptolemy. "There be two manner of nations which my heart abhorreth, and the third is no nation—they that sit on the mountain of Samaria, and they that dwell among the Philistines, and that foolish people that dwell in Sichem," says the Son of Sirach;^a and it was the common Jewish sentiment in after times.

Now, it is plain that the Samaritans would receive no law-book from the Jews after their temple was completed and its religious rites established. It is plain, also, that the present Pentateuch could not have been acknowledged as a law-book, in either empire, in the time of Jeroboam, or Ahab,—certainly not before the reign of Josiah. If it was first compiled at that time, would not Josiah take pains to spread a knowledge of the law-book in Israel, when he was careful to make attempts to secure obedience to it? (2 Kings xxiii. 1—3.) The Levites were in the kingdom of Judah; therefore the compilation was made there: now, when the prophets were so earnest, and often so successful, in preaching Theism and Holiness, would not they attempt to circulate the new work? Was there any insuperable obstacle to its introduction? If it embodied the common law of the two nations, with other provisions which the prophets had

^a [See the sensible and candid remarks of Doctor *Palfrey*, *Academic Lectures*, vol. i. p. 47, sqq. It is to be regretted, however, that he does not enter into the argument.

See Appendix, I.]

long been attempting to procure, — would they not welcome the book, as the courtiers of Josiah did? But, still further, if these attempts were not made, or were not successful, some knowledge of the Law, and the book containing it, must have been communicated to the Samaritans; and this would prepare the way for a more perfect reception of it, after it had received some other alterations or additions, if such were made. Now, what more probable than that Manasseh, the brother of the high priest, coming under those circumstances, and with such expectations, should bring the Pentateuch with him, and publish it as the law of the land? If the writing character in Samaria were different from that in Judah, the book could easily change its form.] Therefore they who make the origin of the Samaritan Pentateuch contemporary with the erection of the Samaritan temple, and the establishment of an independent Samaritan sect,^a have on their side all the analogy of history, and the fact of the revolt of Manasseh and other Jewish priests.^b

^a *A. van Dale*, Ep. ad Steph. Morin. in his Dissertatt. p. 681, sqq. *R. Simon*, Hist. crit. du V. T. i. 10, p. 66. *Prideaux*, Connection, vol. i. p. 414. *Fulda*, in *Paulus*, Memor. vol. vii. p. 21. *Hasse*, Aussichten zu künft. Aufklär. über das A. T. (Jena, 1785,) pp. 9—14. *Paulus*, Comm. über das N. T. vol. iv. p. 227. *De Wette*, Beitr. i. 214. *Gesenius*, l. c. p. 9. *Hupfeld*, l. c. *Hengstenberg*, l. c. vol. i. p. 39, sqq., denies, but erroneously, all affinity between the Samaritans and the Israelites of the ten tribes.

^b Compare the remarks of *Eichhorn*, § 383, (4th ed.,) made against this fact, from a comparison with Neh. xiii. 28, and *Bleek* thereupon, in *Rosenmüller's* Rep. vol. i. p. 64. [*Eichhorn's* design is to show the incredibility of the statement of Josephus, and cast suspicion on any one who should make use of his narrative to establish the recent origin of the Samaritan text.] See other opinions, which favor a later origin, above, p. 323, sqq., and *Hartmann*, Hist. Krit. Forschungen, ub. d. B. B. Mos.; 1831, 8vo. *Fried. Im. Schwarz*, Exercit. hist. crit. in utrumque Sam. Pent.; Viteb. 1756, 4to. *Tychsen*, De Pent. Eb. Sam., etc.; Bützov, 1765, 4to. Tentamen de variis Codd. Hebr. V. T. p. 119. His opinion (that this text is not older than the 10th century) is confuted by history. See notes, p. 323, sqq. *Hassencamp*, Ursprung d. Alt. Bib. Über, p. 165. *Bauer*, Crit. p. 329. *Josephus*, Ant. xi. 7, § 2, c. 8, § 2, 4, 6.

Gesenius supposes, with Stephen Morinus, that some variants of the Samaritan codex may be explained from the square letters, and that the Samaritans transcribed the Pentateuch into their own writing characters out of the Jewish manuscripts in square letter.* But this opinion is scarcely consistent with the probable origin of the square letter, and the degree of affinity between the Samaritan and the Jewish coin-letter.†

§ 87.

CRITICAL VALUE OF THIS RECENSION.

Hitherto it has been rather preconceived opinions than genuine critical arguments which led the critics to overvalue this recension, or to reject it.‡ Only a few came to the task with a knowledge of the subject and impartial judgment.¶

An accurate, well-grounded estimate of the value of the Samaritan text has been first made in modern

* *St. Morinus*, De Ling. prim., (Traj. 1694,) ii. 7, p. 209, sqq. *Gesenius*, l. c. p. 16.

† *Hupfeld*, l. c.

‡ *Jo. Morinus*, Ex. iv. *L. Cappellus*, l. c. p. 480, sqq. *Whiston*, l. c. p. 164. *Houbigant*, Prolegg. in Script. sac.; Par. 1746, 4to. Notæ crit., reprinted Frcf. on M. 1777, 2 tom. 4to. *Kennicott*, l. c. *Alexius a S. Aquilino*, Pentateuchi Hebr. Sam. Præstantia; Heidelb. 1783, 8vo. *Lobstein*, Cod. Sam. Paris. S. Genovevæ. Frcf. on M. 1781, 8vo. *Alex. Geddes*, Bible, and in *Fater's* Comm. iib. d. Pent. *De Rossi*, Prolegg. ad varr. Lectt. § 26. *Ilgen*, Urkunden des Jerus. Tempelarch. *Bertholdt*, p. 474, sqq.

¶ *Simeon de Muis*, Assertio Veritatis Hebr. adv. Exercitt. eccl. in utrumque Sam. Pent. J. Morini; Par. 1631, 8vo. *Hottinger*, Exercitt. Anti-Morinianæ de Pentat. Samarit. ejusque uidentia αὐθεντικῆ, etc.; Tigur. 1644, 4to. *Steph. Morin*, Exercitt. de Lingua primæv. p. 200. *Buxtorf*, Anticrit. ii. 7. *Fuller*, Miscel. sac. iv. 4. *Leusden*, Philol. Ebr. mixt. diss. 8. *A. Pfeiffer*, Crit. sac. c. 9. *Carpzov*, Crit. sac. p. 610. *Seb. Rau*, Exercitt. phil. in Hubigantii Prolegg.; Lug. Bat. 1755, 4to.

times, and it has been shown that, for the most part, its peculiar readings have arisen from grammatical corrections; glosses admitted into the text; illustrative and explanatory conjectures of a grammatical or historical character; from additions and alterations to suit parallel passages; from Samaritanisms in language, and alterations to suit the peculiar theology and hermeneutics of the Samaritans, (Deut. xxvii. 4;) and that the genuine critical readings are but few.*

[Eichhorn says more than half of the various readings arise from uncritical and arbitrary alterations, made to suit preconceived opinions. He finds eight emendations of this character in Genesis i. and ii. But this former statement is quite too broad, for elsewhere he says, neither is to be preferred to the other. (§ 386.) Hasse has well said, "I have found no variations which I prefer to the masoretic text; on the contrary, the greatest part of them are of recent times; they are the exegetical glosses and interpretations of half-informed men. Go yourself, with impartiality and the spirit of candid inquiry, to the Samaritan Pentateuch; compare it, as I have done, with the Hebrew-Jewish text; make an investigation of the various readings; remove the inconsiderable and intentional alterations; and no egg can be so like another as these two brethren.""]

A striking peculiarity of the Samaritan version is this: it assumes that none of the antediluvian patriarchs was

* *R. Simon*, l. c., c. 11, 12. *Walton*, Prolegg. xi. 17, 18. *Cleric. Comm.* in Pentat. *Michaelis*, Or. Bib. vol. xxi. p. 177, sqq., vol. xxii. p. 185. *Eichhorn*, Einl. § 389, und Præf. ad *Köcher*, Nov. Bib. Heb. *Bauer*, Crit. sac. p. 331. *Jahn*, Einl. vol. i. p. 415, sqq.

De Pentateuchi Samaritani Origine, Indole et Auctoritate Comment. philol. crit. scrips. *Guil. Gesenius*; Hal. 1815, 4to.

¹ [*Hasse*, Aussichten, p. 14, cited in *Gesenius*, l. c. p. 24.

more than one hundred and fifty years old when his first son was born; (the Seventy followed an opposite rule, namely, that none of them had a son before he was one hundred and fifty years old;) and, therefore, if the Hebrew text makes the birth of the first son take place when the father is more than one hundred and fifty, the Samaritan deducts one hundred years from his age. It never makes a son attain a greater age than his father, (except the sons of Enoch,) and diminishes the ages of Jared, Methuselah, and Lamech.

After the deluge, the Samaritan text allows no one of the patriarchs the honors of paternity before the age of fifty.

The Samaritan agrees with the Alexandrian text in Ex. xii. 40, and makes the four hundred and thirty years include the residence in Canaan, as well as Egypt. But this is doubtless a gloss in both the Alexandrian and the Samaritan text,—certainly it is more difficult than the Hebrew reading. Again, in Ex. xxiv. 10, “And they *saw* the God of Israel,” it reads, “And they *adhered to*,” &c.* In Gen. ii. 2, it reads *sixth day*, for *seventh day*. There is a remarkable corruption in Gen. xlix. 7: “*Cursed* is their anger,” that is, of Levi and Simeon. The Samaritan reads, “*Most beautiful* is their anger.”†

The famous corruption of Deut. xxvii. 4, of *Ebal* into *Gerizim*, is too well known to need mention.

“I cannot,” says Eichhorn, “place the fidelity of the Masorites in a fairer light than by comparing the Masoretic with the Samaritan edition; for this last is full of variations, and jejune emblems of one or many

* [Changing the Heb. ויראו into וימחו.]

† In the original, the change of letters is slight. (Heb. מְרִירָה, Sam. מְרִירָה.)

criticasters, so that scarcely the twentieth part of the readings, in which it differs from the Jewish books, has any appearance of truth.”^a

“It is sufficient,” says Gesenius, “to utter a word of admonition. In many places where the Jewish text is manifestly in an error, our Samaritan codex is so far from exhibiting the ancient and genuine reading, — unless it can be reached by conjecture, — that it rather affords that false and deceitful reading expressed after the manner of the later Jews.”^b

§ 88.

THE FATE OF THE JEWISH TEXT TILL THE COMPOSITION OF THE TALMUD.

While the want of criticism was so apparent, both among the Samaritans and Alexandrians, the Jews at Palestine and Babylon seem to have been more careful. The general reception of the Alexandrian version led to the neglect of the original text. But this could scarcely extend to the Hebrews themselves. [There is no doubt that the Jewish scholars had a greater esteem for the original than for this version. But the Alexandrian version was, nevertheless, used in the Jewish synagogues, as both Jewish and Christian writers inform us;^c it is cited in the New Testament quite com-

^a [Præf. to *Köcher's* Nov. Bib. Heb. tom. ii.

^b *L. c.* p. 64.]

^c *Josephus*, Cont. Ap. i. 8, cited above, in § 15, p. 37, sq.

^d Bab. Gemar. Tract. Megilla, c. 1, § 8. *Buxtorf*, Lex. Talm. p. 104. [See *Hody*, p. 224, sqq. *Tertullian*, Apol. c. 18. *Justin. M.* Dial. cum Tryphone, p. 298, sqq. *Eichhorn*, § 166.]

monly, though, perhaps, it was used in this case because the New Testament is written in Greek.^a Josephus commonly uses the Alexandrian version, though he seems to have had a copy of the original before him. He believes the story of Aristeas respecting the authors of this version; explains passages in the peculiar sense of the Seventy, even when they are manifestly false, as a glance at the original will show. He translates proper names as the Seventy have done, follows their division of passages which differs from the Hebrew, and seeks his emphasis in the version.^b Philo, likewise, follows the Seventy in preference to the Hebrew; and "no passage," says Eichhorn, "has yet been discovered in his writings where he quotes the original clearly and expressly." He even derives his curious etymologies from the Greek.^c These facts make it probable that the original text was not held so exclusively sacred at this period as afterwards, when hostility to the Christians had awakened the spirit of criticism, and led to the study of the original text.]

We do not know what the learned Jews of Babylon and Palestine did to promote a more accurate transmission of the text; but the form which was afterwards fixed must have been mainly determined about the time of the birth of Christ; for Aquila, and the other Greek translators, after that time, differ less than the Seventy

^a [Koppe has shown that St. Paul used this version, Nov. Test. vol. iv. Excurs. i., and Epist. ad Rom. On the text used by the evangelists, see Eichhorn, Allg. Bib. vol. ii. p. 947, sqq.]

^b [See Josephus, Ant. xii. 2. iii. 7, § 5. vi. 10, § 2, and 4. § 1. i. 1, § 1. viii. 2, § 5. See Eichhorn, § 339, a, vol. ii. p. 445, sq. Michaelis thinks Josephus used the original, Or. Bib. vol. v. Anhang. But see Scharfenberg, Prolus. de Josephi et Vers. Alex. Consensu, (Lips. 1780, 4to.,) who proves the contrary. Eichhorn, § 108, sqq.]

^c [Eichhorn, § 109, 162, 164, 167, 179.]

from the masoretic text;* and Onkelos and Jonathan approach very near to it.^b

[The state of the text, at this time, may be learned, in part, from the Seventy, the fragments of the other Greek versions, from the Targum of Onkelos, and the citations in the Mishna, and in part, also, from those in the New Testament and Josephus.]

About the time of Christ, also, in Jerusalem, and, after the destruction of the state, at Jabne, Ziphoria, Lydda, Cæsarea, Tiberias, and subsequently in Sora, Pumpeditha, and Nahardea in Babylonia, there flourished learned schools of the Jews, in which grammar and criticism may have been studied, as well as the Law.^c

In the third century, Origen, in the composition of his Hexapla, made use of a manuscript which was related to the masoretic recension.^d In the fourth century, Jerome employed Palestine instructors and manuscripts. It is on this account that his version, so far as it respects explanations and readings, agrees so well with the present received text of the Jews.^e [Jerome was careful to procure a good Hebrew text before he began to amend the old Latin version. He doubted the accuracy of the common text in the books of Kings, and therefore procured a distinguished Hebrew teacher from Tiberias,

* *Cappellus*, vol. ii. p. 843. *Eichhorn*, Præf. ad *Köcheri*, Nov. Bib. Heb. *Jahn*, vol. i. p. 382, sqq.

^b *Cappellus*, vol. ii. p. 771, and *Vogel's* remark. *Winer*, De Onkelos, p. 23, sqq. *Gesenius*, Jes. vol. i. p. 80.

^c On *Hillel* and *Shammai*, see *Wolf*, Bib. Heb. vol. ii. p. 824; on the school at Tiberias, &c., vol. ii. p. 914; *Buxtorf*, Tiberias, ch. 5—7, p. 20, sqq.; *Altling*, Hist. Acad. Jud. Opp. v. p. 240, sq.; and other authorities quoted in *Wolf*, vol. ii. p. 924.

^d *Bruno*, Curæ Hexap. in iv. Lib. Reg. in *Eichhorn*, Repert. vol. ix. and *Eichhorn*, § 113.

^e *Cappellus*, l. c. p. 806. *Eichhorn*, § 127.

then the seat of the best school of Jewish learning, and, with his assistance, made a careful revision of the text in the books of Kings and Chronicles.^a The Hebrew consonants had then assumed their present form, for he mentions the similarity between certain letters. He knew nothing of the diacritical marks, of the point over ן, or of *dagesh*, or of the division into verses. But he found the extraordinary points; for example, in Gen. xviii. 35, and, in some places, perhaps, the *Keri* in the margin. Eichhorn thinks—though he speaks under correction—that his Hebrew codex of Isaiah differed from the present masoretic text in only two places, (xix. 19, and xxi. 11;) and even here it is doubtful that there is any difference.^b In short, his manuscript agreed as well with the present masoretic text as the most accurate of the modern Spanish manuscripts, which differ less from it than the Italian and German.]^c

Hitherto the text was without points, and even without the diacritical marks. Thus Jerome says, “The same word written with the same letters has different sounds and meanings among them. Thus, for example, *shepherds* and *lovers* are written with the same letters, namely, *res, ain, jod, mem*, (רעים.) But *shepherds* is pronounced *roim*, and *lovers reim*.” Again: “It matters not whether it is called *Salem* or *Salim*, for the Jews very seldom use vowels in the middle of a word, and so the same words read with different sounds and accents, which depend on the will of the reader and the

^a [See § 48, p. 190, and § 69, p. 258, sqq.]

^b [In the first, perhaps, he read דרים; in the latter, he reads רימז, not as if it were in the text, but as a mere conjecture of some Jews. See *Gesenius*, in loc.]

^c [Eichhorn, § 121—128.]

district of the country." "For that word which we have rendered *death*, we have, in the Hebrew, three letters, *daleth*, *beth*, *res*, without any vowel. If it is read *dabar*, it means a *word*, but if read *deber*, a *pestilence*." The word דָּבָר, according to its position, means *placed*, [דָּבַרְתִּי], or *there*, [דָּבָרָה]. In other places, he shows with what confidence he regarded his own interpretation. Thus, on Gen. xlvii. 33, he says, "Some unreasonably pretend, from this passage, that Jacob worshipped the top of Joseph's *staff*. But much in Hebrew may be read in different ways. Israel worshipped at the head of his *bed*."*

§ 89.

TRACES OF A CRITICAL CARE FOR THE TEXT, IN THE
TALMUD.

The Talmud gives precepts for biblical caligraphy. Thus it says, "Books may be received from foreigners, or wherever they can be found, provided they are writ-

* *Hieronymus*, Ep. 125, ad Damas.: Idem sermo et iisdem litteris scriptus diversas apud eos et voces et intelligentias habet, e. g. *pastores* et *amatores* iisdem litteris scribuntur, *res*, *ain*, *jod*, *mem*, (רע"ב) sed *pastores roim* leguntur, *amatores reim*. Ep. 126, ad Evagr.: Non refert, utrum *Salem*, an *Salim* nominetur, cum vocalibus in medio litteris perraro utantur Hebræi, et pro voluntate lectorum atque varietate regionum eadem verba diversis sonis et accentibus proferantur. Com. ad Hab. iii. 5: Pro eo, quod nos transtulimus *mortem*, in Hebræo tres litteræ sunt positæ, *daleth*, *beth*, *resch*, *abeque ulla vocali*, quæ si legantur *dabar*, *verbum* significant; si *deber*, *pestem*. Hab. iii. 4: Verbum דָּבָר pro qualitate loci, et *posuit* (פָּסַד) intelligitur, et *ibi* (יְבִי): On Gen. xlvii. 33: Hoc loco quidam frustra simulant, adorasse Jacob summitatem *sceptri* (סֵפֶר) Josephi, cum in Hebræo multum aliter legatur: et adoravit Israel ad caput *lectuli*. See *Hupfeld*, in *Stud. und Krit.* for 1830, p. 571, sqq.

[Doctor *J. M. Jost*, in the *Neue Jena Allg. Lit. Zeit.* for March, 1842, p. 210, says that some fragments of an old Hebrew Bible have been found in the Crimea, in which the *vocalization* and *accentuation* are different throughout

ten according to rule.”^a “You must write so that the writing shall be perfect. *Aleph* must not be written for *ain*, *beth* for *caph*, *gimel* for *daleth*, *he* for *heth*, *vau* for *yod*, *zain* for *nun*, *teth* for *peh*, nor the *incurvate* for the *direct* letters; nor *mem* for *samech*, the *shut* letters for the *open*, (ס final for מ;) nor an *open* section be made a *closed* section; nor the reverse of these.”^b

The Talmud speaks also of the comparison of manuscripts,^c and of an enumeration of the verses, words, and letters, of the Bible, which reveals a painful anxiety to preserve the text. Thus it says, “The ancients were called *counters* (סופרים) because they counted all the letters of the Law, and said the letter *vau*, in the word נחוק, Levit. xi. 42, is the middle letter of the book of the Law. The word דרש דרש, Levit. x. 16, is the middle word of the Law, and Levit. xiii. 33, the middle verse. The letter *ain*, in יער, Ps. lxxx. 14, is the middle letter of the Psalms, and Ps. lxxviii. 38 is the middle verse of the Psalms.”^d

There occur in the Talmud, as afterwards in the

from that of our present Bibles. He caused a fac simile of a part of Isa. xlix. to be inserted in a Hebrew periodical called *Zion*, Jahrgang, 601, No. 11. He thinks the age of this fragment greater than that of the common Bibles, and that it proves the present system of vocalization and accentuation has not always prevailed.]

^a Tr. Gittin, fol. 45, col. 2. See Tycheen, l. c. p. 18. Eichhorn, § 114.

^b Tr. Schab. fol. 103, col. 2.

^c Jerusalem Talmud, Tr. Taanith, fol. 68, col. 1. (Comp. Tr. Sopherim, vi. 4.) Tres libros invenerunt in atrio, librum מעורי, librum זעשוטי et l. דרא: in uno invenerunt scriptum (Deut. xxxiii. 27) מעור, in duobus דרא, et approbantes duos, rejecerunt unum. In uno invenerunt (Exod. xxiv. 5,) scriptum זעשוטי, in duobus נערי, et approbantes duos, rejecerunt unum. In uno invenerunt scriptum (Gen. xxxii. 23) חשע דרא, (ed. Fr. אחד עשר דרא, in duobus אחד עשרה דרא, (ed. Fr. אחד עשר דרא,) et approbantes duos, rejecerunt unum. Kennicott, Diss. Gen. § 34. Morinus, Ex. bib p. 408. Eichhorn, § 115.

^d Kiddushin, fol. 30, col. 1. Comp. Buxtorf, Tiberias, p. 44.

Masora, certain classes of corrections, which had been admitted into the text of the Bible before the composition of the Talmud.* They are as follows:—

I. *The omission of the scribes.*^b This relates to the omission of the prefix *vau*, in Gen. xviii. 5, xxiv. 55, Num. xii. 14, Ps. lxxviii. 26, xxxvi. 7.

II. *The extraordinary points*, which occur in fifteen words; for example, אֵינִי, Ps. xxvii. 13; סָמָרִי (Samaritan אֲנִי,) Num. xxi. 30; בְּקִימָה, Gen. xix. 33.^c

III. *What is read, but not written*, (*Keri velo Kethib*.)

* *Morinus*, l. c. p. 570, finds in these corrections *fragments or vestiges of recensions*, [supposing each class thereof to be the result of an entire revision of the text.] *Eichhorn*, § 116, finds three *revisions*, and *Berthold*, p. 270, a *great critical work*, undertaken for various purposes. He ascribes it to the Talmudists. On the other side, see *Jahn*, l. c. vol. i. p. 384. All of these following classes are said to be *the traditions of Moses from Mount Sinai*. *Nedarim*, fol. 37, col. 2.

^b סִפְּרִים סוֹפְרִים. See *Buxtorf*, *Lex. Talmud.* sub voce, pp. 15, 97. *Morinus*, l. c. p. 570. *Cappellus*, ed. *Vogel*, vol. i. p. 443, sqq. *Eichhorn*, § 117.

To these might be added the *correction of the scribes*, סִפְּרִים סוֹפְרִים, which relates to sixteen or eighteen passages that have been freed from errors—Gen. xviii. 22, 1 Sam. iii. 13, and others. This—the correction of the scribes—is not mentioned in the Talmud, but in works of later date. See the Masora on Num. i. 1, Ps. cvi. 20. Comp. *Buxtorf*, *Morinus*, and *Vogel*, l. c. *Eichhorn*, § 116. *Oehlschläger*, *Præs. Bornitz de Thikim Sopherim*; Viteb. 1644.

* [These are probably affixed to a word or letter to show that it did not belong to the genuine text, which makes good sense without it. The other instances of extraordinary points are, Gen. xvi. 5, xviii. 9, xxxiii. 4, xxxvi. 12; Num. iii. 39, ix. 10, xxix. 15; Deut. xxix. 28; 2 Sam. xix. 20; Isa. xlv. 9; Ezek. xli. 20, xlvi. 22, enumerated by *Buxtorf*, *Tiberias*, p. 173, and *Eichhorn*, § 118.] See *Morinus*, p. 106. *Hüpeden*, *Neue wahrscheinliche Muthmass. von der wahren Urs. und Bedeut. der ausserordentliche Punkte, &c.*; Hann. 1751, 4to. *Gesenius* has found points in Samaritan MSS. over single letters and words, used to denote their spuriousness. By this means, the scribes avoided striking out and erasing words. On misunderstanding these points, see *Tr. Nasir.* fol. 23, col. l. *Quare est punctatum super litteram ו in וּבְקִימָה de primogenita?* Ad indicandum, quod, cum decumberet, non cognoverit, et, dum surgeret, noverit. *Jerome*, *Quæst. in Gen.* xviii. 35: Appungunt desuper, quasi incredibile et quod rerum actus non capiat, coire quampiam necientem.

This relates to words that are not in the text, but are yet read as if there. Such words occur in seven passages; for example, in 2 Sam. viii. 3, xvi. 23.^a

IV. *Written, but not read, (Kethib velo Keri.)* This relates to words that stand in the text, but are not read with it. They occur in five passages; for example, in 2 Kings v. 18, the word כִּי.^b

V. *Various readings.* The Talmud also sometimes mentions various readings, which the Masorites call *written* and *read, (Keri oo Kethib.)* They occur in Job xiii. 15, Hag. i. 8.^c [In these cases, the true reading stands in the margin without vowels, for the vowels of the text belong to the marginal reading. Sometimes they are properly various readings; for example, לֵא for לִי, and the contrary. Sometimes they furnish the readings of old manuscripts, but do not inform us in what, or in how many, manuscripts the variants occur. Sometimes they contain explanations of difficult words, as in 1 Sam. v. 6, 9, 12, vi. 4, 5, 11, 17, Deut. xxviii. 17; and again they supply euphemisms, as in 2 Kings xviii. 27, Isa. xxvi. 12.]^d

^a Nedarim, fol. 37, col. 2. *El. Levita*, Masor. Hamm. vol. ii. p. 175, sqq., mentions *eight*, and in the preface, *ten* passages. Comp. *Morinus*, p. 407, 497. *Cappellus*, l. c. vol. i. p. 180, sqq. But the marginal annotations, the vacant spaces, and the points in the text, are later than the Talmud.

^b Nedarim, l. c. *Morinus*, p. 498. *Cappellus*, p. 185, sqq. *Eichhorn* very properly considers both of these classes as glosses.

^c Tr. Sota, v. 5. *Eichhorn*, § 120. Joma, fol. 21, col. 2. Quid est, quod scriptum exstat (Hag. i. 8) וְאֵכָבֵד, et nos legimus וְאֵכָבֵד? Euphemistic *Keris* occur; Megilla, fol. 25, col. 2. Tradunt rabbini nostri: Omnes voces, quæ scriptæ sunt in lege in turpitudinem, leguntur in laudem, e. g. pro יִשְׁגַּלְתִּים (Deut. xxviii. 30,) יִשְׁכַּבְתִּים; pro בַּעֲטָלִיךָ (ib. verse 27,) בַּחֲדוּרֶיךָ; pro חֲרֵי יְיָ (2 Reg. vi. 25,) דְּבִיּוֹתֶיךָ; pro חֲרָאִים (ib. xviii. 27,) שִׁינִיִּים; pro צְרָאִים (ib. x. 27,) לְמַחֲרָאִים; pro רַגְלֵיהֶם, צְרָאִים.

^d [Jahn, l. c. p. 387, sqq. *Walton*, Prol. viii. 20—28.]

The unusual letters, the suspended and inverted, the greater and the smaller, had, originally, only a critical meaning, perhaps, but afterwards acquired a mystical signification.*

§ 90.

THE MASORA.

After the Talmud was finished, and about the sixth century, the Jews, who were learned in the Scriptures, especially those at the town of Tiberias, began to labor upon the text of the Old Testament, in a critical, grammatical, and exegetical way, though not without Jewish frivolity. Their store of remarks was, at first, transmitted by word of mouth;† but subsequently it was written. Thus Aben Ezra, who wrote about 1150 A. C., says, "Such was the custom of the wise men of Tiberias, for the Masorites were of their number, and we have received from them the whole system of punctuation."‡ Elias Levita says, "The Masora was handed down from one learned man to another, until the time of Ezra and his coadjutors; by them it was committed to the learned men of Tiberias, who caused it to be written,

* See, e. g., the *littera majuscula* in גרין, Levit. xi. 42. (*Gesenius*, Lehrgebäude, p. 11. See above, p. 343.) Baba Bathra, fol. 109, col. 2: An (Gersom) filius Manassis fuit et non potius f. Mosis? sicut scriptum est: filii Mosis Gersom et Elieser, (1 Ch. xxiii. 14;) sed propterea quod fecit opera Manassis, (fil. Hiskæ regis,) appendit eum Scriptura (familie) Manassia. Comp. *Buxtorf*, Tiberias, ch. xvi. p. 171. The Masora is called the "Hedge of the Law" in Pirke Aboth, iii. 13.

† The word is written variously by the Jews—מסורה, מסורה, and מסורה. It is derived from מסר, to deliver, hand down, tradere. On this and other etymologies of the word, see *Buxtorf*, Tiberias, ch. i. p. 3, sqq. *Carpson*, Crit. sac. p. 284. *Wolf*, Bib. Heb. vol. ii. p. 461, sqq.

‡ In Zachath, as quoted by *Buxtorf*, l. c. ch. iii. p. 9.

and the name *Masora* to be affixed to it.” “Thus it was until the points were affixed, and this period continued till the Talmud was closed, that is, till the year 3989 after the creation of the world, and the 436th after the second dispersion. From this time forth, the holy language ceased to be spoken, till the time of the Masorites—these are the men of Tiberias.”*

[It cannot be accurately determined, from the Jewish writings, when or where the Masorites lived. There are three hypotheses respecting the matter. 1. Some say the men of Tiberias are the authors of the Masora. 2. Others ascribe it to Ezra, and the men of the Great Synagogue. 3. And others make Moses the author, who, it is said, received the true reading and the true interpretation from God, and transmitted it to the elders. “However, the Masora did not proceed from Moses, Ezra, or the pretended men of the Great Synagogue, but from the later Jews. The first foundation is older than the Talmud. The ages between the third and sixth centuries have furnished the richest contributions to it, though, according to itself, it has received accessions in every age, and is not yet completed.

“1. The Talmud contains many of the remarks which form part of the Masora. Both mention the *omission and the correction of the scribes*; both speak of the *Keri velo Kethib*, and the *Kethib velo Keri*.^b The Talmud points out the middle consonant, the middle letter, and

* Vorrede zur Mas. Hammas. pp. 3 and 67. See *Morinus*, l. c. p. 411; *Walton*, Prol. viii. 12; *Cappelhus* and *Simon*. On the contrary, *Buxtorf*, l. c. ch. xi. p. 102; *Leusden*, Phil. Heb.; *A. Pfeiffer*, Diss. de Masora; *Löscher*, De Causis Ling. Heb. p. 91; *Wolf*, l. c. p. 465; and *Carpzon*, l. c. p. 286, who place the commencement of the Masora in the time of Ezra. [See the judicious opinion of *Palfrey*, l. c. vol. i. p. 59, sq. *Horne*, pt. i. ch. ii. sect. i. § 1.]

^b [See § 89, p. 344.]

the middle verse, of the Pentateuch,* as the Masora does of all the books. Some of these annotations — subsequently incorporated in the Masora — were made before the third century, and expressed in the text of manuscripts in various ways; for example, by consonants of unusual form, the suspended and inverted, the greater and smaller letters, and by extraordinary points. But none of them was written out fully before the time of the Talmud.

“2. After the composition of the Talmud, these annotations rapidly increased from age to age. The tract *Sopherim*, which was written between the time of the Talmud and that of the Masora, speaks more fully of some kinds of them, but it does not agree with the Masora. Thus, for example, the Talmud enumerates five *Kethib velo Keri*; the tract *Sopherim*, six; and the Masora, on Ruth iii. 12, eight; and this difference is still more striking when it is noticed that only two of the six mentioned by the tract are the same with those cited by the Talmud. During this period, also, the critical annotations were preserved by various signs or characters written in the manuscripts. The greater and smaller, the suspended and inverted letters, are, at least, older than the *written* Masora.

“3. Finally, in the beginning of the sixth century, the scattered annotations already made were collected into a whole, called the *Masora*, by the Jews at Tiberias, where, it is well known, an academy of Jews flourished after the time of Christ, and great attention was paid to the critical revision of the Bible.

“4. But still the Masora was not regarded as a finished work. From time to time, new annotations

* [See § 89, p. 343.]

were inserted, and the old furnished with new examples. From this circumstance, the Masora does not agree with itself, nor with the present masoretic editions of the Bible, in the number of passages cited as instances of a particular law, or of exceptions to it. It is to be wished that the principal masoretic recension of the sixth century, or the old masoretic, could be separated from the new masoretic recension, made since that time. But the modern annotations are so intimately mingled with the old, that it is impossible to separate them.”^a

At first, the Masora was written in separate books,^b but afterwards on the margin of manuscripts of the Bible.^c [The books containing nothing but the Masora were written without any systematic order. Their materials are thrown together as chance directed. Such a chaotic mass could not be used conveniently; therefore the most important passages were extracted from the great work, and written, with many abbreviations, on the margin of manuscripts. But they were written without regular method. Every passage was not fur-

^a [Eichhorn, § 141, and Jahn, vol. i. p. 389, sqq., who agrees with Eichhorn on this point. Jablonski, Præf. ad Bib. Heb. § 32. Stark, Carm. Davidis, vol. i. p. 48, says the Masora has been revised two or three times — first at Tiberias, then in Babylonia, about 1037 A. C., and finally after the time of Rabbi Jonah. “O,” says Eichhorn, “that he had separated these three recensions, since he thought it could be done so easily!”]

^b *Elias Levita*, l. c. p. 86. Cod. Palat. in Rom. Comp. Annal. litt. Helmstad. An. 1784, p. 97.

^c On the various forms of it, see *Carpzov*, l. c. p. 290. *Buxtorf*, l. c. p. 195. [*Elias Levita*, cited in Buxtorf, says, “The great Masora is almost infinite in extent. If all the words of it which I have seen in my life were written and bound together in one book, it would exceed the size of the whole Bible.” The Jews sometimes wrote the biblical text in a small space in the centre of a leaf, and surrounded it with the Masora, which thus became literally “the Hedge of the Law,” סִיג דְּחֻמְרָה — so that the text stood “like a lodge in a garden of cucumbers.”]

nished with its proper note; nor was a reference made to the place where it could be found. The abbreviators collected remarks of a certain kind in any place, as accident suggested, and left it for the reader's sagacity to find these remarks; a later Masorite made such additions as he pleased to the annotations of his predecessors, with whom he sometimes agreed, and sometimes differed. The Jews cared little for these inconveniences, and made no attempts to remove them. But the abbreviations that had been used were to them the source of greater perplexity, for they demanded a peculiar study, and, even with all their diligence, they could not make use of all the observations so darkly written; accordingly they began to insert the whole Masora, with the Hebrew text, and to write as many annotations as the margin of the manuscripts would contain, without always considering whether the note was connected with the verse which it explained.

The portion of the Masora written on the margin of the manuscripts is called the *textual*, that at the end of the books, the *final* Masora. The textual is divided into the small and the great. The former, derived from the latter, is usually written at the sides, the latter above and below the text, but sometimes also at the sides. The great final Masora is placed at the end of each book.*

After the time when attempts were made to insert the whole Masora on the margin of manuscripts, — which was often too small for it, — transcribers allowed themselves to omit what the margin of the page would not contain; and the passages omitted were, for the

* [Eichhorn, § 154. Walton, Prol. viii. 11. Buxtorf, Clav. Mas. p. 218. See the above note c, p. 349.]

most part, added at the end of the book, but sometimes they were left out.

Sometimes the Masora did not fill the whole margin of the page; and in order to leave nothing empty, and not offend the nice eye of the purchaser by the sight of empty spaces, a portion of the previous Masora was repeated, sufficient to fill the chasm, or various other fragments, sometimes relating to the same, sometimes to different subjects, were patched together. Besides, the copyist often adorned his manuscript by writing the Masora in figures of men and animals, caricatures, and the like; and sometimes he had too much or too little space left for the figure he had commenced, and so he added to the Masora, or diminished it, to suit his convenience.* Every rabbi who revised or read the Masora, took the liberty to add such new notes as he pleased. At its best state, the Masora was confusion: by this treatment it became worse confounded, and the remark of Elias is fully justified—"There was not a house in which was not one dead." As Kennicott suggests, it resembled the Elm in the poem, "celebrated for the residence of vain dreams."†

This manner of writing the Masora, and the con-

* [*Elias Levita* complains touchingly at this treatment of the Masora. "But the scribes who copied the biblical books, extracted as each one saw fit,—writing it in the margins, below and above,—here copiously, there briefly, according to the size of the margin." See his pitiful threnody in *Buxtorf*, l. c. p. 197. *Shickard*, cited in *Carpzov*, p. 291, speaks of a MS. the margin of which seemed, at first sight, adorned with pictures of lions, bears, sheep, and oxen; but, on a closer inspection, it appeared that the Masora was written in these forms, in a very minute character. What wonder it was corrupted in such transmigrations?

Eichhorn, § 155. *Michaelis*, De Codd. Erfurt, p. 32.]

† [*Ulmus opaca, ingens, quam sedem Somnia vulgo
Vana tenere ferunt, foliisque sub omnibus herent.*

Æneid, vi. 263, 264.]

tinual additions made to it,* brought great confusion into it, which the printed editions seem to have increased.

[The Masora has been published more or less imperfectly. Rabbi Meyer Halleṽi, often called *Haramah*, made a useful catalogue of the words in the Pentateuch, of which there occurs a *full or defective reading*,^b with a reference to passages where the reading is found. His work shows the state of the text in his time, the thirteenth century.^c

The Masora remained in this state until Daniel Bomberg induced Rabbi Jacob Ben Chajim to cleanse this Augean stable. He revised the Masora word by word, arranged and improved it, united the passages omitted in an index known by the name of *Masora Maxima*, or *Finalis*. The result of his work was the celebrated Rabbinical Bible of Bomberg.^d Then the elder Buxtorf attempted to improve Bomberg's Bible; but, in his zeal to extirpate the tares, "he rooted up much good wheat with them," and in many places created a new Masora.]^e

* *J. H. Michaelis*, Præf. ad Bib. Heb.; Hal. p. 6. See above, note a, p. 349. There is a later addition on Levit. iv. 35.

^b [In the full reading, (*lectio plena*), the quiescent letters ׀, ׀, ׀, ׀, are written out, while in the defective reading, (*lectio defectiva*), they are not expressed.]

^c ספר מסורת סגל לתורה. Liber Masoræ Sepes Legis; Flor. 1750, small fol.; Berlin, 1761. It is a valuable aid to the student of the Masora. See *Wolf*, l. c. vol. i. p. 746, ii. p. 536. *Kennicott*, Diss. Gen. ed. *Bruns*, § 57, 58. *Eichhorn*, § 156, 136, b.]

^d Biblia Rabb. Bomberg, I. cur. *Fel. Prædensis*; Venet. 1518. Biblia Rabb. Bomberg, II. cur. *R. Jac. Ben Chajim*; ibid. 1526, 4 vols. fol.

^e Biblia Rabb., &c., *Buxtorfius*; Basil, 1618, 1619, 4 vols. fol., often bound in 2. [Buxtorf has been severely censured by *Simon*, Hist. crit. du V. T. p. 513, Disquis. crit. ch. xiii. p. 103, and *Lettres Choisies*, p. 176. See a defence of Buxtorf in *Carpov*, p. 413, sqq. See other editions in *Rosenmüller*, l. c. vol. i. p. 260, sqq. See *Eichhorn*, § 156, b, and 383, sqq. *Tychsen*, Tent. p. 217.]

§ 91

THE LABORS OF THE MASORITES AND CONTENTS OF THE MASORA

The Masorites made critical, grammatical, orthographical, and other emendations of the received text, which was then established by use.* These are contained in the (so called) *Keri* and *Kethib*. They made these emendations partly on the authority of tradition, and partly on that of their own judgment.† They also ad-

* *Eichhorn*, § 129, erroneously, speaks of a masoretic *recension*. [If, by *recension*, Eichhorn means an alteration of the text by removing what appeared spurious, and inserting better readings, there are no reasons to support this opinion; for the fact that several letters and words, which obviously do not belong to the text, are suffered to remain in it, while the correction is made in the margin, the word left unpointed, or the form of the letter changed, shows how fearful they were of altering a word or letter of the text itself. But if he means a *revision* of the text, a collection and comparison of various readings, then the state of the text, the testimony of Jewish writers, and the common consent of the learned, furnish abundant evidence that the Masorites made the chief *recension*, and their successors added to their remarks, so that the notes of the former and latter cannot now be distinguished.]

The following remark of *Cappellus*, p. 393, is pertinent. Juxta illud Judæorum effatum, quo censent lectionem roû Keri semper esse *veriores*, planum est, diversitatem lectionis non esse ortam ab hæsitazione Massoretharum inter codicum dissentientium discrepantiam, utra potior esset lectio, ambigendum, sed esse potius certum eorumdem de varia lectione judicium, utra sibi videatur potius sequenda, quod satis indicant, cum lectioni, quam in margine notant, adscribunt hanc litteram ׀, h. e. קרי legito, illud enim prodit eorum non hæsitationem et dubitationem, sed certum judicium.

† It is still a controverted point among the critics whether these corrections were derived from *tradition and the MSS.* exclusively, or exclusively from the *judgment* of the Masorites. On the one side are the following, viz.: *David Kimchi*, *Ephodæus*, and other rabbins; *Jo. Morinus*, p. 630; *Rich. Simon*, l. c. p. 141, sqq.; *Buxtorf*, the younger, *Anticrit.* ii. 4; *Carpov*, p. 340. *Kennicott*, *Diss. Gen.* § 40. On the other side are *Löscher*, l. c. p. 441; *Pfaff*, *Primit.* (Tübingen,) p. 74; *J. A. Danz*, *Literatur Heb.* p. 57. Some

mitted the critical remarks of the Talmud, and extended them in some places, as in the *Keri velo Kethib*.^a

Besides, they ventured to make conjectures on difficult words, though resting on a grammatical foundation.^b

critics more pertinently refer these corrections to both sources, viz., *Walton*, Prol. viii. 25, *Cappellus*, Crit. sac. vol. i. p. 344, sqq. [*Walton* derives all these emendations, except the euphemisms, and the alteration of נָדָר to נֶעְדָּר, and the reading יְרֵשָׁלַיִם, (see *Gesenius*, sub voce,) from a comparison of the MSS. *Matt. Hiller*, in *Arcano Keri et Kethib*, (Tüb. 1692, 8vo,) lib. i. p. 24, advances the monstrous opinion, that Ezra, the scribe, made several copies of the Bible, with his own hands, but did not always insert the same words in the text, so that there was that difference in his copies which now exists between Ps. xviii. and 2 Sam. xxii. His successors, seeing this diversity, compared all his MSS., and wrote the variants in the margin. The marginal and the textual readings, therefore, are equally authentic, and alike inspired. This opinion requires no confutation; but an elaborate one may be found in *Carpzov*, p. 336, and *Wolf*, vol. ii. p. 517, sqq.; while, on the other hand, *Wagenseil*, in a letter to Leibnitz, thinks Hillel himself was inspired with this opinion by a divine *afflatus*; and even *Stark* calls him an "Œdipus."]

* *Critical Keri*:—1. Different divisions of words: e. g. Ps. lv. 16, Keth. יְשִׁימֹת, Ker. יְשִׁי מֹת; Ps. cxliii. 4, Keth. לְגִיאֵי יוֹנִיִּים, Ker. לְגִיאֵי יוֹנִיִּים; 2 Ch. xxxiv. 6, בָּדַר בְּחִירָם, Ker. בָּדַר בְּחִירָם. 2. Transposition of the consonants: 1 Kings vii. 45, Keth. הָאֵחָל, Ker. הָאֵחָל; Prov. xxiii. 26, Keth. תִּרְצֶנָּה, Ker. תִּרְצֶנָּה. 3. Alterations of the consonants: Ez. xxv. 7, Keth. לָבַב, Ker. לָבַב; 1 Kings xii. 33, Keth. מִלְכָּד, Ker. מִלְכָּד. 4. Misplacing or omitting consonants: Am. viii. 8, Keth. נִשְׁקָעָה, Ker. נִשְׁקָעָה; Jos. viii. 12, Keth. לַעִיר, Ker. לַעִיר. *Grammatical*:—In Pentateuch, oft, Keth. הוּא, Ker. הוּא; Keth. נֶעַר, Ker. נֶעַר; Jer. xlii. 6, Keth. אָנֹכִי, Ker. אָנֹכִי; 2 Sam. xvii. 12, Keth. בָּאֵחָל, Ker. בָּאֵחָל. *Orthographical*:—Ez. xxvii. 15, Keth. הַדְּבָרִים, Ker. הַדְּבָרִים; 2 Ch. viii. 16, Keth. אֲנִיחֹת, Ker. אֲנִיחֹת. *Glosses*:—Prov. xx. 20, Keth. בְּאִשְׁוֹן הַשֶּׁף, Ker. בְּאִשְׁוֹן הַשֶּׁף. *Euphemisms*. See § 89. *Comp. Cappell.* i. 188, sqq., p. 174. *Walton*, viii. 21. *Eichhorn*, § 149. *Jablonsky*, Præf. ad Bib. Heb. § 13.

^b ח' כְּבִירִין מַצְרִימָה: לָךְ שֶׁב מַצְרִימָה, on Ex. iv. 19, כְּבִירִין, *Comp. Buxtorf*, Tiberias, p. 146.

They also noticed the exegetical, grammatical, and orthographical difficulties and peculiarities.*

[No manuscript nor edition affords a complete list of the *Keris* and *Kethibs* now extant. They differ from one another both in the number and the position of the reading. Many *Keris* were first marked by critics who lived after the sixth century, and were introduced into only such manuscripts as contain their revision. Therefore one manuscript often has in the text what another places in the margin; and this is the greatest difference between eastern and western readings. The same may be said of such editions as do not copy one another. It often happens that the vowels do not agree with the consonants of the text, where there is no *Keri* in the margin; and this shows that the vowels in question were taken from a manuscript containing one *Keri* more than the others.^b In this manner the different

* *Exegetical*: — “Verbum נִשְׁבַּע cum בְּאֵלֶיךָ conjunctum, pro *jurare per Deum*, quater reperitur, quorum loca traduntur 1 Sam. xxx. 15. Gen. xxix. 9, ad רָעָה: Tria sunt in triplici significatione, nempe hic significat *pascere*, secundo Jes. xxiv. 19, *confringendo*, tertio Prov. xxv. 19, *malus* (dens.) Ps. xxii. 17, ad קָאָרֶר: Duo sunt cum Kamez in duplici significatione.” Buxtorf, l. c. p. 143, sq. *Grammatical*: — “Gen. i. 22, ad בְּיָמֵיךָ notant, tria esse dagessata, i. e. cum Patach sub ה sequente Dagesh. Gen. xvi. 13, ad רָאָה: לִיתָ חֶמֶף קָמֶץ. *Non exstat amplius cum Chatephkamez*. Gen. i. 5, ad לָאִיר קָמֶץ: *septem sunt cum Kamez*.” Buxtorf, l. c. p. 144, 147. *Orthographical* commonly relate to the full and defective reading. *El. Levita*, Mas. Hammas. vol. i. p. 101. [In Genesis i. 12, on וַתִּרְצָא it remarks, “The word occurs twice with the ך in the middle and once without it.” *Elias Levita*, l. c., gives this rule: When the full reading occurs oftener than the defective, the defective readings are counted; but when the defective exceed the number of the full, then the letters are enumerated. Buxtorf, l. c. p. 140, sq.]

^b [Montanus, and some others, erroneously assert that all the copies contain the same number of *Keris* and *Kethibs*. See Walton, Prol. viii. 21.]

number of *Keris* and *Kethibs* in different manuscripts is accounted for. This diversity is considerable in the manuscripts, and still greater in the printed editions.]^a

The enumeration of the verses, words, and consonants, and the remarks on their peculiarities, are less useful labors of the Masorites.^b

[The Masorites enumerated the passages in which letters are found inverted or suspended, unusually large or small, and in which a final is put for a medial, or a medial for a final letter. From all these peculiarities, they affirmed that important inferences were to be drawn, and advised the reader to draw them, or oftener performed this service themselves. They counted the verses in all the books of the Bible; but they do not agree with the Talmud or the present editions in this enumeration. It may gratify the curious to know that the Talmud makes 5888 verses in the Pentateuch; eight more in the Psalms, and eight less in the Chronicles; that there are twenty-six verses in the Hebrew Bible, each of which contains all the consonants in the alphabet; three verses which contain eighty letters apiece, and one (Jer. xxi. 7) which contains forty-two words, consisting of one hundred and sixty consonants; that the first letter occurs 42,377 times in the Bible, and the sum total of all the letters is 815,280. They must also be told that Shickard, and Elias the Levite, and

^a [Eichhorn, § 149. *Likienthal*, De Codd. Regiomont. p. 42. *Jablonsky*, l. c. § 13. The *Keris* in the whole Bible, in the second Venice edition, are 1171; 793 in *Plantin's* second edition; 983 in *Bib. Reg.*; and 848 in *Elias Levita*. *Walton*, Prol. viii. 21. See *Cappellus*, l. c. vol. i. p. 173, seq. p. 422—476.]

^b *Buxtorf*, l. c. ch. xii. xviii. The פְּסָקָא, (*pausa, cessatio*), or פְּרִינְקָא, (*παῖγμα, negotium*), and פְּלִינְקָא, (*divisio, hiatus*), is not a critical mark. *Buxtorf*, *Clav. Mas.* p. 280. *Vogel ad Cappellus*, vol. i. p. 458, sq.

Brian Walton, and many other great clerks, doubt the truth of these latter statements, and think there are at least 1,200,000 letters in the Bible.*

But, after all this, it may be asked, What have the Masorites done to preserve the purity of the text? Much of their labor was, doubtless, unprofitable; their enumeration of the words, letters, and points, their childish conjectures and puerile remarks, were never of any value. But many Jews and Christians, says Eichhorn, have censured them too bitterly. We must thank them for restoring readings from very ancient manuscripts, perhaps older than the time of Christ, at least far older than the best of Kennicott's authorities. The Masora is the only source whence we can derive information to aid us in correcting our modern manuscripts. It has done much to preserve the purity of the text, but it could not do all; "for the sacred fount had been troubled by wild waters before the Masorites threw up their dam." Before their time, errors had stolen upon the text, which they could not file away, with all their painstaking. Long before them, mystical heads had

* [*Walton*, Prol. viii. 8. *Eichhorn*, § 143, sqq. For a list of the passages containing unusual letters, &c., see *Walton*, Prol. viii. 4—11, or a more copious account of all these matters in *Buxtorf*, *Tiberias*, l. c. ch. xii.—xix. The *Tiberias* is a classic work on the subject, and its reader will wonder equally at the painful diligence of the author, and the folly of the writers he quotes or comments upon. The following table shows the number of times each letter occurs in the Hebrew Bible, and is taken from *Walton*, Prol. viii. 8.

א,	42,377	ב,	11,052	ג,	20,175
ד,	38,218	ה,	66,420	ו,	22,725
ז,	29,537	ח,	48,253	ט,	21,882
י,	32,530	כ,	41,517	ך,	22,972
ל,	47,554	מ,	77,778	ם,	22,147
נ,	76,922	ס,	41,696	ש,	32,148
ע,	22,867	פ,	13,580	ף,	59,343.]
ק,	23,437				

been making sport with the Hebrew Bible, and, to justify their folly, had removed and misplaced consonants, and mangled words, in the most capricious manner. Before their time, copies were found of such different value, that the Talmud hazarded a classification of the manuscripts. Is it not probable that the Masorites, in the sixth century, founded their chief recension of the text on the best manuscripts then extant? After their time, the "hedge" they had placed about the Bible was often overleaped. Where is the manuscript which is—I will not say accurately *written*, but—accurately *corrected* after the masoretic recension? Finally, it is much to be regretted that, in the Masora, the early and later recensions of the Jews are confounded together; in short, that we can no longer separate the old masoretic recension from the new. But the present condition of the text would have been far worse if the Masorites had not made their attempt.]^a

§ 92.

EASTERN AND WESTERN READINGS

At the end of the second edition of Bomberg's Rabbinical Bible, Rabbi Jacob Ben Chajim^b added a list—of which no one knows the author or date^c—of the

^a [Eichhorn, § 158.]

^b Walton, Prol. viii. 27, makes a mistake when he says these readings were published in the edition of *Felix Pratensis*. Others have copied the error; but it is corrected by *Bruns*, in *Kennicott*, Diss. Gen. § 41. The list may be found in *Drusius*, De recta Ling. Heb. Pronunciatione, and in *Walton*, Bib. Polyg. vol. vi.

^c See *Buxtorf*, Anticrit. p. 510. *Morinus*, p. 409, thinks he has found this list in some old MSS. of the Bible. *Elias Levita*, Vor. zu Mas. Hammes, p. 35, places it in the eighth century; but, according to his calculation, the

various readings of the Babylonian and Palestine Jews, to the number of 216—220. All these — except two, which refer to מ" — relate merely to the consonants; therefore the comparison of manuscripts from which these readings arose must have been made in a time before the vowel points were added to the text.^b For the most part, these variants relate to trifles, and frequently to the *Keri* and *Kethib*.^c They are not always confirmed by the western manuscripts.^d If this list is authentic and correct, it shows that the Babylonian Masorites kept pace with those of Palestine.

Talmud must have closed with the end of the seventh century. Notwithstanding this, his opinion has been generally followed. [See *Eichhorn*, § 131. *Jahn*, p. 394.] But, according to the combinations of *Gesenius*, *Gesch. Heb. Sprache*, p. 202, it must be dated earlier. [The two rival schools of Palestine and Babylon continued to flourish from the sixth to the eleventh century, and by repeated transcriptions at each, two families of MSS. were founded; but the difference between the two related "rather to orthography than to orthodoxy," as *Buxtorf* has said, l. c. p. 510.]

^a [Jer. vi. 6. Amos iii. 6. It is conjectured by some that these two references were added at a later date; for they presuppose the existence of a pointed text, which was not known when the catalogue was made.]

^b *Cappellus*, vol. i. p. 426, sqq. *Buxtorf*, *Anticrit.* p. 511, sqq. [This catalogue contains no variants from the Pentateuch. *Jahn* attempts to explain this remarkable fact by supposing that the Pentateuch was transcribed and corrected with greater care than the other books, p. 394. Whoever the author of this catalogue was, or whenever he lived, it is certain either that he made it very carelessly, or used MSS. very different from our present editions of the Bible; for he departs widely from them in giving the western readings. *Cappellus*, p. 423.]

^c *Cappellus*, l. c. p. 423, sqq. [The following are three of the most remarkable of these readings:—

1 Sam. xv. 6. Western, . . . עמי; Eastern, . . . עמי.

—— xvii. 25. ——— כר במאח; ——— כר אמ במאח.

2 Sam. xv. 3. ——— דבריד; ——— דבריד, in singular.

The eastern often has אדני where the western has יהוה. *Eichhorn*, § 131, *Jahn*, l. c., and *Cappellus*, l. c.]

^d See *Zeibich*, *De Dissens. Orient. et Occident.* in *Ælrich*, *Coll. Opusc.* vol. ii.

§ 93.

COMPLETION OF THE PUNCTUATION OF THE TEXT. READINGS OF BEN ASHER AND BEN NAPHTALI.

There is, also, in the Bibles of Buxtorf and Bomberg, and in the London Polyglot, a catalogue of various readings, by Rabbi Aaron Ben Asher, and Rabbi Jacob Ben Naphtali, from the eleventh century.* The former follows the western, the latter the eastern Jews.†

These variants relate solely to the vowels and accents,‡ from which it has been thought that, at their time, the punctuation of the text was completed, and the unpointed text was out of use.§

[These variants amount to eight hundred and sixty-four in the Bibles of Buxtorf and Bomberg; but Walton has somewhat enlarged their number from an old manuscript. It may be said that Ben Asher and Ben Naphtali put the last hand to the system of punctuation; and perhaps its introduction, supported by the authority of such distinguished teachers, led to the neglect of the unpointed manuscripts, and is the cause why no Hebrew manuscripts have come down to us from a date earlier than the eleventh century, while we have Greek and

* The former was a Palestine, the latter a Babylonian Jew. Both, perhaps, were presidents of academies, according to *Gedaliah*. They lived about 1034. *Buxtorf*, *De Punct. Antiq.* i. 15. *Walton*, *Prol.* iv. § 9. *Maimonides*, in *Hilc. Sept. Thome*, viii. 4, mentions a manuscript of the Bible, which was corrected by Ben Asher.

† *Elias Levita*, l. c. p. 37. But compare *Mercer*, in *Gen.* xli. 50.

‡ *Elias*, l. c. *Walton*, *Prol.* viii. 29. There is an exception to this in *Cant.* viii. 6: שְׁלֵחַת הַיָּד is divided into two words, שְׁלֵחַת יָד, by Ben Asher; but the sense is the same in both cases.

§ *Walton*, *Prol.* iv. 8. *Eichhorn*, § 133. *Mishneh*, *Or. Bib.* vol. xviii. p. 102, sq.

Syriac manuscripts from a much greater antiquity. Our printed editions, for the most part, follow the oriental pointing and accentuation.]^a

§ 94.

HISTORY OF THE TEXT UNTIL THE INVENTION OF PRINTING.

After the time when the text appears to have become established, the manuscripts, it is probable, became more and more uniform with the Masora. But they were not all uniform, as it appears from the numerous unmasoretic readings found in the manuscripts.^b However, after this time, no important alterations could be made in the text.^c

[In the eleventh century, the Jews were driven from their seats in the East, and, for the most part, took refuge in Europe. They seem to have introduced the pointed manuscripts, and a greater regard for grammatical study of the Hebrew. To this latter cause, perhaps, we are to ascribe the superiority of the manuscripts of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries over those of an earlier date. The rabbins of this period, Maimonides, Aben Ezra, Kimchi, and Jarchi, often cite a text different from that now in use.]^d

Reverence for the Scriptures, so carefully fostered by the Masora, would scarcely allow any alterations made to suit the Targums or the science of grammar, then

^a [*Cappellus*, l. c. p. 439, sqq. *Jahn*, l. c. p. 344.]

^b *De Rossi*, Diss. prelim., prefixed to book iv. of his Varr. Lect. p. xix.

^c *Kennicott*, Diss. Gen. § 50, has collected proofs of the prevalent diversities of the text at this period, viz., from about 1000 to 1450 A. C.

^d [*Cappellanus*, *Mare Rabbinicum infidum*; 1667, p. 56, 72, 187, et al. *Michaelis*, *Or. Bib.* vol. xviii. p. 102. *Kennicott*, l. c. § 51, sqq.]

so zealously pursued,^a to intrude upon the text when its form was once established.^b [Slight alterations, however, it appears, were actually made from the Targums, and for the sake of rendering the grammatical structure more perfect. Sometimes the text of the manuscript did not agree with the Targums, and its possessor would make the text conform to the paraphrase. Thus arose the slight differences in punctuation, and the division of vowels, and even in consonants and words, which are still found in the manuscripts. As the Targums were often written on the margin of the text, so an occasion was offered for interpolating the one from the other. But the present state of the text, perhaps, justifies a suspicion, rather than a positive assertion, that attempts have been made, in some instances, to produce this conformity. There are passages in which the manuscripts do not agree—where the old versions support one reading, and the Targums another. In such cases, the reading which agrees with the Targum is properly suspected. Perhaps the alterations to suit the rules of grammar are still more rare.]^c

When the rabbins of the middle ages adhered to old and celebrated manuscripts, they seem to have been such as had the truest copies of the masoretic text for their

^a *Jahn*, l. c. p. 400, sq., thinks the text has not been altered from the Targums, but rather the Targums from the text. In this he departs from the opinion expressed in the former edition of his work, and also from *Eichhorn*, § 134. *Kennicott*, Diss. ii. super Ratione Text. Heb. p. 173, sqq., thinks the Targums have been altered to conform to the text.

^b *Meir Hallevi*, about 1250, complains of the corruption of the MSS.; but his complaint relates chiefly to the *scriptio plena et defectiva*. See his preface to the Masora, inserted by *Bruno*, in *Kennicott*, Diss. Gen. p. 113, sqq. *Buxtorf*, Tiberias, p. 44.

^c [*Eichhorn*, § 134, sq., 218, sqq.]

basis.^a [Among these celebrated manuscripts, often quoted, are : —

1. Hillel's manuscript. It is from the hand of a deceiver, and has no critical value, yet attained a great celebrity from the name of its reputed author. Its writer is unknown. Some ascribe it to the Hillel who lived a century before Christ; others to Hillel the Prince, who lived in Palestine 340 A. C.^a Kimchi, in the thirteenth, and Rabbi Zadok, in the fifteenth century, speak of it as still extant.

2. The rabbins often cite a Babylonian manuscript, which is, perhaps, the recension made by Ben Naphtali.^b

3. Ben Asher's recension is, perhaps, the work referred to as the manuscript of Israel, and the Jerusalem and Egyptian manuscript.^c

4. The codex Sinai contains only the Pentateuch, and is remarkably accurate in its accentuation.

5. The Pentateuch of Jericho is esteemed the most accurate in respect to the full and defective readings.

6. The codex Sanbuki, which Richard Simon found cited on the margin of a manuscript, and which is sometimes referred to by Menachem de Lonzano and Solomon Norzi.^d

^a *Hollinger*, *Theol. Phil.* p. 105, sqq. *Carpov*, *Crit. sac.* p. 368, sqq. *Kennicott*, *Diss. Gen.* § 54—56.

^b [See above, § 93.]

^c [*Maimonides*, *Hil. Seph. Thora.* ch. viii. p. 4, says, "The book on which we rely, in these matters, is very celebrated in Egypt. It was kept many years at Jerusalem, that other copies might be corrected from it. All of us rely upon this, because Ben Asher corrected it, often revised it, and spent many years in laboring diligently upon it." *Wallon*, *Prol.* iv. 9. *Eichhorn* thinks the MS. of Israel is not the same as the Egyptian MS. *Bruns* apud *Kennicott*, *Diss. Gen.* § 54.]

^d [Rabbi *Menachem de Lonzano*, *Or Thorah*, (Berol. 1745, 4to.) fol. 13,

7. The book Taggin, which Jacob Ben Chajim places beside "the most accurate manuscripts."^a But all of these, with the manuscripts containing eastern and western readings of Ben Asher and Ben Naphtali, are lost.]^b

§ 95.

THE PRINTED TEXT. PRINCIPAL EDITIONS OR RECENSIONS.

[In general, the early editions of the Hebrew Bible are printed on parchment, in large, black letters, with a wide margin. The initial letters and words are not printed, but executed with a pen, or wooden stamp, and ornamented. They are without a title-page at the beginning, but have the name of the work at the end. They are without points, and are not remarkable for accuracy.]^c

Separate parts of the Old Testament first appeared in print. The Psalter, with Kimchi's commentary, was first printed in 1477, probably at Bologna. [It contains one hundred and forty-nine leaves, small folio; it has not the less and greater, the extended and final letters. It is without the points, except in Ps. i.—iv. 2, and v. 12, 13, vi. 1, which are rudely pointed. It is printed with numerous abbreviations and omissions. It has no accents except *Soph pasuk*. It is printed very carelessly, for sometimes whole verses are left out.

col. 3, and fol. 15, col. 4, cited in *Eichhorn*, § 374. *Tychsen*, Tent. p. 219, 249.]

^a [See specimens of the readings of these MSS. in *Eichhorn*, Repert. vol. xii. p. 242, sqq.]

^b [*Eichhorn*, § 136, 374. *Kennicott*, Diss. Gen. § 54—58, sqq.]

^c [*De Rossi*, Annales Heb. Typog. See *Tychsen's Essay* on the Pentateuch, printed at Bologna, 1482, in *Eichhorn's Repert.* vol. vi. p. 77, sqq.]

יהה is often omitted, and an empty space left, with an inverted ׀ in it.^a

The Psalter was again printed in duodecimo, without place or date, but, as it is supposed, between 1477 and 1480; again, about the same time, in the same form, but with an index and certain peculiar benedictions.^b The whole Pentateuch was printed, with the points, the Chaldee paraphrase, and Jarchi's commentary, at Bologna, in 1482, folio. Ruth, Ecclesiastes, Solomon's Song, and the Lamentations, were published, with Jarchi's commentary, and Esther, with that of Aben Ezra, as it is conjectured, at the same place and time.^c Then the Early and Later Prophets, with Kimchi's commentary, appeared in two folios, at Soncino, in 1486.]^d

The various modern editions of the Hebrew Bible may be traced to the following sources, namely: —

I. The entire Hebrew Bible was first printed at Soncino, in 1488, in small folio. This edition, it appears,

^a [See *Tychsen's* description of this edition in *Eichhorn*, l. c. vol. v. p. 134, sqq.] On this and other ancient editions of the O. T., see *J. B. de Rossi*, *De Hebr. Typographiæ Origine ac Primitiis, sive antiquis et rarissimis Heb. Bib. Edit. Sec. xv.*; Parm. 1776, 4to., rec. cum Præf. *Hufnagel*; Erl. 1778, 8vo. His *De Typographia Hebr. Ferrariensi Comment. Hist.*; Parm. 1780, 8vo., auct. cum Præf. *Hufnagel*; Erl. 1781, 8vo. His *Annales Typographiæ Ebr. Sabionetens. Appendice aucti, ex Italicis Latin. fecit J. Fr. Roos*; Erl. 1783, 8vo. No. 14, 17, 21, 22, 23, 29. His *De ignotis nonnullis antiquiss. Hebr. Textus Edit. et critico earum Usu. Accedit de Edit. Heb. Bib. Appendix hist. crit. ad Biblioth. sac. Le-Longio-Maschianam*; Erl. 1782, 4to. His *Annales Heb. Typogr. Sec. xv.*; Parm. 1795, 4to. His *Annales Typogr. ab An. 1501 ad 1540, ib. 1799, 4to.* *O. G. Tychsen*, l. c. *Kennicott*, *Diss. Gen.* No. 255, sqq., p. 436, sqq., ed. *Bruns*.

^b [*De Rossi*, *Annal.* p. 178.]

^c [*De Rossi*, l. c. p. 130, sqq.]

^d [*Tychsen*, in *Eichhorn's* *Repert.* vol. vii. p. 165, sqq., and viii. 51, sqq. *De Rossi*, l. c. p. 40, sqq. For a full account of these editions, see *Eichhorn*, *Einleit.* § 392, and *Rosenmüller*, *Handbuch*, vol. i. p. 190, sqq.]

was followed, throughout, by that printed at Brescia, in 1494.^a [Bruns makes it appear that this edition was made neither from very ancient, nor very good, manuscripts. It is so rare that only nine copies are known in Europe. There were twenty-seven editions of the whole or a part of the Hebrew text before the sixteenth century.]^b

II. The Hebrew Bible of the Complutensian Polyglot (1514—1517) represents an indifferent text, which has been made the basis of subsequent editions.^c [This edition was the work of Cardinal Ximenes, who assembled the most learned men of Spain to assist him. He expended large sums in the purchase of Hebrew manuscripts, and borrowed those of the Vatican and other libraries.^d Fourteen years were spent in preparatory

^a From this edition the following descendants have proceeded: The first Bib. Rab. of Bomberg, 1517, 1518, ed. *Felix Pratensis*; *Bomberg's* manual editions, from 1518 to 1521, in 4to.; *Robert Stephens's* editions, in 4to., from 1539 to 1544; and *Sebastian Münster's* Bib. Heb.; Basil, 1536, 2 vols. 4to. *Luther*, in his translation of the O. T., used the edition of Brescia, 1494. [His copy, it is said, is still preserved at Berlin.] See *J. G. Palm*, De Codd. V. et N. T. quibus Lutherus usus est; Hamb. 1753, 8vo. *B. W. D. Schultz*, Vollst. Kritik üb. die Ausgabe der Bib. Heb.; Berlin, 1766, 8vo. p. 13, sqq., 244, sqq. On the affinity of the editions of Soncino and Brescia, see *Bruns*, in *Ammon*, *Hanlein*, and *Paulus*, Theol. Journal, vol. vi. p. 757, sq. *Annales Helmst.*; 1782, vol. i. p. 110, vol. ii. p. 237. [*Gerson*, "son of the wise Rabbi Moses," the editor of the Brescia edition, had no mean opinion of his own labors; for he says, "This incomparable work was finished (the world will therefore be filled with the glory of the Eternal) in the year 1494, at Brescia, in Venice, whose fame will be exalted thereby."]

^b [See *Eichhorn's* remarks upon each of them, § 392.]

^c Namely, of Bib. Polyg. *Bertrami*, ex Officina *Sanctandri*, (1586, fol.) and ex Officina *Commelini*, (1599 and 1616.) [*Rosenmüller*, l. c. vol. iii. p. 279, sqq. *Wolf*, Bib. Heb. vol. ii. p. 539. *Kennicott*, l. c. p. 347, sqq. *Eichhorn*, § 393, a.]

^d See *Alvarez Gomez*, De Gestis *Fr. Ximenes*, (Complut. 1569, fol. lib. ii. p. 47,) who says he collected seven Hebrew MSS., which are now at Complutensium, from different countries, at an expense of 40,000 ducats. Com-

labors before the first volume—numbered as the fifth, and containing the New Testament—appeared. The Hebrew text differs, it is said, from all previous editions; but we are nowhere told it was derived exclusively from manuscripts. It agrees very closely with the first Bomberg edition, of 1518, which follows that of Brescia, of 1494, whence it has been unfairly conjectured that the Complutensian text was also derived from that source. But the two differ in many places. The fate of the manuscripts collated is not known. The first four volumes contain the Hebrew, Latin, and Greek text of the Old Testament, and the Chaldee paraphrase, with a Latin version of it at the bottom of the page. The margin contains the Hebrew and Chaldee radicals. The fifth volume contains the Greek New Testament, with the Vulgate. The sixth contains the indices, lexicons, and other aids.]

III. Bomberg's second edition of the Rabbinical Bible; Venice, 1525, 1526, folio. [This contains some readings which are not found in the manuscripts, the Masora, or the older editions. They are mistakes, but have yet been copied into the Paris and London Polyglots.* Bruns says Bomberg did not desire so much to obtain good manuscripts of the Bible, as accurately written Masora. He formed his text rather after the Masora than after the manuscripts.] Bomberg's second edition has been the basis of most of the subsequent editions.†

pare *Annales Helmst.* vol. i. p. 110. *Rosenmüller*, l. c. vol. iii. p. 279, sqq. [This is the title of the Complutensian Polyglot: *Biblia Sacra V. T. multiplici Lingua nunc primo impressum. Et imprimis Pentateuchus Hebraico atque Chaldaico Idiomate, adjuncta unicuique sua Latina Interpretatione.*]

* [Bruns, in *Kennicott*, *Diss. Gen.* p. 449.]

† The following editions are derived from it: *Bomberg's* 3d edition of the

IV. The Antwerp Polyglot (1569—1572) represents a mixed text, composed from the two last.* [The first four volumes contain the Old Testament; the fifth, the New Testament; and the others, a pretty extensive biblical apparatus, partly critical, and partly of a philological and antiquarian character. The Hebrew text was taken from the Complutensian Polyglot; but Arias Montanus had corrected it, after one of Bomberg's editions, though it is not known from which.† Only five hundred copies were printed, and of them many were lost at sea. It was published at the expense of Philip II. of Spain, and is therefore often called the "royal Polyglot."

Besides the above-named text, it contains the paraphrase of Onkelos on the Pentateuch, reprinted from the Complutensian edition; that on the other books, from the Venetian edition, and from manuscripts. The text of the Septuagint is from the Aldine and Complutensian text. The sixth and subsequent volumes contain a valuable critical and philological appa-

Bib. Rabb.; Venice, 1547—1549, fol. Bib. Rabb. per *Jo. de Gara*; Venice, 1568, fol. Bib. Rabb. *Brugadini*; Venice, 1617, 1618, fol. *Bomberg's* manual editions of 1528, 1533, 1544, 4to. *Stephens's* editions of 1644—1646, 16mo. It appears, with some alterations, in *Justiniani's* editions; Venice, 1541, 4to.; 1552, 18mo.; 1563 and 1573, 4to. Bib. Heb.; Genev. 1618, 4to., 8vo., and 18mo. Bib. Heb. per *Jo. de Gara*; Venice, 1566, 4to.; 1568, 8vo.; 1682, 4to. Bib. Heb. Typ. *Brugadini*; Venice, 1614, 1615, 4to. and 12mo.; 1619, 4to.; 1628, 4to.; 1707. Bib. Heb. *Ch. Plantinus*; Ant. 1566, 4to., 8vo., and 16mo. Bib. Heb. *Hartmanni*; Franq. 1595, 4to., 8vo., and 16mo.; 1598, 4to. Bib. Heb. Typ. *Zach. Cratonis*; Viteb. 1586, (1587,) 4to.

* [Bib. sac. Heb. Chald. Græce et Latine, Philippi II. Reg. Cath. Pietate et Studio ad sacrosanctæ Eccl. Usum. *Ch. Plantinus* excudebat; Ant. 1569—1572, 8 vols. fol. See *Marsh's Michaelis*, vol. iv. pt. i. p. 440, sq. Monthly Repository for 1821, vol. xii. p. 203, and for 1827, new series, p. 572. *Pettigrew*, Bib. Sussex. vol. i. pt. ii., cited in *Horne*.]

† [*Le Long, Masch.* vol. i. p. 347.]

tus.]* It is the basis of numerous editions,^b and is repeated, also, in the Paris and London Polyglots.^c

V. Hutter's editions (1587—1603) also contain a mixed text.^d [He says, in his preface, that he used the Venetian, Antwerp, and Paris copies, as the best of all.] This text has been followed in several other editions.^e

VI. Buxtorf's manual edition of 1611.^f

* [Rosenmüller, l. c. p. 296, sqq.]

^b *Plantin's Editions*. — Ant. 1571, fol., 1584, fol. Lug. Bat. 1673, 8vo. Bib. Heb. Lat.; Burg. Aurac. in Hisp. 1581, fol. Bib. Heb. Lat.; Genev. 1618, fol. Bib. Heb. Lat. sumptibus *Fr. Knoch*; Franeq. on the Mayne, 1618, fol. Bib. Heb. Lat.; Vien. 1743, 8vo. Bib. sac. quadriling. accur. *Christ. Reineccius*, (Lips. 1750, fol.) and his manuals, (Lips. 1725, 8vo.; 1739, 8vo. and 4to.; 1756, 1798, 8vo.)

^c [The following is the title of the Paris Polyglot: Bib. Heb., Samarit., Chald., Græc., Syriaca, Lat., Arab.; Lutetiae, Par. excudebat *Antonius Vitre*, 1645, 10 vols. fol. The Samaritan Pentateuch was printed in this work, for the first time.

The London Polyglot has for its title, Bib. sac. Polyg., *Brianus Waltonus*; Lond. 1657, 6 vols. fol. It contains the Hebrew text of the Antwerp Polyglot; the Vatican text of the LXX., with the variants of the Alexandrian codex; the Vulgate, after the Roman edition of 1587, 1588, 1592; the Targums; the Persian version of the Pentateuch; the Æthiopic of the Psalms and Canticles; the Syriac and Arabic versions; the Samaritan Pentateuch and version, with the necessary Latin translations of the Oriental versions, and other apparatus. The apocryphal books are printed in Greek, Latin, Syriac, and Arabic. There is a twofold Hebrew text of Tobit. See *Horne*, l. c. Bib. Append. pt. i. ch. i. See *Todd's Life of Walton*; Lond. 1821, 2 vols. 8vo.]

^d Bib. Heb. Cura et Studio *Eliae Hutteri*; Hamb. 1587, fol., reprinted 1588, 1596, 1603. See his Præf. fol. i. p. 2.

^e Bib. Heb. *Nisselii*, (Lug. Bat. 1662, 8vo.,) and *Hutter's Polyglot*, which was never finished, (Nürn. 1591, fol.)

^f עשרים וארבעה חלקי חמש חומשי חזקיה נביאים ראשונים ונביאים אחרונים וחזקיה נביאים ראשונים ונביאים אחרונים, [i. e. the four-and-twenty books which are the five fifths of the Law, the early and later Prophets, and the Hagiographa, revised with the greatest care.

In this edition Buxtorf followed the Masora.] It is the basis of Bib. Heb. cum Typis *Manasseh Ben Israel*, sumpt. *Janassonii*; Amst. 1639, 8vo.; [his editions of 1630, 1631, and 1631—1635, 2 vols. 4to., have a different text of their own. *Eichhorn*, § 400;] of *Buxtorf's Bib. Rabb.* 1618, 1619, [which,

VII. Athias's edition of 1661 and 1667.* [Jablonski, who followed Athias, in 1699—1712, attempted to correct the points and accents as well as the text, and had recourse to the Masora and other works of the Jews. He is the first author who, after proclaiming the actual occurrence of many variants in the Hebrew codices,

however, is somewhat corrected from the Masora;] and of the Bib. Rabb. *Mosis* Francfurtensis; Amst. 1724, fol. 4 vols.

* Bib. Heb. correctæ et collatæ cum antiquissimis et accuratissimis Exemplaribus MSS. et hactenus impressis, Typis *Jos. Athie*; Amst. 1661, and 1667, 8vo., with *Leusden's* preface. From this have followed, 1. Bib. Heb. *Clodii*; *Franeq.* 1677, 8vo.; recognit. a *J. H. Majo*, et ultimo rev. a *J. Leusdeno*; ibid. 1692, 8vo. Biblia ad optimorum tum impressorum speciatim *Clodii*, *Jablonskii*, *Opitii*, quam Manuscriptorum aliquot Codd. fidem collata. Direxit opus *J. H. Majus*; collat. instituit *G. Chr. Bûrdin*; ibid. 1716, 4to. Bib. Heb. ex rec. *Dan Ern. Jablonskii*; Ber. 1699, 8vo. Præf. § 6, 7: Editionem, quam sequeremur, elegimus *Leusdeni* posteriorem, (1667.) Verum ipsam non ita presso pede sequenti sumus, ne passim ab eo non nihil discedendum esse putarem. Proprio itaque studio Bibliorum recensionem aggressuri, ex editionibus impressis eas, quæ reliquarum quasi cardinales videbantur, selegimus, Bombergianam Venet., Regiam, Basileens. Buxtorfii et Hutterian., quibuscum edit. Menassiss et al. passim contulimus. Præterea usi sumus MS. Biblioth. Elect. cod., item e Biblioth. Dessav. His plures al. codd. conjunximus. Ed. 2; Ber. 1772, 12mo.

2. From this have followed, Bib. Heb. *J. H. Michaelis*; Hal. Mag. 1720, 8vo. [Five MSS., and all the best editions, says the preface, were collated for this; but the work was done imperfectly. See *Michaelis*, Or. Bib. vol. i. *Kennicott*, Diss. pp. 86, 146.] *Athias's* edition of 1667 is accurately reprinted in Bib. Heb. *Ever. van der Hooght*; Amst. et Ultraj. 1705, 8vo.

3. From this have proceeded, Bib. Heb. *Sal. Ben Jos. Prope*; Amst. 1724, 8vo. Bib. Heb. Lat. cum Vers. *Seb. Schmidtii*; Lips. 1740, 4to. Bib. Heb. Lat. *C. F. Houbigant*; Par. 1753, 4 vols. fol. Bib. Heb. *Jo. Simonis*; Hal. 1752, 1767, 8vo. Bib. Heb. *Benj. Kennicott*; Oxon. 1776—1780, fol. Compare *Bruns*, De Mendis typographicis Edit. Van der Hooght, a *Kennicotto* non sublati, in *Eichhorn*, Repert. vol. xii. p. 225, sqq.

4. Athias is followed, also, in Bib. Heb. cum optimis impress. et MSS. Codd. collata Stud. et Op. *Hur. Opitii*, (Kil. 1709, 4to.;) and from this comes Bib. Heb., (Ziillich, 1741, 4to.)

On this and the following section, see *Le Long*, *Masch*, pt. i. *Wolf*, Bib. Heb. vol. ii. p. 364, sqq. *Kennicott*, Diss. Gen. p. 436, sqq. *Rosenmüller*, l. c. vol. i. p. 169, sqq., vol. iii. p. 279, sqq., and the Introductions to the O. T.

recommended an accurate examination of such manuscripts as were then known, and a search after others. Yet he published the Hebrew text with but slight deviations from the masoretic text, as it had been printed in Leusden's edition of 1667. He omitted the two suspicious verses in Joshua, which have since been so abundantly confirmed.]^a

§ 96.

CRITICAL APPARATUS.

The greater Masora and the various readings are contained in the Rabbinical Bibles of Buxtorf and Bomberg; the various readings may be found in the editions of Sebastian Münster, Van der Hooght, and J. H. Michaelis,^b in that published at Mantua, (1742—1744,) with Norzi's critical commentary,^c and in the

^a [See Kennicott, l. c. § 123. Eichhorn, § 401.]

^b See J. D. Michaelis's Remarks on the Halle Bible of J. H. Michaelis, and the remarkable readings of the Erfurt MSS., which it omits, in his Or. Bib. vol. i. p. 207, sqq. [Rosenmüller, l. c. p. 500, sums up the merits and deficiencies of Houbigant, by saying he agrees with Cappellus, and often with Morinus, but has not the acuteness of the one, nor the broad learning of the other. His representations of the deficiencies and faults of the present Hebrew text, are far more exaggerated than those of Cappellus. Like a medical quack who magnifies the disease of his patient as much as possible, to make his own merit proportionably great, Houbigant strives to make the corruption of the text appear very bad, so that the remedy he has proposed and recommended so strongly, may be taken the more greedily.]

^c O. G. Tytchen, Tentamen, p. 79, sq. De Rossi, Prolegg. ad Varr. Lect. § 37, sqq. The printed title of Norzi's work is מנחת שׂר, [(the Offering of a Present); but its true title is גורר סרץ, (the Restorer of the Ruins.) See more concerning this valuable edition, which is too little known, in Kennicott, Diss. Gen. § 62, and Rosenmüller, l. c.]

Bibles of Houbigant,^a Kennicott,^b Döderlein, Meisner, and Jahn.^c [The Polyglots, and also the Biglots, must be named under this head.]^d

Rabbi Meir Hallevi,^e Rabbi Menachem de Lonzano,^f

^a *Houbigant*, *Notæ Criticæ* in V. T. Libros, cum Heb. tum Græce scriptos, cum integris ejusdem Prolegg. ad Exemplar Paris, denuo recuse, vol. i, ii.; Franeg. 1777, 4to. See *J. D. Michaelis*, Pref. to his *Krit. Collegio über die drei wichtigsten Psalmen von Christo*. *J. Chr. Kallii* Prod. *Examinis Criseos Houbigantianæ*; Hafn. 1763, 4to. His *Exam. Cris. Houbigantianæ* in *Cod. Heb. Spec. i.*; *ibid.* 1764. *Seb. Rau*, *Exercit. ad Houbigantii Prol.*; Lug. Bat. 1785, 4to.

^b *Bruns*, *De var. Lect. Bib. Kennicot.* in *Eichhorn's* *Repert.* vol. xii. p. 242, sqq., xiii. p. 31, sqq. See his *Apology* for Kennicott, *id.* vol. vi. p. 173, sqq. For the history and criticism of the work, see *Rosenmüller*, *Handbuch*, vol. i. p. 241, sqq. [The laborious work of Kennicott proves that the Hebrew MSS. are all modern; only *three* so old as the eleventh century, and none older; that they all exhibit one recension, and have issued from one source, and consequently are of little use to rectify a corrupt passage. He is too much inclined to prefer readings of the present MSS., which agree with the old versions, to the received text, when they give an easier or more harmonious sense. Better critical principles and more practice in the criticism of other ancient writings, would, doubtless, have secured him from these errors. Eichhorn (in No. 100 of the *Jena Zeitung*, afterwards published in *Michaelis*, *Or. Bib.* vol. xii., *Append.*) showed many mistakes of Kennicott's assistants. *Rosenmüller*, l. c. p. 504. It is wonderful that a man so familiar with Hebrew MSS. should not have given the world a better classification, or some theory of the MSS.; at least, some hints at a Hebrew palæography. Bruns thinks his English assistants were incompetent to the task they undertook, and that Kennicott himself erred in rejecting the marginal readings, and in refusing to collate some ancient MSS. because they followed the Masora too closely.]

^c *Bib. Heb. Reineccii* ed. *J. Chr. Döderlein* et *J. H. Meisner*; Lips. 1793, 8vo. *Bib. Heb. dig. et grav. Lectt. Var. adj. J. Jahn*; Vien. 1807, 3 vols. 4to.

^d [There is a valuable Polyglot of the Pent. in Heb., Chald., Pers., and Arab.; Constantinople, 1546; another on the Ps. in Heb., Gr., Arab., and Chald., with the glosses and Lat. versions, by *Justiniani*; Gen. 1516; a third on the Ps. by *Potken*, in four languages; Col. 1518.]

^e The titles are, ספר מסורה סיוג לחורר, (i. e. *the Book, the Masora, the Hedge of the Law*;) Flor. 1750, fol.; Berl. 1761. See *Kennicott*, *Diss. Gen.* § 57, and *Bruns*, p. 112. See his *Excerpts*, in *Neue Theol. Journal*, vol. vi. p. 765, sqq. *De Rossi*, l. c. § 36.

^f אור חורר, (*Light of the Law*;) first published at Venice, 1518, in

and J. B. de Rossi, have published collations of various readings.*

§ 97.

RESULTS OF THE HISTORY OF THE TEXT.

All the diligence hitherto applied to the comparison of Hebrew manuscripts, has taught us that they all, throughout, represent the same recension of the text, namely, the masoretic, which lies at the bottom of them all. [Kennicott and De Rossi compared one thousand three hundred and forty-six Jewish and Samaritan manuscripts, and three hundred and fifty-two editions; that is, sixteen hundred and ninety-eight copies, including both manuscripts and editions, not to mention the extracts from others, found in the margin of these. To these De Rossi added extracts from old versions, from the Fathers, the Rabbins, and uncounted writers, Jewish and Christian. From the use of all these materials, and the toil of six-and-thirty years, conducted with a zeal which bordered on fanaticism, we have learned only this,—that the Masorites afford little aid in restoring the passages where the text is corrupt; that the Jewish transcribers copied with most patient assiduity, and superstitious correctness; that Chance or Superstition

שׁוֹחֵי יְדוּת; separately, but incorrectly; Amst. 1558. See *Simon*, Hist. crit. du V. T. p. 542. *Kennicott*, l. c. § 61. *De Rossi*, § 37.

* *Varie lectiones Vet. Test. ex immensa MSS. editorumque codd. congerie haustæ et ad Samarit. textum, ad vetustissimas versæ, ad accuratiores sacræ criticæ fontes ac leges examinatæ*; Parm. 1784—1788, 4 vols. 4to. *Scholia crit. in V. T. libros, sive supplementa ad varias sac. textus lectt.*; ib. 1798, 4to. See *Döderlein*, *Auserles. theol. Biblioth.* vol. iv. p. 1, sqq. [*De Rossi* collated three hundred editions; seven hundred and thirty-one MSS., besides the variants of Kennicott; the ancient versions and rabbinical writings. However, he did not collate them all throughout, but only in places where others had found a difficulty.]

has destroyed all the old manuscripts; that the first critical editions were not always successful in their selection of readings, and that some few passages, therefore, may still be corrected from the present manuscripts. We see that our present uniformity of punctuation is supported by very few manuscripts; that there are numerous diversities of punctuation which affect the sense. But, alas! we learn that all aid from manuscripts relates only to trifles; they give us but little help in the most important defects, and we must close the list of those places, lamenting that there is no certain help for them. "What Time has swallowed we cannot recover." Jahn, however, thinks that much may yet be done in this department.]^a

The same recension was in the hands of the old translators, from whose works we can clearly discern the text they had before them.^b Since their time, it has not been materially changed; and from the earnest carefulness of the Jews, we may conclude, with probability, that it was the same before their time.^c From the characteristic peculiarities of the different writers in the Bible, which are carefully preserved, and from those of the independent passages out of which some books are composed, it appears that, in general, this recension faithfully represents the text of the books which were collected together after the exile, and united into the canon.^d

^a [*Eichhorn*, Allg. Bib. vol. ii. p. 562, sqq.]

^b Above, § 88.

^c Above, § 88. *Eichhorn*, Præf. ad *Köcher*, Nov. Bibliotheca Heb.

^d *Eichhorn*, l. c., shows this very plainly in respect to the different names of God in Genesis and Job, and in respect to the different orthography of the various writers. Even the differences between parallel passages go to prove the accuracy of the text. See above, § 85.

§ 98.

VARIOUS CRITICAL SYSTEMS.

The critical school of the old Protestants were right, to a certain extent, when they maintained the integrity of the text as it existed in the masoretic manuscripts.^a But this school went too far when they extended the faultlessness of the text to the vowel points.^b

On the other hand, the moderns obviously exaggerate both the faults of the present text and the means of

^a *Löscher*, De Caus. Ling. Heb. p. 442: Non in ea versamur opinione, quam inspectio codicum palam refellit, ita custoditum esse quemvis Ebræorum codicem, ut temeritas critica vel hallucinatio scribarum nihil hinc inde mutare potuerit, sed ita arbitramur: etsi particulares codd., hic quidem in ista, ille in alia parte, alterationes leviusculas passi sint, nullam tamen mutationem in omnes codd. simul sumtos, h. e., in fontes abstracte, ut Philosophi loquuntur, consideratos irrupisse: idque divinæ providentiæ presidio cumprimis, deinceps aliqua Judaicæ gentis industria factum.

Carpzov, Crit. sac. p. 93: Si in communi lectione omnes codd. conspirant, ea quoque standum est, nec vel in vers. cujusdam, vel in commodioris interpretationis gratiam, multo minus ob diversam allegationem, sive biblicam, sive ecclesiasticam, tentanda mutatio.

Buxtorf, De Punctorum Antiquit. et Orig. vol. i. p. 282: Si omnes varietates codd. Hebraicorum, quas in suis codd. critici illorum annotarunt, qua veteres, qua recentes, in unum manipulum aut fasciculum colligantur, deprehenduntur esse levissimi, et plane quoad sensum nullius momenti, ita ut plerumque nihil aut certe parum intersit, hanc an illam sequaris lectionem. Idem, Anticrit. i. 4, p. 66, sqq.: Non est certum, si interpres aliter transferat, quam hodiernus cod. Hebr. refert, quod talem lectionem in suo exemplari Hebr. invenerit. Primum enim sensum sæpe reddiderunt, non ad verba attendentes: secundo deprehenditur, illos nimiam licentiam aliquando sibi sumsisse: tertio non eximendi sunt interpretes ab imperitia: quarto ad imperitiam accessit etiam sæpe negligentia et oscitantia: quinto etiam quedam sunt versæ, de quibus constat, illas non amplius esse tales, quales a primis illarum authoribus fuerunt conditæ. See *Buxtorf*, On the Cod. Sam. l. c. ii. 7, p. 524.

^b Here belong the following works: *Sal. Glass*, Tract. de Textus Hebr. in V. T. Puritate, in *Bauer*, Crit. sac. p. 22, sqq. *Abr. Calov*, Critici sac. Tract. ii. p. 396, sqq. *Hottinger*, Thes. Phil. p. 118, sqq. *J. Leusden*, Phi-

correcting these faults, such as the ancient versions, the Samaritan codex, and critical conjecture.*

Yet the contest between these different parties has served to give criticism of the Old Testament the necessary freedom and circumspection, with which, by using all the means at its command, it might seek to discover faults and correct them, though for more ancient errors, which lie deeper, it knows of no help.

DIVISION II.

THEORY OF THE CRITICISM OF THE HEBREW TEXT.

§ 99.

OBJECT OF THE CRITICISM OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.

It appears from the history of the outward form of the text of the Old Testament, that the consonants alone are the proper object of criticism in the Old Testament, without any reference to their division into

101. Ebr. Dissert. xxiii. *Ant. Hulsius*, Authentia absol. sac. Textus Hebr. vindicata, c. 8, sqq. *Arn. Bootii* Vindicis sive Apodixis Apolog. pro Hebr. Veritate cont. J. Morinum et L. Cappellum; Par. 1653, 4to. *Matt. Wasmuth*, Vindicis sac. Script.; Rost. 1664, 4to.

* *Is. Vossius*, De LXX. Int., and Append. ad Lib. de LXX. *Morinus*, Exercitatt. Bibl. de Hebr. Græcique textus sinceritate duo, quorum prior in Græcos sac. textus codd. inquit, vulg. ecclesiæ versionem antiquissimis codd. conformem esse docet, germanæ LXX. interpretum edit. dignoscendæ et illius cum vulgata conciliandæ methodum tradit ejusdemque divinam integritatem ex Judæorum traditionibus confirmat. Posterior explicat, quidquid Judæi in Hebr. textus critice hactenus elaborarunt, etc.; Par. 1669, fol.

words. The separation into words, the punctuation, and accentuation, belong to the department of exegesis and philology. Yet, at the same time, the traditionary division, punctuation, and accentuation, which the Jews observed in their treatment of the text, have great authority, and consequently the critical marks are to be consulted in this matter.

An exegetical and philological use may be made of the various readings.

§ 100.

GENERAL THEORY OF THE OFFICE OF CRITICISM.

The design of criticism is *to determine what was originally written by the author*, consequently to ascertain facts.

Now, facts may be ascertained *directly*, by inspection. But in the criticism of the Old Testament, this direct source of information fails us; for the original documents that came from the author's hand are the only proper object of inspection, and these are lost.

Then, again, facts may be ascertained *indirectly*, through the probable statements of history, which derives its materials from inspection; that is, through

Lud. Cappellus, Critica sac. de variis quæ in Vet. Test. Libris, occurrunt Læctt. lib. vi. ed. Stud. et Op. *J. Cappelli*, fil.; Par. 1650, fol., rec. multisque Animadv. auxit *G. J. L. Vogel*, tom. i.; Hal. 1775. Animadv. auxit *J. G. Scharfenberg*; tom. ii. 1778, tom. iii. 1786, 8vo. The following are much more moderate: *R. Simon*, Hist. crit. du V. T. vol. i. p. 16, sqq. *Walton*, Proleg. vii. viii. *Kennicott*, Diss. i. ii. super Ratione Textus Hebr. V. T. Lat. vert. *Guil. Abr. Teller*; Lips. 1756, 1763, 8vo. Diss. Gén. ed. *Bruns*; Brunsv. 1783, 8vo. *De Rossi*, Prolegg. ad varr. Læctt. *Houbigant* exaggerates the matter again in his Prolegg. in Scripturam sac., (Par. 1746, 4to.) and *Rau*, l. c., refutes his charges.

history which must rest on documentary evidence. This evidence, in the criticism of any particular text, consists in the documentary proofs of its various conditions at different times, — such as the recensions and various readings, — which the critic is to inquire into and decide upon.

Two things, then, belong to criticism, namely : —

1. *To have an acquaintance with the documentary means of ascertaining the original text ; and,*
2. *To pass judgment upon the testimony they offer.*

When there is no such testimony respecting the critical questions, or when the testimony is obviously insufficient, a third office is imposed upon the critic, namely, *critical conjecture*.*



CHAPTER I.

THE DOCUMENTARY MEANS TO AID IN THE CRITICISM OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.

§ 101.

GENERAL VIEW AND DIVISION OF THE SUBJECT.

PURSuing the course of history, we can distinguish the following various forms of the text of the Old Testament, namely : —

* [I have given a paraphrase, more than a translation, of this section. But I trust the author's meaning is made as clear in the English, at least, as it is in the German.]

See *Paulus*, Com. über N. T. vol. i. p. 27, sqq.

I. The text before the canon was collected and closed.

II. The text before the time of the Masorites.

III. The Samaritan-Alexandrian text of the Pentateuch.

IV. The masoretic text.

The witnesses or documentary means of proving the text may be arranged in the same order; but since the documents which relate to the *first* and *second* of the above divisions are so scanty and uncertain, this arrangement of them serves scarce any other purpose than to give a convenient view of the subject.

[The following are the means of proof to be relied on, namely: —

I. The parallel passages in the Bible; the Alphabetic Psalms; for the books of Moses, the Samaritan Pentateuch. These disclose the variations and faults of the text in the earliest times.

II. The old versions of the Bible; perhaps the Jewish writers Philo and Josephus; the Christian Fathers, Ephraim the Syrian, Origen, and Jerome; the Talmud and the Masora. These sources disclose the later variations, before the masoretic recension was completed.

III. The modern rabbins; manuscripts and editions. These contain the various readings of the masoretic recension.

When these means are not adequate to restore a corrupt passage, here, as in all other ancient writings, the only resort is to critical conjecture, which is at all times uncertain.]*

* *Bauer*, Crit. sac. § 35, sqq. *Einleit.* § 97. *Eichhorn*, § 139.

§ 102.

I. MEANS OF ASCERTAINING THE TEXT BEFORE CLOSING THE CANON.

These are found only in the parallel passages,^a and the use even of them is much limited by the fact that later writers intended to recast and work over the earlier passages they inserted, rather than to preserve them in their original form. Besides, the alterations which these later writers allowed themselves to make, and the faults they themselves fell into, belong to the peculiar text of these writers, and so are not to be used by the critic.^b

§ 103.

II. MEANS OF ASCERTAINING THE TEXT BEFORE THE TIME OF THE MASORITES.

1. THE VERSIONS.

There is no doubt that from a direct, accurate, just, and unfalsified version, we can ascertain the original text, which was its basis, at least in its main features. But the translators of the Old Testament, especially the more ancient of them, sometimes had not sufficient knowledge of the Hebrew language; sometimes they had not the requisite helps; and, in particular, they had no text furnished with the vowel points; besides, their works are, for the greater part, extensively interpolated;

^a Above, § 85.

^b *Cappellus*, ed. *Vogel*, lib. i. ch. 3—14. *Bauer*, *Crit. sac.* § 132, (§ 20.) *J. H. Owen*, *Crit. sac.*, [or A Short Introduction to Hebrew Criticism, originally published without the author's name, in 1774,] in the German collection *Brit. Theol.* vol. i. p. 77. [See Appendix, H., and *Eichhorn*, § 139.]

so that, for all these reasons, the critical use of them is exceedingly insecure, and is attended with the danger of mistaking exegetical errors and interpolations of the translator for the true readings of the text he had before him.*

The chief rule to be given in this case is, to avoid this danger by getting an accurate acquaintance with the spirit and the critical condition of the versions to be used, and by a circumspect attention to all possible methods of reconciling them with the present text, and by supposing the translators made mistakes and conjectures.

[The ancient versions are very valuable, since they follow the ante-masoretic text, and are, indeed, often its only representatives. But it is not always possible from the version to determine what its author read in his manuscripts; for sometimes his word may be translated back into Hebrew by one of several synonymes; he may have added words of little importance, or even important words, for the sake of greater clearness. Sometimes he altered to suit the idiom of his own tongue, or to be more perspicuous; sometimes he did not understand an obscure or difficult word, or sentence, and omitted it, or gave a conjectural translation, and sometimes expressed the sense without rendering the words. But where we can ascertain the reading, the version is of the same value as the original text.]^b

* *Buxtorf*, *Anticrit.* p. 66, sqq. See above, § 98, p. 375, note a. *Hensler*, *Bemerkungen über Jeremias*, p. 26. *Winer*, *De Onkeloso*, p. 23.

^b *Bauer*, *Crit. sac.* p. 426, sqq. *Jahn*, vol. i. p. 438, sqq. [*J. C. Knapp*, *Diss. ii. de Vers. Alex. in emendanda Lectione Exempli Hebraici, caute adhibenda*; Hal. 1775, 1776.]

§ 104.

UTILITY OF THE DIFFERENT VERSIONS.

1. If the entire work of Aquila were still extant, the first rank would be assigned to it, on account of his literal fidelity.*

2. The Alexandrian version claims superiority in respect of age, but its value is diminished by the uncertain condition of its text; by the unskilfulness of its authors, and their inaccurate notions respecting the grammatical construction and interpretation of the original.†

3. The writers of the Targums were certainly best able to understand the original text; but the freedom with which they have treated it, in general, renders the critical use of their words difficult. The corruption of the Targums from the Hebrew text adds to the difficulty.‡

4. The Syriac version sometimes inclines to the Al-

* *Dathe*, De Aquilæ Reliquiis in Hosæ, in his Opusc. ed. *Rosenmüller*; Lips. 1746, 8vo. *Cappellus*, l. c. vol. ii. p. 805, and *Scharfsenberg's* remarks therein.

† *Grabe*, Diss. de LXX. Intt. ch. i. *Carpzov*, Crit. sac. p. 516, sqq. *Gesenius*, Gesch. d. Hebr. Spr. p. 77, sqq. *Cappellus*, vol. ii. p. 512, sqq. *De Rossi*, Prolegg. § 28. *Knapp*, Diss. ii. de Vers. Alex. in emendanda Lectione Exempli Hebr. caute adhibenda; Hal. 1775, 1776. *Reinhard*, De Vers. Alex. Auctoritate et Usu in constituenda Librorum Hebr. Lectione genuina, Opusc. acad. ed. *Pöhlitz*, vol. i. p. 25, sqq., 43, sqq. See other authors in *Rosenmüller*, l. c. vol. ii. p. 445, sqq.

‡ *Eichhorn*, § 217. *Winer*, l. c. p. 25, who limits the corruption from this source very much. See examples of the variants of the Targums in *Eichhorn*, § 224, 229, sqq., and *Cappellus*, vol. ii. p. 779, sqq. *Pfannkuche*, De Codd. MSS. V. T. et Vers. Chald. in Lectt. Antimasoreticis Consensu; Giss. 1803, 4to.

exandrian; but where it is independent, it is valuable on account of its fidelity to the original.^a

5. Jerome's version is a very important witness, when it is freed from its mixture with the other Latin translations.^b

6. Saadiah, and other more modern translators, belong rather to the masoretic text, though they often differ considerably from that.^c

§ 105.

2. QUOTATIONS FROM THE BIBLE BY THE TALMUD AND RABBINS.

When the Talmudists do not sport with passages of Scripture,^d nor bring them forward frivolously and from memory, but quote accurately and with care,^e their

^a *Eichhorn*, § 253. *Bauer*, Crit. sac. § 134. *Michaelis*, Abhandlung über d. Syr. Sprache, § 13. *Dathe*, Remarks in his edition of the Syriac Psalter. *Hirzel*, De Pent. Vers. Syr. § 2.

^b *Cappellus*, l. c. vol. ii. p. 858, sqq. *Kennicott*, Diss. Gen. § 84, 13, 14. *Eichhorn*, § 127, b.

^c [*Kennicott*, l. c. § 43.]

On the critical use of *Josephus*, see *Michaelis*, Or. Bib. vol. v. p. 221, sqq. [*Kennicott*, l. c. § 30, sq. *Eichhorn*, § 339.]

^d Here belongs the formula *אל תקרא כך אלא כך*, [i. e. *read not so, but so*. But this formula is mostly used when a passage is allegorized, though sometimes it is followed by a proper variant.] *Buxtorf*, Tiberias, ch. ix. p. 83, sqq.

^e [Numerous variants might reasonably be expected from the Talmud, for it is older than the Masora; but the quotations in the printed editions of the Talmud have been altered by the editors to conform to the common text. Doctor Gill, who collated the Talmud for Kennicott, found less than a thousand variants, and those relating mainly to trifles. *Kennicott*, Diss. Gen. § 35. Manuscripts of the Talmud, as well as printed editions, must be used, to find various readings.] *Eichhorn*, § 340. See further proofs of the uncritical diligence of the editors of the Talmud in *Simon*, l. c. liv. i. ch.

citations are to be regarded as critical depositions, and of the same value with fragments from ancient manuscripts.*

It is only the most ancient rabbins, who lived nearest to the time of the Talmud, that are of any critical value in this respect; such are Aben Ezra, Kimchi, Jarchi, and Maimonides.†

§ 106.

3. THE MASORA.

It is well established that the Masora, in part, grew out of materials handed down by tradition, and out of critical observations; thus it contains, not only in the *Keris* and *Kethibs*, but also in the other annotations, statements respecting the text which frequently differ from the present readings, and are confirmed by the old witnesses, such as Origen and Jerome.‡

xx. p. 116. [*Eichhorn*, § 341, mentions one exception to this rule, and says *Kimchi's Liber Radicum* (Neap. 1490) has been edited by *Sam. Leatiph*, in a more critical way, with all its original variants. See *Zunz*, *Die Gottesdienstlichen Vorträge der Juden*; Berlin, 1832, ch. v.]

* *Buxtorf*, *Anticrit.* p. 808, maintains the unimportance of the variants found in the Talmud, against *Cappellus*, l. c. vol. ii. p. 900. Against *Buxtorf*, see *Claud. Cappellanus*, *Mare Rabbinicum infidum*; Par. 1667, 12mo., and in *Crenius*, Fascic. x. *Exercitatt. hist.* See Extracts from it in *KenNICOTT*, *Diss. ii. super Rat. Text.* p. 247—252. *Frommann* gives various readings from the Mishna in his treatise *An varise Lect. ad Cod. V. T. colligi possint ex Mishna*, *Opusc. vol. i. p. 1—46*. *KenNICOTT* published variants, also, from the Mishna and Gemara, in No. 650, after Doctor Gill's collation, (*Diss. Gen.* § 35,) in which *Buxtorf's* judgment is fully confirmed.

† See specimens in *Cappellus*, l. c. vol. ii. p. 420, sqq. *Tychsen*, *Bützow*. *Nebenstunden*, and in *Eichhorn's Repert.* vol. i. p. 169, sqq.

‡ *Eichhorn*, § 157. Compare § 113, 127, b. *Pref. ad Kethibi Nov. Bib. Heb.* *Cappellus*, l. c. vol. ii. p. 917, sqq. *Buxtorf* concedes this, *Anticrit.* p. 832.

§ 107.

III. MEANS OF ASCERTAINING THE SAMARITAN TEXT.

1. This text is contained in Samaritan manuscripts, the first of which came to Europe in 1620, or, according to Kennicott, in 1623.* They are of no great antiquity, and are furnished with very uncertain subscriptions.^b The Samaritan character is written without the Jewish vowel points, accents, and diacritical marks, but with its own peculiar marks for reading and punctuation.^c

2. To this recension belong the Samaritan, and the Samaritan-Arabic version of the Pentateuch.^d

* *Achilles Harlay de Sancy* thinks this MS. was purchased at Damascus, in 1616, (by *Petrus a Valle*?) and was sent to the Library of the Oratory at Paris. See *Jo. Morinus*, Opusc. Sam. p. 95. Exercitatt. in utrumque Pent. Sam. p. 8. *Le Long*, l. c. vol. i. p. 358. *Kennicott*, Diss. Gen. p. 475, Cod. 363. The following are worthy to be consulted: Cod. Cottonianus, in *Kennicott*, No. 127; Cod. Sanct. Genov., *Kennicott*, No. 221. Compare *Lobstein*, Cod. Sam. Par. Sanct. Genov.; Frankfort, 1781; *Barberinis* Triglot; *Kennicott*, No. 504. Compare § 64, above.

It has been published from Cod. No. 363, in the Paris Polyglot, vol. vi, edited by *Morinus*, with his Latin version; in vol. i. of the London Polyglot, by *Walton*, improved, as it is pretended, after *Usher's* MSS. See *Walton*, Prol. xi. 10, and, on the other side, *Castellus*, Præf. ad Animadversiones Sam. in vol. vi. of the Polyglot. Both of these editions are in the Samaritan character. It has been published in the Chaldee square letter; Pentat. Heb. Sam. ed. *Benj. Blayney*; Oxon. 1790, 8vo. See its variations from the Hebrew text in *Houbigant's* and *Kennicott's* Bibles.

^b *Morinus*, l. c. *Björnstaht*, in *Eichhorn's* Repert. vol. iii. p. 87, sqq. *De Rossi*, Spec. Varr. Lectt. p. 150. *Eichhorn*, § 380. See *Kennicott's* appreciation of the value of the Sam. Pent. State of the Heb. Text, vol. ii. ch. i.

^c Signs of the division into words, e. g. Gen. i. 1, בְּרֵאשִׁית בָּרָא אֱלֹהִים; the diacritical line called *markotone*, e. g. Ex. v. 3, בְּדִבְרֵי מִצְרַיִם; signs of division into paragraphs, *Katin*, e. g. ∴ =, or — < ∴. See *Morinus*, Exercitatt. p. 89, sqq. *Walton*, Prol. xi. 10. *Houbigant*, Prol. iii. 3. *Adler*, Bib. Krit. Reise, p. 144, sqq.

^d See above, § 63, 67.

§ 108.

IV. MEANS OF ASCERTAINING THE MASORETIC TEXT.

1. THE MANUSCRIPTS.

With some single exceptions, the Hebrew manuscripts represent the text of the masoretic recension; the ancient agree with it more nearly than the modern manuscripts.* They are generally divided into *sacred* and *common*; or,

I. The rolls of the synagogue;

II. Private manuscripts. These are divided into two classes: 1. The manuscripts written in the Chaldee square letter; 2. The manuscripts in the rabbinical character.

§ 109.

A. *Rolls of the Synagogue.*

The synagogue rolls contain only the text of the Pentateuch,—for the Hagiographa and the Prophets

* Kennicott, Diss. Gen. ed. *Bruns*, p. 116, sqq. Pref. p. x. Diss. super Rat. Text. p. 281, sqq. *De Rossi*, Prolegg. p. xx. See accounts and catalogues of the MSS. in *Wolf*, Bib. Heb. vol. ii. p. 293. *Carpzov*, Crit. sac. lib. i. ch. 8. *Simon*, Hist. Crit. du V. T. lib. i. ch. 21—23. *Houbigant*, Prol. *Kennicott*, Diss. Gen. p. 334.

For the variants of the MSS., *De Rossi*, Clavis sac. Descriptio collatorum MSS. *Tychsen*, De Variis Codd. Heb.—*Eichhorn*, § 342—364, in the main, offers a model of a treatise on the MSS., and *Bauer*, Crit. sac. § 103, follows him.

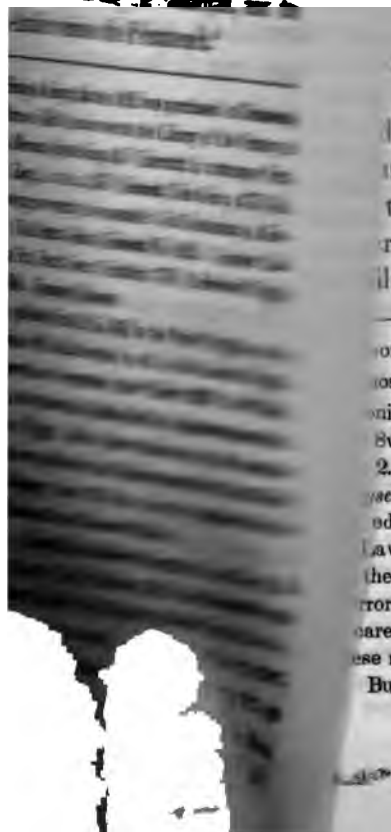
See the descriptions of particular MSS. referred to by *Rosenmüller*, l. c. vol. ii. p. 17, sqq. On the Berlin MSS., see *Jablonki*, Pref. ad Bib. Heb.; *Stulz*, Kritik der Bibelausgaben vorrede. *Wolf*, l. c. p. 304, sqq.; *Kennicott*, l. c. No. 150, 607—611; [and Dissertations, vol. ii. ch. v.; *Horne*, pt. i. ch. iii. sect. i.]

§ 167.

OF ASCERTAINING THE TRUTH.

THESE ARE THE RULES WHICH THE
 RABBI HAS GIVEN TO HIS
 DISCIPLES, THAT THEY SHOULD
 WRITE THE TORAH IN
 LEATHER OR PARCHMENT,
 WITH SPACES AND ACCENTS,
 AND WITH THE UNUSUAL
 CONSONANTS, THE SUSPENDED
 AND INSCRIBED FROM AN
 AUTHENTIC CORRECTIONS,
 AND WITH THE

THESE ARE THE RULES WHICH THE
 RABBI HAS GIVEN TO HIS
 DISCIPLES, THAT THEY SHOULD
 WRITE THE TORAH IN
 LEATHER OR PARCHMENT,
 WITH SPACES AND ACCENTS,
 AND WITH THE UNUSUAL
 CONSONANTS, THE SUSPENDED
 AND INSCRIBED FROM AN
 AUTHENTIC CORRECTIONS,
 AND WITH THE



themselves,—and are
 very rigorous rules, in
 characters.* They are in
 of leather or parchment,
 s and accents, but with
 the unusual consonants,
 , the suspended and in-
 scribed from an authentic
 corrections, and with the

he same text with great
 ic but few variants, though
 satisfactory proof that they
 It can be maintained that
 accurately copied in ancient
 copying it originated at a
 manuscripts are very rare
 use, as Carpzov says, the
 them, and carefully conceal
 ripts of the synagogue, lest
 iled.^b

orum codicis sacri rite scribendi leges
 nos peritiles e libro talmudico ספרים
 onibus explicatas eruditiss examinandas
 Bvo. R. Alphes, Hilc. Sepher Thora.
 2. Hilc. Sepher Thora, tract. iii. ch.
 ysen, Observatt.; Fref. 1708, 4to. Shic-
 ed. Carpzov.

Law was not separated from the other
 the time of Christ and the apostles, and
 errors had crept into the text before it be-
 care, and even since. § 346. Kennicott
 ese rolls. Diss. Gen. No. 229.]

But see Tycheu, Tent. p. 138, sqq., who

§ 110.

B. Private Manuscripts in the Chaldee Square Letter. Description of them.

They are written upon parchment, common or cotton paper,^a in the folio, quarto, octavo, or duodecimo form.^b They are written in black ink; the text and the points, however, are often of different colors; the initial letters or words are frequently written in gold, or with ornamental colors.^c They are divided into columns, and the poetical passages, for the greater part, into verses; a separation is carefully made between the margin and the lines of the text, though the number of lines does not always remain the same throughout the manuscript. The initial letters are often fantastically adorned and wreathed about with passages from the Masora.^d

Sometimes they contain merely the Hebrew text, but most frequently some version is added—the Chaldee paraphrase, which is most common, or the Arabic, or other versions which are rare. Sometimes the version is written in separate columns; sometimes versewise

^a Cod. 11, 22, 35. Some are written on common paper, but they are quite modern.

^b Such a form is mentioned in *Baba Bathra*, fol. 13, col. 2. Cod. 194 *Kennicott*, and 611 *Berlin*, are in 12mo.

^c [*Kennicott*, No. 1, 19, 36, 37, 50, 89, 328. *Wolf*, *Bib. Heb.* vol. iv. p. 183, sqq.]

^d [The Jewish transcriber, says *Eichhorn*, § 347, sqq., was usually careful to preserve the space between the lines; but sometimes errors in the text are corrected there. In a few MSS. there is a Latin version between the lines of the text. Almost every MS., in some places, is adorned with caricatures of men and animals, which are sometimes mere sketches, but at others are formed by writing the Masora, prayers, or other matters, in these shapes, with small letters and pale ink. These figures often relate to the subject treated of in the text.]

between the lines of the text, and, rarely, in the margin, in letters of a smaller size.

The greater Masora, or, sometimes, a rabbinical commentary, occupies the upper and lower margin; prayers, psalms, &c., are also found there. The outer margin is for corrections, scholia, and various readings; for the enumeration of the *Haphtara* and *Parascha*; for the commentaries of the rabbins, &c. The inward margin is devoted to the lesser Masora.

The different books are separated by blank spaces, except the books of Samuel, Kings, Chronicles, Ezra, and Nehemiah. The *Parascha* and *Haphtara* are, for the most part, carefully noted.

In reference to the order of the Prophets, the German manuscripts follow the Talmud, and the Spanish the Masora; so that Isaiah stands before Jeremiah and Ezekiel. The former insert the books of the Hagiographa in the following order, namely: Psalms, Proverbs, Job, Canticles, Ruth, Lamentations, Ecclesiasticus, Esther, Daniel, Ezra, Chronicles. The Masora has a different order, namely: Chronicles, Psalms, Job, Proverbs, Ruth, Canticles, Ecclesiasticus, Lamentations, Esther, Daniel, Ezra.*

§ 111.

The Writing Character used in the Manuscripts.

With a few unimportant exceptions, the Chaldee square letter is used in all the manuscripts. But there is no original diplomatic character by which their antiquity can be ascertained.^b

* Eichhorn, § 347—349, 358—362.

^b On the *Alphabet. Jesuitarum*, in *Montfaucon, ad Hexap. Origenis*, vol. i.

The Jews themselves allow of a distinction in the character used in their manuscripts. There is,

I. The TAM character,* written with sharp corners, and perpendicular *coronamenta*, which is common among the German and Polish Jews; and,

II. The WELSH character,[†] more modern than the other, without rounded corners and *coronamenta*, which is chiefly used by the Spanish and Oriental Jews.

Modern critics enumerate three kinds of writing characters, namely:—

I. The Spanish, in which the letters are regular, four-cornered, and strongly delineated.

II. The German, in which the letters are less erect, smaller, and more crowded together.

III. The French and Italian, which is between the two others.[‡]

p. 22, see *Diplomatische Lehrgebäude*, vol. ii. tab. 8, col. 1, and the ancient Hebrew alphabet in *Treschow*, *Tent. Descript. Codd. Vindob. V. T.*; Havn. 1773, 8vo. *Eichhorn*, § 351. [*Horne*, l. c., thinks it probable the letters used in MSS. have varied at different times. *Kennicott*, *Dissertations*, vol. ii. p. 149, sqq., makes the character one test of the age of the codex. But it is not easy to prove this position. The Basilidean gems—sometimes appealed to as proofs—cannot be proved to be Hebrew letters, (see *Matter*, *Hist. crit. du Gnosticisme*, vol. iii. Planches,) and the celebrated Hebrew Alphabet in *Montfaucon*, l. c., is taken from a MS. written by a Greek calligraphist, who altered the letters to suit his own caprice. The Hebrew characters of a monk, taken from *Rabanus Maurus*, *De Inventione Linguarum*, are strangely disfigured. See *Kopp*, *Bilder und Schriften der Vorzeit*. *Eichhorn*, § 351. *Gesenius*, *Heb. Sprache*, p. 177, sq. *Hupfeld*, *Ausführliche Heb. Grammatik*, (Cassel, 1841,) pt. i. p. 32, sqq.]

* תם חתב. Probably so called from *Tam*, a kinsman of *Raschi*. See *Wolf*, l. c. vol. i. p. 620. *Tychsen*, *Tent.* p. 263; and yet he says, p. 347, it is, probably, from חתב חמה. Compare *Tr. Shabb.* in § 89, above.

† יועלש חתב. See the tables in *Tychsen*, l. c., and *Bellermann*, *De Usu Palaeograph. Heb.* The *coronamenta*, זיירין or הגין, over the letters ש, ע, ח, ו, occur in the Talmud, *Menach.* fol. 29, col. 2. *Gesenius* suspects traces of them in a Phœnician inscription. See *Hupfeld*, against this opinion, in *Theol. Stud. und Krit.* for 1830, vol. ii. p. 32.

‡ [The Spanish Hebrew character is pretty closely imitated in the beau-

§ 112.

Subscriptions and other Marks of the Antiquity of Manuscripts.

The subscriptions of the writer or owner, containing the date of the transcription, are the means of determining the antiquity of manuscripts. But these have often been erased, or even falsified, or they are inaccurate, unimportant, and untrue. Frequently, on account of the dismembered state of the manuscript, they are wanting altogether.^a [Very few manuscripts have subscriptions containing the date of the copy. Kennicott thinks that, among all the manuscripts collated for him, there were but a hundred with such subscriptions. Besides, it is often difficult to find the subscription; sometimes it is in the Masora, or some other by-place, or in a picture, where no one looks for it. It is not always of any use when found. Sometimes there is an error in the date; the era is omitted, while the year is given;

tiful typography of the Antwerp Polyglot, and in *Stephens's* editions; the German in *Munster's Bible*.] Kennicott, Diss. Gen. p. 340. See the Plates in *Brun's* edition, and Præf. p. ix. *Brun's*, in *Ammon's Neue Theol. Journal*, vol. vi. p. 755. *Simon*, Hist. crit. du V. T. p. 121. On the peculiarities of the single letters, see *Eichhorn*, § 352. *Michaelis*, Or. Bib. vol. i. p. 246.

There are some peculiarities of punctuation worthy of notice; e. g. שִׁדְרִי, [where *Hirek* stands under a movable *yod* as a *help*,] בְּשִׁדְרִי, also בְּשִׁדְרִי or בְּשִׁדְרִי, a frequent use of *Raphe*, &c., of letters used to fill the chasms in the lines. [Sometimes a part of a letter is put in to fill up the line; thus, in Cod. 5 of Kennicott, a third of the ש is omitted, making it appear as an ע. So we find the two first letters of השמים appear as הש. *Eichhorn*, § 357, and the authorities there cited.]

^a *Schnurrer*, De Codd. Heb. Manuscriptorum Ætate difficulter determinanda, diss. p. 2, sqq. *Eichhorn*, § 363. On the inaccuracy of the subscription to the Berlin MS., No. 611, apud Kennicott, see *Schnurrer*, p. 7, sqq. *Wolf*, l. c. vol. i. p. 163, ii. p. 305, sqq. *Jablonski*, Præf. ad Bib. Heb. § 36, 37.

the hundreds or thousands are left out of the date; only the name of the copyist is given; he gives the date in an enigmatical manner, and clothes his fact in a dress so cunning that only a lucky accident can take it off. The possessor of a manuscript sometimes affixed to it an ancient date, or the name of some famous rabbin, to increase its value. The Talmudical law makes it the duty of every Jew to make, or cause to be made, a copy of the Law. A man who inherited such a copy sometimes erased the old and affixed a more modern date.]^a

Besides the subscriptions, other signs of antiquity have been pointed out by critics; such are the simplicity of the writing character, the omission of the Masora, the unusual letters, the vowel points, &c. But all these signs are wholly uncertain.^b

§ 113.

The Writers of the Manuscripts.

Most of the manuscripts have passed through several hands—those of the writer of the consonants, (סופר,) those of the writer of the vowel points, (נקד,) of the corrector, of the writer of the Masora and scholia,

^a [Eichhorn, § 363. A Jew offered a MS. for sale, at Amsterdam, with the date 300 B. C.; yet it was furnished with the Masora, and had all the marks of youth. See more respecting the subscriptions of MSS., their condition, &c., in Kennicott, Dissertations, vol. i. p. 309, sqq., vol. ii. p. 515, sqq., and the authorities in Eichhorn, l. c.]

^b Jablonsky, l. c. § 37. Wolf, l. c. vol. ii. p. 386. Houbigant, Prol. p. 195. Kennicott, Dissertations, vol. i. p. 306, sqq. De Rossi, Prol. p. xiv., sqq. On the other hand, Carpzov, Crit. sac. p. 376. Tychsen, Tent. p. 280, sqq. Schnurrer, p. 21, sqq. — Eichhorn, § 371, has shown that it is not easy to determine, with certainty, the country of the MSS. But see Bruns, Pref. ad Kennicott, Diss. Gen. p. ix. De Rossi, l. c. p. xi. sqq.

and of the freshener, although sometimes the duties of all these were performed by one man. The text and the points, however, were always written at different times, as it appears from the fact that ink of different color is used for each, and that the vowels do not always agree with the text. The *Keri* in the margin proceeded properly from the punctuator. He likewise frequently corrected the text, although many manuscripts have passed under the hands of a different corrector; and the writer of the Masora has sometimes allowed himself to make corrections. The accuracy of the corrections is commonly sacrificed to the beauty of the manuscripts. The writer of the Masora is likewise often a different person; but this cannot certainly be inferred from the variations between the Masora and the text. Sometimes there are critical remarks in the margin, which confirm what the writer of consonants, and the punctuator, have written; there are likewise scholia. Finally, many passages have been subsequently written over again.*

Tychsen supposes that many manuscripts were written by Christians; but none are found in which this is claimed in the subscription.^b

* [*Bruns* finds some passages proceeding from a second corrector of the MS., but *Kennicott* takes no notice of them.] *Eichhorn*, § 364, 366—370. *Michaelis's* description of the Cassel MS. in *Or. Bib.* vol. i. p. 219, sqq. *Jablonski*, l. c. § 36. [*Eichhorn*, § 365, thinks it probable women and children sometimes copied MSS.]

^b See *Tychsen's* opinion refuted by *Eichhorn*, § 365. The passage of the Talmud, *Bab. Gittin*, fol. 45, col. 2, which speaks of Christian transcribers, is of a merely casuistic character.

[The oldest MSS. are not necessarily the best. The Spanish MSS. are generally esteemed the most accurate; the French and Italian hold the next place. Such is the decision of the rabbins themselves. "This is a Spanish MS.; so the reading must stand," said R. Abraham Ben David. But to this rule there are exceptions. Each MS. must be examined without

§ 114, a.

C. *Private Manuscripts in the Rabbinical Character.*

These are, for the greatest part, written in the *cursive* rabbinical character, or one which approaches it very nearly.* They are written without points, with numerous abbreviations, and are generally of very recent date.^b

§ 114, b.

Manuscripts of the Chinese Jews.

The manuscripts of the Chinese Jews are entirely masoretic. [They have rolls containing the Law, called *Ta-King*, in Chinese, and also a book of extracts from the rolls, with a supplement in two parts. The rolls are written without points or accents; but *corona-*

prejudice, and judged by its own merits. *Eichhorn*, § 373. *Bruns*, *Præf. ad Kennicott*, p. iv., sqq., thinks Kennicott has taken various readings from very bad MSS. "I cannot but confess," says he, "I think differently of the value of the Heb. MSS., and the various readings derived from them, from Kennicott and some others, who follow his footsteps too closely. They are not sufficiently anxious to investigate the goodness of the MSS., and whatever reading they find, in any sort of a MS., if it agree with ancient versions, they seize it up greedily, and oppose it to the masoretic text. But in passing judgment upon variants, antiquity is not so much to be considered as the goodness of the MS., and its freedom from mistakes in writing. One such MS. is worth twenty others written negligently and carelessly. Bibles written for the instruction of youth sometimes confound the Keri and Kethib, and so might lead a critic into errors, if he were not aware of the fact." See *Jahn*, vol. i. p. 422—436.]

* On the different rabbinical writing characters, the Raschi characters, &c., see *Tychsen*, *Tent.* p. 267, 313, sqq. *Bellermann*, *Paleog. Heb.* p. 44, sqq.

^b *Kennicott*, *Diss. Gen.* Cod. 9, 13, 15, 22, 32, 34, 346, and others, are in this character.

menta, it appears, are placed over some of the letters. Eichhorn thinks these manuscripts were written in the twelfth century.

The extracts from the Law are divided into fifty-three books. The supplement contains a part of Joshua and Judges, the whole books of Samuel, part of Kings, and the Psalms. They have also some of the other books of the Old Testament, in a form more or less perfect, namely: parts of Chronicles, Nehemiah, Esther, Isaiah, and Jeremiah; a few verses from Daniel; some passages from Jonah, Micah, and Nahum, Habakkuk, Zephaniah, Haggai, and Zechariah; but nothing from the other Prophets, from Job, the Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, or Canticles. The manuscripts which do not contain the Law are furnished with our present vowels and accents, and greater and lesser letters, but not with the *Keri*. The form of the consonants is the same as with the European Jews.]^a

§ 114, c.

The Manuscripts of the Malabar Jews.

[Doctor Buchanan procured a copy of the Pentateuch from the black Jews at Malabar. It is written on a roll of goat-skin dyed red; is forty-eight feet in length, and a little less than two feet in breadth. It contains the Pentateuch, with the exception of the whole of Leviticus and the greater part of Deuteronomy. It is clearly and legibly written, in the square letter, without the

^a *Von Murr*, Versuch einer Gesch. der Juden in China, nebst Kägler's Beschreib. ihrer heilige Bücher; 1806, 8vo. *Michaelis*, Or. Bib. vol. v. p. 79, sqq., ix. p. 40, xv. p. 15, sqq. *Eichhorn*, § 376. [Lettres edificantes, de la Compagnie de Jesus, Recueil 31; Par. 1774.]

accents or points. It contains not more than forty variants from Van der Hooght's edition, and still less from that of Athias; but it has four readings not found in Kennicott's Bible. With these exceptions, it differs from common synagogue rolls only in the material on which it is written.]*

§ 115.

2. ORIGINAL EDITIONS.

Editions taken directly from manuscripts possess all the value of the originals themselves, and are still more valuable if they are accurate copies of the manuscripts, and have not been corrected by the Masora. The editions are divided into masoretic and unmasoretic. But after the collation of so many copies, some readings are still found in the printed editions, says De Rossi, and even in Rabbi Chajim's edition, which have not as yet been found in any manuscripts.^b

* *Yeates's* collation of an Indian copy of the Heb. Pent. with preliminary remarks, containing an exact description of the MS., and a notice of some others (Heb. and Syriac) collected by *Buchanan* in the year 1806, and now deposited in the public library at Cambridge; also, a collation and description of a MS. roll of the book of Esther, and the Megillah of Ahasuerus, &c.; Cambridge, 1812, 4to. [See *Kennicott*, *Dissertations*, vol. ii. p. 532, and *Wolf*, *Bib. Heb.* vol. iv. p. 97. *Horne*, l. c. pt. i. ch. iii. sect. i., gives a fac simile of the MS. *Marsh* (*Lectures*, &c.) considers it of value; but *Lee* (*Proleg.* in *Bib. Polyg. Londinensia minora*, prol. v. sect. xiv. p. 23, cited in *Horne*) thinks it is the work of an ignorant scribe, copied from a masoretic MS., and of little value. On this subject, see *Paulus's* Account of the Hebrew Chronicles of the Malabar Jews, in *Eichhorn*, *Allg. Bib.* vol. i. p. 925, sqq.; the essay of *Rüss*, on the same subject, *ibid.* vol. ii. p. 567 sqq., also vol. iii. p. 182, and v. 399, sqq.]

^b *De Rossi*, *Prolegg.* p. xxiv.

CHAPTER II.

CRITICAL MAXIMS.

§ 116.

FALSE MAXIMS.

[“To make a fundamental and just criticism of the text requires extensive and accurate knowledge, especially an acquaintance with manuscripts, editions, old versions, and other ancient writings, Christian and Jewish; an acquaintance with the different ways in which various readings originate, with the whole history of the text, and with many minute details. It requires, therefore, a particular circumspection, which is only to be obtained by long practice and a careful study of the great critics. But, after all, it is exceedingly difficult to avoid stumbling sometimes, as not only Houbigant and Lowth have done, but Kennicott, and even the cautious Michaelis, who have sometimes altered a reading unnecessarily. These great examples should be a warning to beginners, who are generally too much inclined to alter the common reading.”]^a

The conflicting testimony of the witnesses can neither be judged of by their number^b nor their antiquity,^c but

^a [*Jahn*, l. c. vol. i. p. 493, sq., where see other excellent remarks.]

^b The Jews themselves admit this. *Meier Hallevi*, in *Kennicott*, Diss. Gen. p. 116. [He says he rejected the modern MSS., and followed the ancient.] Compare above, § 89. *De Rossi* justly observes, (Prol. canon 14, p. 4,) the true reading may be contained in a single codex, contrary to the authority of all the rest.

^c *Meier Hallevi*, l. c., admits this, as also *Walton*, Prol. vi. 6. [*Hallevi* says, among the ancient and genuine MSS., he inclines to follow the

by their critical character alone. [But when other things are equal,—which rarely happens,—the greater number of witnesses must decide; and the larger this number is, the more probable is the reading for which they testify. The indirect versions, and manuscripts allied to them, are to be consulted as collateral evidence. When very old witnesses are on one side, and very good manuscripts on the other, important internal arguments may decide in favor of the reading. The ancient witnesses are of more weight than the modern; old versions are more important than the manuscripts, and the internal argument has great value.]^a

In estimating the critical value of variants, no preference is to be shown that is not based on a critical judgment of the variants themselves. The maxims which aid in making this judgment will be shown in the following sections.^b

greatest number; “for we are commanded in the Law,” he adds, “to follow the greatest number in a matter where there is a disagreement. ‘*We ought to incline after the many.*’ Ex. xxii. 2.” But he must have had a curious variant in that text, for our editions and MSS. read that famous verse with a negative, &c. לֹא תִחַתּוּן. De Rossi is wrong, l. c. “The more the MSS. agree with the ancient MSS. of the old translators, and preserve the genuine readings of ancient copies, the better is their condition, the greater their authority.” Compare, also, canon 19. [“Among MSS. of whatever writer, age, character, and condition, if any one preserve the true reading of those MSS. which are represented by the Samaritan text and ancient versions, it is to be considered of great authority. Canon 21. MSS. not amended often preserve the best readings. A variant supported by the Samaritan text and ancient versions, and the best and most ancient MSS., is the true reading. Canon 23. Ancient MSS., other things being equal, are preferable to the modern; the amended to the not amended; the few which differ from one another, to the many that are like one another.” Canon 33, *seq.* Bruce (Pref. ad Kennicott, p. iv.) says, in a quotation, “We must stand by the authority of all that agree, or of a few excellent codices of the best character.”] See Walton, Prol. vi. 4.

^a [Jahn, l. c.]

^b Different estimates have been formed of the value of the Keri and

§ 117.

THE MOST IMPORTANT MAXIMS IN RESPECT TO THE ORIGINALITY OF THE READING.

Since the design of the critic is to restore the original reading, therefore the question to be asked respecting the variants is this: Do they bear, in themselves, marks of originality? or do they betray their later origin? The character of originality rests on these two grounds, namely:—

I. On the probability—judging from the rest of the text which is supposed to be accurate—that the author wrote so, and not otherwise. This is the *exegetico-critical* ground of probability.

II. On the probability which arises from a comparison of the different readings, that the one has given occasion to the origin of the other. This is the *historico-critical* ground of originality. Something must be said of each.

§ 118.

I. EXEGETICO-CRITICAL GROUNDS OF ORIGINALITY.

1. CONSIDERATIONS DRAWN FROM THE GENERAL LAWS OF THE MIND.

A. *Logical Grounds of Originality.*

Since every writer is subject to the universal laws of

Kethib. The Jews and the old Christian critics prefer the *Keri entirely*. *Buxtorf*, De Punct. Antiqu., &c. p. 174. *J. Avenar*, Gram. Heb. p. 522. *Th. Hackspan*, De Script. Jud. in Theol. Usu, p. 299. *Hottinger*, Thea. Phil. p. 418. See others cited in *Carpzov*, Crit. sac. p. 352. The *Kethib* is preferred *entirely* by *Danz*, Sincer. Script. vacill. § 28, p. 86, and *in the main* by *Schultens*, Diss. ii. de Authentia selectiorum Chethibim; Franeq. 1725. See *Etrich's* Collect. Opusc. vol. ii. *Wolf* (Bib. Heb. vol. ii. p. 520) passes a wiser judgment, as also *Carpzov* (p. 353) and others.

thought, and it must not be assumed that he has written nonsense, therefore every reading which is absolutely senseless and contradictory is to be rejected for some other which has a meaning, and harmonizes with the context.*

Yet this rule requires to be applied with great caution. We must take all possible pains to find a suitable meaning in the words; we must not measure the author's thought too rigorously by our standards,[†] and must remember it is possible he drew from different sources.[‡]

§ 119.

B. *Grammatical Grounds of Originality.*

A writer cannot transgress the laws of language. Correctness of language, therefore, may, in general, be considered a mark of the true reading. But amongst Hebrew writers, whose language permitted great irregularities, especially in gender and number, and whose

* Thus the Kethib אֵל, Levit. xi. 21, and Isa. ix. 2, is to be rejected, and the Keri לֵא to be received. On the contrary, the Keri is to be rejected for the Kethib, in Exod. xxi. 8, Ps. cxxxix. 16, et al. Compare *Aurivill*, De Var. Lect. אֵל et לֵא, in Cod. Bib. Diss. p. 460, sqq. *Cappellus*, vol. ii. p. 264. The Kethib יֵד is to be rejected for the Keri יָד, 1 Sam. iv. 13. For similar reasons, in Ps. lxxiii. 7, with the LXX., the Syriac, and Vulgate, we must read צִיִּיָּהוּ, instead of the masoretic צִיִּיָּהוּ; in Jerem. xxviii. 1, we must read *Zedekiah*, instead of *Jehoiakim*. In 2 Kings viii. 16, we must strike out the words יִיְהוֹשָׁפָט מֶלֶךְ יְהוּדָה. See above, § 81.

† Thus the reading of the Sam., Syr., and LXX., in Ex. ii. 2, יִשְׂרָאֵל, is to be rejected, and the masoretic text received. *Gesenius*, De Pent. Sam. p. 50. The Kethib Isa. ix. 2 may still be contended for. See *Hitzig*, in loc.

‡ Thus the erroneous reading *Michal*, instead of *Melah*, in 2 Sam. xxi. 8, may perhaps, be referred to another source. See below, § 179.

literary treasures we do not fully possess, a regard for accuracy of language has produced a host of variants;^a yet it can but seldom serve to restore the true text.^b

§ 120.

C. *Rhetorical Grounds of Originality.*

Most writers recognize certain natural or conventional rules of style; and their text may also be criticised and corrected according to these rules. But the Hebrew writers are bound so loosely by such rules, that they seem rather to have sought to remain free from them.^c They do not even adhere rigidly to the *parallelismus membrorum*, but often depart from it in a striking manner. It is, therefore, only with the greatest caution that this rule can be applied to the criticism of the text.^d

* There are numerous grammatical Keris of the Sam. text, and the versions; see, e. g., on Ps. xxx. 4, xxii. 27, Gesenius, l. c. p. 26, sqq. The moderns have made many critical attempts to amend the apparent grammatical errors of the text. See examples in Houbigant, Michaelis, and others.

^b The following Kethibs are, perhaps, to be rejected, and the Keris received: 2 Sam. xix. 32, אֶת־בִּיחֵדָּן, Ker. אֶת־חִירָדָן; 2 Kings xxiii. 33, בְּמִלְכָּךְ, Ker. מִמִּלְכָּךְ; 1 Kings xvii. 14, חֶרֶץ, Ker. יָחַץ; (but perhaps the original reading was חֶרֶץ, for which חֶרֶץ was written by mistake;) Jer. xxxiv. 11, וַיִּכְבְּשׁוּם, Ker. וַיִּכְבְּשׁוּם; 2 Sam. xx. 15, וַיִּקְלְחוּ, Ker. וַיִּקְלְחוּ. But compare Cappellus, vol. i. p. 208, who justly defends the Kethib, Ez. iv. 4, מִבְּלָחִים, against the Keri מִבְּלָחִים.

^c The following are uncritical corrections made by a wrong application of this rule of rhetorical uniformity of style: e. g. the addition of the LXX., Gen. i. 6, καὶ ἐγένετο οὐρανός; verse 8, καὶ εὐφραν ὁ θεός, οὐ καλόν; that of the Sam. LXX., 1 Cod. R. in verse 14, לְהַאֲרִיךְ עַל הָאָרֶץ. So in the reading or version of the Syriac, in verse 26, בְּכָל־חַיַּת הָאָרֶץ, for בְּכָל־הָאָרֶץ; of the Sam. Gen. xxiv. 22, וַיִּשָּׂם אֵל אִמָּהּ, after verse 43.

^d The reading in Isa. li. 19, יִשְׁחָק, Cod. 1, Kennicott, and versions, for

["In the poetic books and passages, by noticing the relation between verses and members of verses, an accurate comparison of the context may be made; for the members of the periods sometimes correspond with one another in *sense*, by way of synonyme, or antithesis, and sometimes in *form*. New light will be shed on the connection, and even on the contested text, by noticing this parallelism in the verse. The members that correspond to one another are sometimes two; sometimes three, where the third is unlike the others; sometimes four, where the first corresponds to the third, and the second to the fourth; sometimes five, where the dissimilar member stands in the middle. Now, if the critic notices the corresponding member, it will often help him decide upon the doubtful reading. Still, it must be remembered, a reading that suits the corresponding member is not necessarily genuine."]*

§ 121.

2. CONSIDERATIONS DRAWN FROM THE PECULIAR CHARACTER OF THE WRITER.

The above more general reasons are made more definite, but are likewise limited, and sometimes removed,

אֲחִינֹכַח, and the additions to Isa. xlviii. 12, עֲבָדִי after the word יַעֲקֹב, in Kennicott's and De Rossi's MSS., are to be rejected. Most alterations of the text in Ziegler, (Sprüchwörter,) who follows the LXX., rest on this uncertain ground; e. g. Prov. iii. 12, ix. 29, 30, xii. 21. On the other hand, see Bauer, Crit. sac. p. 456, who very properly rejects the reading לִי־שֹׂאֵל, Am. v. 6. In Ps. xxxvii. 28, the reading of the LXX. and Symmachus seems to be an arbitrary alteration to conform to the parallelism and rhythm. ["On the contrary, the Kethib, in Job xxx. 11, is to be preferred to the Keri on account of the parallel." See Herzl and Ewald, in loc.] See Olshausen, Emend. p. 14.

* Jahn, vol. i. p. 487, sqq.

by the writer's peculiar manner in thought, language, and style,* and in particular by the peculiarity of the context in the discourse. This is, perhaps, the most important rule by which the critic, as well as the interpreter, is to judge of all.^b However, the application of

* [The mistakes often made in applying this rule, render it very suspicious. When the *Kritik der Offenbarung* was published, it was universally ascribed to Kant. No less than eight scholars, his personal friends, were certain it was his. But it was written by Fichte. M. Schlegel disputes the genuineness of some of the dramas that have long passed for the works of Shakespeare, and ascribes to him works which have hitherto passed under other names. Every body knows with what confidence the "Dreams of an Opium-Eater" were ascribed to Mr. Coleridge, and how falsely.]

^b The readings preferred by *Michaelis*, Or. Bib. vol. xiv. Nos. 233, 234, viz. Isa. ix. 10, הָרָצִיחַ, for רָצִיחַ; Isa. xiv. 9, עֲתֹדֶרֶת, for עֲתֹדֶרֶת; Isa. liii. 8, נִבֵּעַ לְמִוְדָּה, for נִבֵּעַ לְמִוְדָּה, conflict with the sense, and the peculiarities of the writer. Whether the passages, Isa. vii. 17, אִתָּה מֶלֶךְ אֲשֶׁר, verse 20, בְּמִלְכָּךְ אֲשֶׁר; ix. 14, וְנִשְׁבָּח פְּנִים חֹמַת הָרָמֶשׁ וְגו', are to be taken for glosses, as *Houbigant*, *Louth*, *Koppe*, and *Gesenius*, think, may be doubted, on account of the analogy between them and ch. v. 7. Whether we are to read שְׂמִירָה in Ps. xviii. 8, (following 2 Sam. xxii. 8,) instead of הָרִימָה, is to be decided from the entire character of the later recension of this passage in the psalm. See *De Wette*, Com. über die Ps. in loc.

The same laws apply to the criticism of the punctuation, and the division into words. 1. Jud. xx. 48, כְּהֵם, is to be read, instead of מְהֵם; Job xxxiv. 18, הָאֵמֶר, instead of הָאֵמֶר; xxxvii. 11, עֵץ, instead of עֵץ; Am. iv. 3, וְהִשְׁלַכְתֶּם, instead of "הִשְׁלַכְתֶּם", on account of the sense; Hos. vi. 5, וְהִשְׁפֹּטִי, instead of הִשְׁפֹּטִי; Pa. lxxv. 1, מִמְדָּבָר, for מִמְדָּבָר. For the same reason,

2. Prov. xii. 28, אֵל, instead of אֵל, on account of the signification of נְתִירָה, *beaten path*; Isa. xxxii. 12, שְׂדֵרִים, instead of שְׂדֵרִים, on account of the meaning and construction of סֶסֶד. Compare *Gesenius*, in loc.

3. Job xxiv. 12, מְהֵרָה, instead of the flat מְהֵרָה; Pa. lv. 12, מִמְדָּאוֹת, instead of מִמְדָּאוֹת, on account of the parallelism, and because the latter word is peculiar and scarcely probable; in Ps. xlii. 6, the division of the words and verse is to be altered after verse 12, and Ps. xliii. 5, on account of the rhythmical symmetry. See *De Wette*, l. c. in loc.

this rule is somewhat limited by the fact, that the literary character of the Hebrew writers is, for the most part, very fluctuating and uncertain.

This peculiarity of character may be distinguished into *nationality*, (the peculiarities of the nation,) or *individuality*, (the peculiarities of the individual writer.)

[As Jahn has said, every author wrote in a certain land, province, and age, and under certain definite circumstances; now, a reading which does not suit this land, province, age, and circumstances, is suspicious and improbable. So the history of the writer is equally important in criticism and exegesis.

Every author has, likewise, his peculiar language, conforming to his age and dwelling-place, and a style suited to his own course of thought and circle of images; he has also his own peculiar doctrines, or, at least, modifications thereof peculiar to himself. From a consideration of these things, we may, sometimes, conclude what the author probably wrote; for a reading that does not agree with these peculiarities is suspicious. In conformity with this rule, in Job, Hosea, Micah, Joel, and Isaiah, the ornate reading is most probable, while the least ornate is most probable in Haggai, Malachi, Ezra, and Nehemiah. But the application of this rule demands so much attention, and so many delicate observations, that too much caution cannot be observed in the use of it.]*

§ 122.

II. HISTORICO-CRITICAL GROUNDS OF ORIGINALITY.

Except in unfortunate and rare cases, the original reading is to be found among the variants of a passage.

* [Jahn, vol. i. p. 491, seq.]

Now, since the original reading was not only the first in order of time, but has given occasion to all the other readings, in one way or another, there arises the following rule: That is the original reading which explains the origin of all the rest.

In comparing the readings, we ought to consider all the ways in which false readings originate.* But it is of special importance to consider whether the text has been altered by design; and hence arises this rule: The more difficult reading is to be preferred to the more easy.

These rules are to be applied chiefly in respect to the sense or logical meaning of the text; to the language of the writer; to the rhetorical structure of the passage. But we must always consider the peculiarities of the individual writer.^b

§ 123.

JUDGMENT OF THE CRITICAL WITNESSES AS A WHOLE.

We pass from a criticism of single readings to an estimate of the entire text of single witnesses. Then

* § 82—84, above.

^b 1. *In respect of the sense.* It would not be critical to wish to alter Ezra v. 4, on account of the obscurity and incorrectness of the narrative. Compare verse 8, 9. The Sam. Pent. in Gen. xi. 32, makes Terah one hundred and forty-five years old, obviously to remove the contradiction with xii. 4.

2. *In respect of the language.* Ps. xii. 8, the reading תִּשְׁמְרֵנִי, תִּשְׁמְרֵנִי, in the MSS. and versions, is to be rejected, and the more difficult reading תִּשְׁמְרֵנִי, תִּשְׁמְרֵנִי, is to be preferred. So the Keri in Ps. xxx. 4, Prov. viii. 35, &c., is to be rejected, and the Kethib preferred. Gen. xxiv. 4, כִּי אִם of Kennicott's and De Rossi's MSS., the Masora and Sam. text, instead of כִּי, is the easier and the worse reading. So Num. xi. 25, וְלֹא יִאָסֶפֶן, of the

an opinion is formed *against the Samaritan text and the versions*, which, for the most part, represent the text by more easy readings, that commend themselves to a superficial observer, and *in favor of the masoretic text*, in which, however, the Keris, and the readings of the manuscripts that follow them, or agree with the versions and the Samaritan copy, are to be suspected of being explanations and corrections.* [“The readings which are unanimously supported by the old versions and manuscripts, or for which they give an overpowering testimony, and which are, at the same time, supported by internal arguments, must be genuine. Since this is almost always the case with the text of the Old Testament, its trustworthiness is established, and the propo-

Sam., instead of קָסַסָּהּ וְלֹא, is the worse reading. The same may be said of many Sam. readings. Gesenius, Pent. Sam. § 9—11, as in 2 Sam. xxii. 11, וַיִּרְאֵהוּ, instead of וַיִּרְאֵהוּ in Ps. xviii. 11. On the contrary, Ps. xviii. 23, אֶסְכֵּר בְּמִנְיָהּ is, perhaps, an easier reading of אֶסְכֵּר בְּמִנְיָהּ. In the Samaritan and Alexandrian reading, Gen. xiv. 14, וַיִּדְרֹךְ, for וַיִּדְרֹךְ, it remains uncertain whether the Jewish transcriber put the more common word instead of the ἀπὸ λέγόμενον, or whether the Sam. and LXX., stumbling at the difficult sense, followed their own conjecture. Gesenius, l. c. p. 64.

3. *In respect to construction.* In Gen. xli. 56, the Sam. inserts בַּר after בָּרָה; Num. xxxi. 15, לָמוֹ occurs in the LXX.; in Ex. xxxiv. 7, they read לֹר, instead of לֹא, to make the passage more connected. Here belongs the addition to Gen. iv. 8.

In Jer. ii. 20, the Kethib אַעבֹד is more difficult than the Keri אַעבֹד; in 2 Kings xix. 13, the Kethib בִּרְכָב is more difficult than בִּרְכָב, and therefore to be preferred.

* In Ps. xxxvi. 2, some MSS., and all the versions, have לָבוֹ, instead of לָבִי, and yet this reading is probably false; and so, in Ps. xxviii. 8, MSS. and versions have לָעֵינִי, which is probably an easier reading, for לָמוֹ. The maxim of *De Rossi* is false: Utor vetustis interpretibus et Samaritano textu, tamquam lapide Lydio, ut lectionum præstantiam et auctoritatem dimetiar.

sition that its books have not been essentially altered or falsified is confirmed; for by far the greater part of variants that occur are only unimportant minutiae; there are but few which entirely alter the sense, and they do not essentially affect the matter of the book.”]

The masoretic text, on the whole, is a better witness for the true punctuation than that of hasty critics, or of the versions, which are often unskilfully made.^b

§ 124.

CRITICAL CONJECTURE.

After mature examination, if the text give no sense, or a contradictory sense,^c and no witnesses afford as-

^a *Jahn*, vol. i. p. 496, sq.

^b The following instances of punctuation show a deeper insight into the context and usage: Isa. i. 27, שְׁבִיחָה, instead of שְׁבִיחָה; v. 13, מְחִיר, instead of מְחִיר; xiv. 6, מִצֵּת בְּלִי מְחִיר, instead of מְחִיר בְּלִי מְחִיר. *Michaelis*, Or. Bib. vol. xiv.

There are various opinions as to the preference to be accorded to the Spanish, Italian, and German MSS. The rabbins and the following writers prefer the former: *El. Levita*, Præf. in Mas. Ham. p. 37; *Menahem de Lonzano*, Præf. ad Or. Thora, in *Bruns*, Præf. ad *Kennicott*, p. vi. viii.; *Richard Simon*, Hist. crit. V. T. p. 121; *Wolf*, Bib. Heb. vol. ii. p. 327. — *De Rossi*, l. c. p. l. can. xvii., sqq., prefers the others as unmasoretic.

^c Without necessity *Michaelis* gives a conjectural reading on Isa. vi. 8, where לֵנִי makes very good sense, (compare Gen. i. 26,) on Isa. xxx. 7, xlviii. 7, xlix., and elsewhere. See Or. Bib. vol. xviii. p. 106, sqq. *Louth* and *Koppe* err in this way, and especially *Houbigant*. (*Teller* Præf. ad *Kennicott*, Diss. ii. p. xl.) does the same, and without necessity, and, in opposition to the peculiarity of the author's usage, rejects רָנִי in Ps. xxxii. 7. On מִיָּס, Ps. cvii. 3, see *Muntighe* et al., *De Wette*, Com. über die Ps. in loc., and *Gesenius*, Lexicon, sub voce. *Hitzig* (Begriff der Kritik) conjectures וְהָרָה, in Gen. xxvii. 33, instead of וְהָרָה. On the contrary, see *Tuck*, in loc.

Testament; and now, after so great an expenditure of acute conjectures, we know that scarce two passages in it seem to require any alteration from conjecture. The line that separates the narrow and uncertain field of conjectural criticism from the broad and secure province of sound criticism, is so thin that it cannot be discovered with any certainty, until the rules of special criticism, for the writer in question, have been thoroughly investigated; and they can be established only by an acute study of the most perfect critical apparatus, continued through many years.”]*

* [*Eichhorn*, (§ 404,) *Luther*, *Osiander*, *Brentius*, and *Musculus*, cautious and religious critics, did not scruple sometimes to resort to conjecture. See specimens of them, *ibid.* See *Hitzig*, l. c. p. 113, sqq.]

APPENDIX.

A.

..

(See § 8, p. 12.)

CATALOGUE OF BOOKS CITED IN THE OLD TESTAMENT, BUT NOW LOST.

I. *The Book of the Wars of Jehovah.* סֵפֶר מִלְחָמוֹת יְהוָה. Num. xxi. 14. *Abarbenel*, in loc., refers it to the time of Abraham; but others, with no better reason, ascribe the book to Moses. Some Jewish writers think certain parts of the Pentateuch are referred to under this title.*

II. *The Book of Jasher*, that is, *the Righteous.* סֵפֶר הַיָּשָׁר. Josh. x. 13, 2 Sam. i. 18. This book must have been of no very ancient date, for it contained the Lamentations of David on the death of Saul and Jonathan. A spurious work with this title has come down to us, containing the history recorded in the first seven books of the Old Testament.^b

III. *The Book of the Constitution of the Kingdom.* סֵפֶר מִשְׁפָּט הַמֶּלֶךְ. 1 Sam. x. 25.

IV. *Solomon's Three Thousand Proverbs.* שְׁלֹשָׁת אלְפֵי מִשְׁלֵי. 1 Kings v. 12. (iv. 32.)

V. *Solomon's Thousand and Five Songs.* שִׁירֵי חֲמֵשָׁת וְאֶלֶף.

* See the Jerusalem Targum and that of Jonathan, in loc. For this and the following book, see *Wolf*, *Bibliotheca Hebræa*, vol. ii. p. 216, sqq.

^b 1. *The Book of Jasher*, with notes, &c.; 1751, 4to. 2. *The Book of Jasher*, &c.; Bristol, 1829, 4to. סֵפֶר הַיָּשָׁר, or the *Book of Jasher*, &c.; New York, 1840. See *Christian Examiner* for May, 1840. *Horne*, l. c. Bib. App. ch. iii. sect. i.

1 Kings v. 12. (iv. 32.) It has been thought that a part of these are extant in the Song of Solomon.

VI. *Solomon's Works on Natural History.* עַל תְּחִימָה; עַל הַצִּיָּים; עַל הָעוֹשׂים, and הַדְּגָיִם, עַל הָרֶמֶשׂ; עַל הָעוֹשׂים. 1 Kings iv. 33.

VII. *The Book of the Acts of Solomon.* סֵפֶר דְּבָרֵי שְׁלֹמֹה. 1 Kings xi. 41.

VIII. *The Book of the Chronicles of the Kings of Israel.* סֵפֶר
דְּבָרֵי הַדְּמִיּוֹת לְמַלְכֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל. 1 Kings xiv. 19, xvi. 5, 20, 27, xxii. 39.

IX. *The Books of the Chronicles of the Kings of Judah.*
1 Kings xv. 7.

X. *Chronicles of King David.* ח"ד למלך דוד. 1 Ch. xxvii. 24.

XI. XII. and XIII. *The Books of Samuel the Seer*; דְּבָרֵי שׁׁמׁוּאֵל; *of Nathan the Prophet*, דְּבָרֵי נָתָן; *of Gad the Seer*, דְּבָרֵי גָד. 1 Ch. xxix. 29, 2 Ch. ix. 29. Perhaps the first of these is the present book of Samuel.

XIV. and XV. *The Prophecy of Ahijah*, נְבוּאָת אֲחִיָּה; *the Visions of Iddo*, מַחְזֹנֵי יִדּוֹ. 2 Ch. ix. 29.*

XVI. *The Book of Shemaiah.* דברי שמעיה. 2 Ch. xii. 15.

XVII. *The Book of Jehu.* דִּבְרֵי יְהוּא. 2 Ch. xxix. 2.^b

XVIII. *An Historical Book of Isaiah the Prophet* is referred to in 2 Ch. xxvi. 22.

XIX. *The Sayings of Hosa.* יְהוֹשֻׁעַ. 2 Ch. xxxiii. 19.

XX. *The Lamentations.* מִתְקַנֵּן. 2 Ch. xxxv. 25. It cannot be the present book of Lamentation, for it contained an elegy on King Josiah, not found in the latter. Some think it the work of the Jeremiah mentioned in 2 Kings xxiii. 31.

Besides the above, some writers think other books, not now extant, are referred to in the Old Testament, namely, in Ex. xvii. 14, xxiv. 7; Isa. xxxiv. 16, xxxix. 11; 1 Ch. iv. 22, and elsewhere.

The Book of the Chronicles of the Kings of Media and Persia is mentioned, Esther x. 2; but that was not a Hebrew book. The book of Enoch is mentioned in the New Testament, Jude, verses 14, 15; but that is still extant.⁴

* See 1 Kings xi. 29 ; 2 Ch. xii. 15, xiii. 22.

^b See *Clericus*, in loc.

* In the English Bible, this work is called *The Sayings of the Seers*; this is the reading of the LXX. See verse 18.

^d The Book of Enock the Prophet, now first translated from an Ethiopic MS. by Richard Laurence, etc.; Oxford, 1821, 2d ed.; corrected

B.

(See § 24, p. 83.)

MEANING OF THE WORDS *CANON* AND *APOCRYPHA**

I. The word *canon* (κανὼν) had long been in general use among the old ecclesiastical writers, before it was applied to a collection of sacred writings.^b

1. With them it often meant, in general, nothing but a *book*, and a *catalogue*; or,

2. In particular, a *catalogue of things which belonged to the church*; or, in general, a *book which served for the use of the church*.^c Therefore, a list of odes which were to be sung on a feast day,^d as well as the roll in which were entered the names of all persons belonging to the church, was called a *canon*.^e

3. The word was used in a much narrower sense, and applied to a *public and approved catalogue of all the books which were to be read in the public assemblies of Christians*, for instruction and edification.^f

4. Finally, in times much later, it meant a *collection of divine and inspired writings*; and in this latter sense almost all modern scholars have taken the word. They, therefore, use *canonical* and *inspired* as perfectly synonymous; though, by the term *canon of the Old Testament*, some understand "the collection of holy and inspired writings which Christ and the apostles have declared holy and inspired."

II. The apocryphal are opposed to the canonical books.

1. At first, books *written in an obscure style* were called apoc-

and enlarged, 1833, 8vo. Hoffmann, Das Buch Henoch, &c.; Jena, 1833—1838, 2 vols. 8vo. For a full account of the various opinions respecting the lost books, see Wolf, Bib. Heb. vol. ii. p. 211—216.

* This article is from Eickhorn, § 16—18.

^b See Suidas, sub voce Κανὼν and Κανόνιον. F. F. Drake, Diss. de Ratione Hist. Can. scribendæ; Tub. 1778, 4to.

^c Synod. Laod. can. 42.

^d Suicer, Thesaurus eccles. vol. ii. p. 40, seq., and the authorities he cites. Socrates, Hist. Eccles. lib. i. ch. 17.

^e Du Fresno, Glossarium Med. et infimæ Græcitatæ, p. 579.

^f Suicer, l. c. Cotta, Apud Gerhard, Locos Theol. vol. ii. p. 244.

ryphal.^a These writings were considered above the comprehension of the common man; and the overseers of the church forbade that they should be read in the public assemblies of Christians, though they were not only not forbidden to the teachers, but it was their duty to study them diligently.

2. Therefore, under the name *apocryphal*, in opposition to *canonical*, such books were designated as *were laid aside, and from which nothing was to be read in public.*^b

3. Even *spurious writings* (*pseudepigrapha*) were sometimes called *apocryphal*, for similar reasons, because no public use could be made of such miserable productions as the Book of Adam, Methuselah, Enoch, and others like them.^c

4. Finally, as canonical and inspired were deemed synonymous, so a book *not inspired* was called *apocryphal*. But the use of the word in this sense began very late, and, perhaps, not before the time of Jerome.

Under the term *canon of the Old Testament*, if we understand the *collection of divine and inspired writings of the Jews from times before the birth of Christ*, then we give it a meaning which most Christian writers never thought of; and numerous difficulties oppose the inquirer, who consults the Fathers respecting the canon of the Old Testament. The book of Tobit and Judith, the two books of Maccabees, and the five books of Solomon, and others, are found included among the canonical Scriptures.^d Frightened at this appearance, he either gives up the investigation, or, if he is earnest enough to continue it, comes to the conclusion that our canon of the Old Testament is of recent origin, and was not determined in ancient times, in all its great and little parts.^e

If we understand, by the *canon of the Old Testament*, the books of the Jews from times before Christ, which might be read in public,

^a *Suidas*, sub voce Φιερωνδης. *Epiphanius*, Hæres. lib. i. *Drak*, l. c. p. 8.—*Semler* (Untersuch des Kanons, vol. i. p. 10) says that sometimes a book was called *apocryphal* which was allowed only to the *practised Christian*.

^b *Ruffinus*, Expos. Symb. in Opp. *Cypriani*, p. 26. *Cyril*, Catechet. iv. p. 68, ed. *Toutt*. Here *apocryphal* agrees with the rabbinical word פסוק. See *Hettinger*, Thes. Phil. p. 521. *Castelli's* and *Buxtorf's* Lexicons, sub voce.

^c *Athanasius*, Synops. vol. ii. p. 154. *Fabricius*, Codex Pseudepigraphus V. T. vol. ii. p. 308.

^d Concil. Carthag. can. 47, A. C. 397.

^e *Semler*, l. c. vol. i. p. 14.

this meaning will not apply to the Old Testament, and is not admissible. By whom should the reading of these works be permitted? By Jews, or Christians? By the Jews? Nothing was more uncertain than the number of books to be held canonical; for they did not consider the canonical books synonymous with those to be read. The Song of Solomon was to them a sacred national writing; and yet they were forbidden to make a public use of it in their synagogues.* In general, with this meaning of the term, we could only include in the canon the five books of Moses, the Prophets, and the book of Esther, — which was read, with many solemnities, at the feast of Purim. The Psalms, the Proverbs, Job, and the historical books, would be excluded! Shall we take those read by Christians? Then the canon of the Old Testament would be still more uncertain. The canon was determined at a time when it was not known what books were to be held canonical, for that was not settled till after the first century from the birth of Christ; by a party, from whom no certain determination of the canon of the Old Testament was to be expected; and without any established principles by which the value of the book could be tried, for the New Testament gave no decision of that question. The selection depended merely on caprice, and was, perhaps, determined by pious considerations, — which were often very doubtful, — or by authorities wholly inadequate. Finally, if we compare the catalogues, still extant, of the books of the Old Testament, which it is permitted to read publicly among Christians, Judith, Tobit, and other books, are introduced, which, for various reasons, can have no canonical value. So unstable is the ground on which the important subject of inquiry, the canon of the Old Testament, is commonly based!

* Origen, *Præf. ad Cant. Cant.*

CATALOGUES OF THE BOOKS OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.

[illegible][illegible]

NOTES ON THE PRECEDING TABLE.

§ 1.

THE ALEXANDRIAN VERSION.

The Prayer, or Song, of the Three Children is added to the third chapter of the book of Daniel; the History of Susannah, and that of Bel and the Dragon, form the thirteenth and fourteenth of the same book. A *third* book of Maccabees is added in the Alexandrian and Vatican manuscripts; and a *fourth* book of the Maccabees is also contained in some old manuscripts. Neither of these two last has found a place among the apocryphal books of the English Bible.*

§ 2.

PHILO.

Philo flourished about the time of Christ and the apostles. It is only through him that we can learn what books composed the canon of the Alexandrian Jews. He does not give a detailed catalogue of the books of the Old Testament in any part of his works; but, here and there, in his writings, sentences occur, from which we may gather his opinions respecting them, and, perhaps, those of his countrymen at Alexandria. He was acquainted with the apocryphal writings, and sometimes borrows an expression from them, but never quotes them for arguments to substantiate a doctrine. Horneman^b divides the books of the Old Testament into three classes, according to the rank Philo seems to have assigned them, namely:

1. Books referred to, with the express declaration that they are of divine origin. They are marked with an asterisk in the preceding table.

2. Books which he barely cites, marked 1 in table.

3. Books which he does not mention, marked — in the table. Philo calls writings of the first class, "works of the prophets,"

* For further particulars respecting the apocryphal additions to Daniel in the LXX., see below, vol. ii. § 259.

^b Observationes ad illust. Doctrinæ de Canone V. T. ex Philone, cited in Eichhorn, § 26.

"inspired writings," and other similar titles. He supposes these prophets were merely *interpreters of God*, who, in their moments of inspiration, had neither will nor self-consciousness; they were not persons, but instruments in the hands of the Almighty. The passages in which he mentions the books of the first and second class, are given in the note.* He does not mention Nehemiah, Ruth, Esther, Chronicles, Daniel, Ezekiel, the Lamentation of Jeremiah, Ecclesiastes, or the Song of Solomon. But Nehemiah may have been considered as a part of Ezra; Ruth, of Judges; and the Lamentation as belonging to the Prophecies of Jeremiah. The twelve Minor Prophets were probably considered as one book; and the books of Samuel and Kings were probably regarded as one work, in four parts. But, since Philo nowhere professes to furnish us with a list of the sacred books, his omission of a book furnishes no objection whatever to its admission into the canon.

§ 3.

THE NEW TESTAMENT.

The New Testament affords us no catalogue of the sacred books. Some parts of the Old Testament are frequently cited; but others are not once referred to. Those marked with an asterisk, in the table, are thought by some to be cited as *proofs of religious truth*; the others to be referred to merely for illustration. But it does not appear that the New Testament makes such a distinction.

Six books of the Old Testament are never referred to in the New Testament, namely, Judges, Ecclesiastes, Canticles, Esther, Ezra, and Nehemiah. The fact that a book is cited in the New

* He calls Moses *προφήτης*, and *ισαφάντης*, Opp. ed. *Mangey*, vol. ii. p. 66, 117, 121. He calls his writings *προφητικὸν λόγον*, or *ισαφ βιβλίους*, vol. i. p. 347—543, ii. p. 163. Similar appellations are bestowed on *Genesis*, vol. i. p. 18, *Exodus*, p. 438, *Leviticus*, p. 86, *Numbers*, p. 273, *Deuteronomy*, p. 657. The book of *Joshua* is called *λόγιον τοῦ Ἰησοῦ Θεοῦ*, p. 430. The *First of Samuel* is called *ισὸς λόγος*, p. 379. *Ezra* is called *ισαφαρτήθεις*, p. 427. He calls *Isaiah* and *Jeremiah* *prophets*, p. 604, 681, 411, 147, &c. He mentions but two of the minor prophets, viz. *Hosea*, p. 350, 599, and *Zachariah*, p. 414, but both with the usual marks of approbation. He usually cites the *Psalms* without ascribing a divine origin to them. But he calls *David* a *prophet*, a *prophetic* or *inspired man*, and speaks of *Solomon*, as author of *Proverbs*, in similar terms. *Judges*, *Job*, and the *First Book of Kings*, are cited without any mark of peculiar veneration. See *Eichhorn*, § 25—33.

Testament, proves merely *that it was regarded with respect by the Jews*; or, at least, *that it was well known at the time*. It will by no means support the conclusion that it was supposed to be *miraculously inspired*, or to contain a *standard of religious and moral doctrine*.

The apocryphal books are not cited in the New Testament, though allusions are made to the book of Ecclesiasticus.* Some apocryphal books are alluded to in the Epistle of Jude, vs. 14, and 2 Tim. iii. 8; and Paul does not hesitate to quote Greek authors, when he speaks to those who were familiar with them,—as he quotes Jewish authors to the Jews.

§ 4.

CHAP. I. — CATALOGUES OF THE BOOKS IN THE CANON.

Josephus.

Josephus furnishes us the oldest catalogue, now extant, of all the writings of the Old Testament, in the celebrated passage translated above, § 15. In the table, the books marked with an asterisk are such as have *divine authority* ascribed to them by Josephus. Those marked with an obelisk (†) are *inserted in his catalogue, but are never quoted in his writings*. In the passage referred to,[†] he does not merely give his own opinion upon the canon, or the books he supposed it to contain, but the common opinion of his countrymen. In compiling the table, I have not only referred to this passage containing the list of canonical books, but to various portions of his writings, where he has incidentally spoken of them.

In his list of books, he reckons, as canonical, all the writings composed before the time of Artaxerxes Longimanus, who died 424 before Christ. Why did he fix this period as the limit of the composition of the canon? Eichhorn acutely answers the question,—Josephus supposed the book of Esther to be the latest of all the

* Compare Eccles. xxiv. 17 and John xv. 1.

—— — 19 Matt. xi. 28.

—— — 9 John i. 1.

—— — 21 — iv. 13, 14, vi. 35.

Paul, it is evident, was acquainted with this book.

[†] Cont. Apion, i. § 8.

books. This he places in the reign of Artaxerxes. If the book of Malachi was written later, Josephus was ignorant of the fact. His error, then, consists in placing Esther, instead of Malachi, at the end of the canon. We, therefore, are justified in placing any of our present canonical books in the catalogue of Josephus.

He calls these books, "works of the prophets," "sacred writings," &c., and grounds their authority on the fact that they were written by prophets. He receives all our present canonical books, but rejects the later writings, because they were not written by prophets. Every sacred book, therefore, with which he was acquainted, and which he believed to have been written by a prophet, (before the time of Artaxerxes,) received a place in the canon. All others were excluded. And since there were no prophets after the time of Artaxerxes, (excepting Malachi, whom *he* places earlier,) he mentions no books, in his canon, of a later date.

Now, leaving his systematic catalogue, and examining his works at large, it appears that he classes some books expressly among the *sacred writings*, mentions others *without ascribing to them any authority*, and *omits others altogether*.

I. The following belong to the first class: ^a —

- | | | |
|--------------------|--------------|----------------|
| 1. The Pentateuch; | 5. Isaiah; | 9. Jonah; |
| 2. Joshua; | 6. Jeremiah; | 10. Nahum; |
| 3. Kings; | 7. Ezekiel; | 11. Haggai; |
| 4. Psalms; | 8. Daniel; | 12. Zachariah. |

II. To the second belong the following books: ^b —

- | | |
|---------------------|-----------------------|
| 1. Lamentations; | 4. Chronicles; |
| 2. Judges and Ruth; | 5. Ezra and Nehemiah; |
| 3. Samuel; | 6. Esther. |

III. The following belong to the third class: —

- | | |
|---------------|------------------|
| 1. Proverbs; | 3. Ecclesiastes; |
| 2. Canticles; | 4. Job. |

^a (1.) See Preface, § 4. Ant. iii. c. 5, § 2; iv. c. 8, § 48; ix. c. 2, § 2. (2.) Ant. v. c. 1, § 17. (3.) Ant. ix. c. 2, § 2. (4.) Ant. vii. c. 12, § 3. (5.) Ant. xi. c. 1, § 2. (6.) Ant. x. c. 5, § 1. (7.) Ant. x. c. 8, § 2. (8.) Ant. x. c. 10, § 4, and c. 11, § 7. (9.) Ant. x. c. 2, § 2, ad fin., (here he classes all the twelve Minor Prophets together, and ranks them with Isaiah,) and Ant. ix. c. 10, § 1, 2. (10.) Ant. ix. c. 11, § 3. See *Whiston's* note. (11 and 12.) Ant. xi. c. 4, § 5.

^b (1.) Ant. x. c. 5, § 1. Compare v. c. 1 with the book of Joshua. (2.) And v. c. 2—8 with Judges. (3.) Compare v. c. 9—vii. with the books of Samuel. (4.) Ant. viii. c. 12, § 4. Compare 2 Ch. xiv. 8. (5.) Ant. xi. 5, § 1, 2, 8. But

Josephus does not quote any one of these four books. This fact is easily explained. He wrote a history of the Hebrew nation, not of its literature; and, as these are not historical books, he could write a history without quoting them. The book of Job was well known at that time, for it is quoted in the New Testament, and by Philo. Josephus, doubtless, included it among the thirteen prophetic books.^a

§ 5.

CHAP. II. — CHRISTIAN CATALOGUES OF THE BOOKS IN THE CANON OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.

I. CANON OF THE WRITERS OF THE GREEK CHURCH.

The apostolical Fathers were mostly ignorant of the original language of the Hebrew canon; therefore, in studying the Old Testament, they were obliged to make use of a translation. The Alexandrian version was generally used. And since that contains books not found in the Hebrew canon, it is not strange to find these writers quoting indifferently the apocryphal and the canonical books.

Barnabas and Hermas, and, still later, Irenæus and Clement of Alexandria, cite the apocryphal writings, ascribing to them the same authority as to the canonical books. This is the more remarkable in a man so learned as Clement of Alexandria.^b

§ 6.

1. *Canon of Melito.*

Melito is the first Christian writer who gives us a catalogue of the "universally acknowledged Scriptures" of the Old Testament, says Eusebius, to whom we are indebted for this valuable document.^c He took it from the writings of Melito himself. From his account, it

he draws also from the apocryphal Ezra. Compare xi. c. 3, § 2—8, with 1 Esd. iii. iv. See *Whiston's* note on this passage. (6.) Compare xi. c. 6 with the canonical book of Esther, which *Whiston* thinks *J.* never saw. Note on Cont. Ap. i. § 8.

^a See above, § 15, and *Eichhorn*, § 40—50. See, on the other hand, Dr. *Palfrey's* *Academical Lectures*, vol. i. p. 25, sqq.

^b See above, § 25.

^c *Eusebius*, Hist. Eccl. iv. c. 26. See § 25, above.

appears the canon was not then settled among the Christians; for had this been the case, it would not have been necessary for Onesimus to write to Melito to ascertain the number of books deemed divine, or inspired; and still less would it be requisite for the bishop himself to journey to Palestine to make inquiries upon this subject.

Melito's list contains only the books received in the churches of Palestine; therefore we cannot conclude from it that these books, and these only, were received in all the other churches. The book of Esther, Nehemiah, and Lamentations, are not named in it. But the two latter were doubtless included in the books of Ezra and Jeremiah. Eichhorn, as it has already been said, thinks Esther was likewise included with Ezra, but his arguments are not satisfactory.* From this epistle we learn that there was no well-known canon of Scripture acknowledged in his time.^b He admits *none* of the apocryphal, and all of the present canonical books, with the single and doubtful exception of Esther. This is marked with an asterisk in the table, as doubtful.

§ 7.

2. *Canon of Origen.*

The next list that has come down to us is from the celebrated Origen. This, also, is preserved by Eusebius.^c Origen formed it, as he says, from the testimony of the Jews. He not only does not admit all the apocryphal books, but expressly excludes some of them, namely, the books of Maccabees.^d The omission of the twelve Minor Prophets, in this catalogue, is satisfactorily explained as an accidental omission of the transcriber. But it is more difficult to account for the admission of Baruch to a place in the canon. Perhaps the following is the most satisfactory solution: The Jew, or Jews, whom he

* On this catalogue, see Lardner, vol. ii. ch. 15. Manscher, Handbuch der Dogmengeschichte, vol. i. § 26. Palfrey's Acad. Lect. vol. i. p. 32, sqq.

^b Schmid, in his Hist. et Vindic. Canonis, (cited by Eichhorn, § 52,) maintains that Esther is omitted by a mistake of the transcriber. But he is supported by few arguments. It might be omitted from the Christian canon at that period, for the book is not very edifying in a religious point of view. Afterwards, when the principles on which the Jewish canon was based, were better understood, the book was restored to its place.

^c Hist. Eccl. vi. 25. See above, § 25.

^d "Ἐξαιρέσει δὲ τούτων ἐκτὶ τὰ Μακκαβαίων, κ. τ. λ. But see Palfrey, l. c. lect. ii. p. 35.

relied in for his authority, may have had a high esteem for the book, and at their suggestion, strengthened by the authority of the Alexandrian version, he gave it its present place in his canon.*

Münscher concludes the Palestine Jews used the original Hebrew text, and the Hellenistic Jews the Alexandrian version. The latter included more books than the former. But, even among the Palestine Jews, doubts prevailed upon the books of Baruch and Esther, which were finally settled in favor of the latter, and against the former. Now, the difference between the Palestine and the Hellenistic canon gradually diminished; the old Palestine canon was restored. All the Christians agreed in receiving all the present canonical books, with the single exception of Esther, (and it is doubtful if this was rejected;) but they differed in admitting or rejecting some of the apocryphal writings—for example, the Wisdom of Solomon, of Jesus the Son of Sirach, &c., which some accepted, and others refused to admit. The church and its most distinguished teachers were favorable to these books. Ignorance of the true Hebrew canon, and reverence for the Alexandrian version, favored them. Therefore most of the writers of this period make use of these and other apocryphal books. Yet, even then, some critics were found, like Origen and Melito, who made a careful investigation of the subject, and consulted the Jews, the only authorities in the matter, and adhered to the old Jewish canon. But their labors seem to have exerted but little influence on their contemporaries; for, after the time of Origen, we find a difference between the canon of the Greek and that of the western church. Origen's Hexapla showed to all scholars what books were translated from the Hebrew, and what were originally written in Greek. The writers of the *Greek church* uniformly rejected the latter from the canon. This is evident from the writings of Eusebius, and the catalogues of Athanasius, Gregory, and Epiphanius. In the west, Hilary of Poitiers, and Jerome, both students of Origen's writings, were likewise of this opinion. Others of the western church were ignorant of his works, especially of the Hexapla, and therefore continued to use all the books contained in the Alexandrian version.

* *Redepennig* (Origenes, eine Darstellung seiner Lebens und seine Lehre, Bonn, 1841, vol. i. p. 232, sqq.) thinks Origen never made a very sharp distinction between the *canonical* and *apocryphal*. It can hardly be denied that he quotes the apocryphal books as authorities, or that he distinguishes them from those esteemed sacred by the Hebrews. See above, § 25, p. 90, sqq.

§ 8.

3. *Canon of Athanasius.*

Athanasius was bishop of Alexandria from 326 to 373. He is called *the father of orthodoxy*. His opinion, therefore, is important. His catalogue, inserted in the table, is found in a fragment of what is called *a festal epistle*, in vol. i. p. 961 of the Benedictine edition of his works. He acknowledges all the canonical books except the book of Esther.

He makes three classes of writings.

1. The *canonical*. In this class he places all of our canonical writings except the book of Esther, and adds the book of *Baruch*, and the *Epistle*, to the Prophecies of Jeremiah.

2. Those which are *known*, but not *admitted to the canon*. They are marked with an asterisk in the table.

3. *Apocryphal writings*, which are the invention of heretics, who wrote them according to their own caprice.* The Synopsis of Sacred Scripture, attributed to him, and contained in the Benedictine edition of his works,^b is undoubtedly spurious, and therefore it is not noticed in the table; but it agrees in the main with the festal epistle.

§ 9.

4. *Canon of Cyril of Jerusalem.*

Cyril was born, according to Lardner, about 315, ordained presbyter in 344 or 345, and bishop in 350 or 351, and died in 386. The catechetical discourses from which this table is compiled, says Jerome, were written in his youth, while he was a presbyter, that is, about 347 or 348. His catalogue differs from that of Athanasius in admitting the book of Esther.^c

§ 10.

5. *Canon of the Council of Laodicea.*

Lardner says the date of this council is not certain. Some place it before the council of Nice; others between 341 and 381. The catalogue is contained in the fifty-ninth and sixtieth, or fifty-eighth

* See the remarks of Lardner, pt. ii. ch. 75, and of Masecher, l. c. vol. iii. § 20.

^b Opp. vol. ii. p. 126—204.

^c See § 26, sup. p. 97, sqq.

and fifty-ninth canons. It is generally received as genuine, though it is not free from all doubts. The council consisted of only thirty or forty bishops from Lydia and the neighboring countries. It does not differ from the canon of Cyril.*

§ 11.

6. *Canon of Epiphanius.*

Epiphanius was chosen bishop of Constantia, the capital of Cyprus, in 367 or 368. In his works there are three catalogues of the books of the Old Testament.^b He enumerates twenty-seven books, which he reduces to twenty-two. In one place he says, the Epistle of Baruch was not received by the Jews;^c but again he mentions it with the Prophecies and Lamentations of Jeremiah.^d The Wisdom of Solomon and of Sirach are called "*useful books*," but he does not rank them with the others.

§ 12.

7. *Canon of Gregory of Nazianzen.*

Gregory was born about 326, and died about 389 or 391. His catalogue is found in his poems.^e He warns his readers against apocryphal writings. He enumerates *none of our apocryphal* books in his canon, and *omits the book of Esther*. The Lamentations, it is probable, are included with the Prophecies of Jeremiah.

§ 13.

8. *Canon of Amphilochius.*

Amphilochius was bishop of Iconium from 370 to 391, though these dates are uncertain. The catalogue is found in an Iambic poem addressed to Seleucus. Some writers — and De Wette seems of the number — attribute it to Gregory of Nazianzen; but their argu-

* See the passage in § 26, sup. p. 94, sqq.

^b Pond. et Mens. § 4, Opp. ii. p. 161, sqq., and § 23, and the *Panarium*, vol. i. p. 19.

^c Vol. ii. p. 163, A.

^d Vol. i. p. 19.

^e Carm. xxxiii. Opp. vol. ii. p. 98, ed. Colon. Lardner refers to the most valuable literature which relates to him and his works.

ments are not satisfactory.* He differs from Gregory in mentioning *the book of Esther*, though he gives it but a qualified admission—"to these some add *Esther*."

§ 14.

9. *Canon of the Apostolical Constitutions.*

The genuineness of this work cannot be defended.^b If this is the same cited by Epiphanius,^c which is very doubtful, then it must be referred to the beginning of the fourth century. But writers, not without good reason, refer it to the fifth.^d

Besides the canonical books, the eighty-fifth canon enumerates the *three books of Maccabees* and the *book of Judith*. This latter, however, is wanting in some manuscripts. The book of *Ecclesiasticus* is not admitted. If this canon was written in the fourth century, it seems to have had but little influence at the time; for none of the Christian writers on the canon ever refer to it. Epiphanius, indeed, says of the Constitution of the Apostles, "All the order of the canon is preserved in it."^e But he would not be willing to say this of a work admitting *Judith* and the *Maccabees* to a place in the canon.

§ 15

RESULTS.

Such is the canon of the Greek church at the close of the fourth century. The churches uniformly received, the twenty-two canonical books of the Hebrews, that is, *all of our present canonical writings of the Old Testament*. Some, however, rejected the book of *Esther*, while others admitted the book of *Baruch* and the *Epistle of Jeremiah*

* See the arguments on both sides in *Lardner*, l. c. pt. ii. ch. 99. The poem may be found in the *Monumenta Græca*, ed. *Cotelerius*, tom. ii. 99—104, and in *Gregory's Opp.* vol. ii. p. 194, ed. *Colen*.

^b See the work in *Mansi*, Conc. Patr. vol. i. p. 47, and in *Cotelerius*, Patr. Apost. vol. i. p. 448.

^c *Hæres.* lxx. No. 10, p. 822, 823, ed. *Petavius*. Given also in *Græbe*, *Spicilegium*, vol. i. p. 46—55.

^d See *Lardner*, pt. ii. ch. 85.

^e *Opp.* p. 822, ed. *Petavius*.

I have inserted it in the table to show the striking difference between later catalogues and those prepared by the eminent scholars of the Greek church in the fourth century.

to the canon. The book of Tobit, the Wisdom of Solomon, and Sirach, with the books of Maccabees, and the rest of the Apocrypha, while they were pronounced useful and instructive works, were *excluded from the list of sacred, inspired, and canonical writings*. In this result we see the influence of Origen, whose works, in this century, were diligently and extensively studied in the Greek church. Still some writers, like Athanasius, Cyril, and Epiphanius, refer to the apocryphal books, both for illustration and argument. But Origen himself did the same.

§ 16.

II. CANON OF THE LATIN CHURCH IN THE FOURTH CENTURY.

1. *Canon of Jerome.*

Jerome was born in the first half of the fourth century, and died 420. He did more than any other ancient for the elucidation of the Scripture, with the single exception of Origen. The one danced to the piping of the other. He was master of the Latin, the Greek, and Hebrew languages. In the preface to his translation of the books of Samuel and Kings, he gives a catalogue of all the books of the Old Testament. This contains all the *old canonical Hebrew writings*, that is, our present canonical books, and no more. He expressly excludes the *apocryphal books*, though he calls some of them *valuable and edifying works*. He says the Jews have not the apocryphal additions to Daniel, but ridicule the Christians for the reverence they pay them. He censures those apocryphal books which pass under the name of Ezra (the apocryphal books of Esdras) and Solomon.* At the request of his friends, he translated Tobit and Judith into Latin. But, in the preface to each of these, he states that they are apocryphal.†

§ 17.

2. *Canon of Rufinus.*

Rufinus was contemporary with Jerome, and agrees with him perfectly in the books he admits to the canon and rejects from it. The one is a copy of the other.

* Pref. in Dan. and in Ezek. Adv. *Vigilius*, Opp. iv. p. 283, sqq.

† Pref. in Tobit, Opp. i. p. 1158. Pref. in Judith, p. 1170. See *Lardner*, pt. ii. ch. 114.

§ 18.

3. *Canon of the Council of Carthage.*

The third, or, as others call it, the sixth, *council of Carthage*, says Lardner,^a assembled in 397. Aurelius, the bishop of Carthage, presided, and the celebrated Augustine was present. The forty-seventh canon of this council establishes the canon as it is given in the table. It recognizes six apocryphal books, viz. *Tobit, Judith, Wisdom of Solomon, and Sirach*, and the *two books of Maccabees*. Does it not also include the apocryphal Esther, and Esdras, with the canonical books of those names?^b

§ 19.

4. *Canon of Augustine.*

Augustine was born 354, and died 430, A. C. His canon is the same that was established by the council of Carthage.^c Dr. Lardner attempts to explain his admission of apocryphal books to the canon, and shows, if he really maintained the canonicity of these writings, he was inconsistent with himself; for he frequently uses expressions which show that these books were not esteemed of equal authority with those of the Jewish canon. The inconsistency must be admitted. But we cannot reconcile the difference between his canon and that of Jerome with the common hypothesis, that all the churches of the east and west adhered to one uniform canon.

§ 20.

CONCLUSION.

While the Greek church, through the acquaintance of their teachers with the original Hebrew, or at least with the writings of Origen, adhered to the original and genuine canon, the councils and teachers of the Latin church, for the most part *ignorant of Hebrew*, enlarged their canon, and admitted nearly all the apocryphal additions of the Alexandrian version. Jerome and Rufinus are, indeed, noble exceptions to this rule. Their learning and diligence had conducted

^a See *Lardner*, pt. ii. ch. 116.

^b See *Mansi*, vol. iii. p. 891 and 904.

^c *Doctr. Christ.* ii. ch. viii. 12, 13, 14.

them to the truth; they walked by a clearer light than their contemporaries of the west. Such was the state of opinion respecting the canon at the close of the fourth century. In the following ages, the apocryphal and canonical writings were confounded in the Catholic church.* In the Greek church, the influence of Origen still continued, and they were kept distinct. But at this day there is no universal canon adopted by all classes of Christians. The Greek and the Roman church have always differed. The Catholic and the Protestant still disagree. It is not necessary, for practical purposes, that the limits of the canon should be determined, though the results of our inquiry decide plainly in favor of the present canon of the Protestants. But on what ground is the Song of Solomon admitted to the canon, while the Wisdom of Solomon is cast out as unclean? Certainly not for its *intrinsic* merits. The Jewish canon, it seems, contains all of the old national works that could be collected, and rejects all other compositions.

D.

HISTORY OF THE HEBREW LANGUAGE TO THE TIME OF ITS EXTINCTION.^b

(See § 30, *seq.*, p. 120.)

§ 1.

ON THE SHEMITISH LANGUAGES IN GENERAL.

1. The Hebrew language is only a single branch of that great stock of languages and nations in Hither Asia, which, originally, not only embraced Palestine, but also Syria, Phœnicia, Babylonia, Arabia, and Æthiopia. Some have wished to enumerate Assyria, and

* See the letter of *Innocent*, bishop of Rome, to *Ezsuperius*, bishop of Toulouze, written in 406. All the books of the Carthaginian canon are declared canonical by it. "Recipiantur," says the bishop. See the letter in *Semler*, *Untersuch. d. Kanons*, vol. i. p. 18. See also p. 20—29.

^b Translated from *Gesenius*, *Geschichte der Heb. Sprache*, beginning with § 4, which is here § 1.

the two provinces in Asia Minor, Cappadocia and Pontus on the Halys, as branches of this trunk ; but, to say the least, this is very uncertain. But, on the other hand, in several periods, branches of this stock have extended themselves far beyond their original limits. For example, in times of high antiquity, the Phœnician language prevailed in Carthage, and in the extended colonies and factories of this commercial people. And, in the middle ages, the Arabic language prevailed in all the northern coasts of Africa, as far as Spain.*

2. There is no convenient and adequate name for this race of languages and people. The Fathers, and Jerome in particular, call these languages, by way of distinction, the *Oriental* languages. In modern times, Eichhorn has recommended that the term *Shemitish* should be used instead of the other ; because, in the genealogical table given in Gen. x. 21, sqq., most of these people are derived from *Shem*. However, it must be admitted that this term is sometimes too extensive, and sometimes too limited, and by no means answers its purpose. But yet an explanation will free it from all chance of mistake, and so it may still be used.^b

* On the question whether a language kindred to the Hebrew was spoken in Assyria also, see below, § 111, 3. The inquiry on the language of Asia Minor, within the Halys, is likewise connected with this. *Bochart*, (Canaan, p. 535,) *Heeren*, (Com. Soc. Gott. vol. viii. p. 23, sqq.,) and others, maintain that a Syriac dialect obtained here, and rely for authority on the name of these people — *white-Syrians*, *Λευκοσύνιοι*. But *Strabo* (lib. xii.) expressly ascribes a language of their own to the Cappadocians, the limits of whose possessions he carefully designates. The single words which now remain, which either occur as Assyrio-Persian, or else are of unknown meaning, taken in connection with the fact that the sacred customs of the Persians prevailed there, (*Strabo*, lib. xv. p. 504, al. 1065,) and that the name *Cappadocia* is Persian, (*Herodotus*, vii. 14,) render it probable that these provinces, both in descent and language, belong to the Assyrians, and not the Syrians. See *Jablonskii* Opusc. vol. ii. p. 126, sqq.

But, on the other hand, there are marks which tend to show that Phœnician was spoken in some parts of Asia Minor. *Charilus*, a contemporary of Alexander the Great, says this of the Solymi, the ancient inhabitants of Lycia and Pisidia. *Josephus* (Cont. Ap. i. 22) cites a line from him—

Γλώσσαν μὲν φοινίκισαν ἀπὸ στόματων ἀφέντας.

But *Josephus* himself misunderstands the passage, for he supposes the Solymi are the inhabitants of Jerusalem, and the Jews ; and the verse has frequently been adduced to prove that the Jews spoke Phœnician or Canaanitish. But others corrected the mistake long ago. See *Havercamp*, in loc.

^b See *Eichhorn*, Allg. Bib. vol. vi. p. 772, sqq., and, on the other side, *Stange*, Theol. Symmicta, vol. i. No. 1. He says the *Cushites* and *Canaanites* were descended from Ham ; and it is certain the *Elamites*, and probable that the *Assyrians*, did not belong to the descendants of *Shem*. Since *Lud* is doubt-

3. The various dialects into which this great stock of languages is divided may be distinguished into three main branches:—

(1.) The *Aramæan*, spoken in Syria, Mesopotamia, and Babylonia. This again is divided into the east and west Aramæan, that is, the Chaldee and Syriac.

(2.) The *Canaanitish* or *Hebrew*, spoken in Palestine and Phœnicia. The Punic is a descendant of this.

(3.) The *Arabic*, of which the *Æthiopic* is a parallel branch. The Samaritan is a mixture of the Hebrew and Aramæan.

These dialects flourished in their greatest vigor at different times. We have the most ancient traces of the formation of the Hebrew, in which, in general, the oldest monuments of the languages of antiquity are preserved to us. As this became extinct, the east Aramæan, or Chaldee, came forth. The relics we possess of the Syriac are still more modern, and the literature of the Arabic language extends little beyond the age of Mohammed. We have no accounts of it in earlier times, even if it attained a higher degree of culture.

Most of these dialects are now extinct, or only survive in fragments, in obscure districts. But the Arabic has outlived them all, and is not only the prevalent popular language throughout all Syria, *Ægypt*, Arabia, and the north coasts of Africa, but, as the religious language, it is diffused throughout Persia and Turkey, and wherever the religion of Mohammed prevails. On account of the religious interest felt in the Hebrew language, the works in which it is preserved have been, incontestably, more widely extended since its extinction, than while it was a living tongue: from this cause, as the language of religious books, it has continued to live in the two great religious parties which have proceeded from it.*

ful, only two of Shem's offspring, *Arphaxad* and *Aram*, remain for our stock of languages. *Eichhorn* thinks the Canaanites were originally Hamites, and adopted the Shemitish language afterwards, when they settled on the coasts of the Mediterranean. But this is mere conjecture. Still less has it been proved that originally alphabetical writing belonged to the Shemites, and hieroglyphics to the Hamites. The affinity of languages is one of the most treacherous guides for the affinities of nations. So we may well doubt whether the author of that system of the descent of nations, in Genesis, is in the right when he declares part of the Arabian race (the Jectanides, v. 26—30) are of an entirely different origin from the others, (v. 7;) and also when he separates the Hebrews, in this genealogy, from the Canaanites.

* For more minute accounts of the character, history, and literature, of these dialects, see *Adelung*, *Mithridates*, vol. i. p. 299, sqq. *Eichhorn*, *Geach. Lit. vol.* v. p. 405, sqq.

4. The difference between these dialects is scarcely as great as that between the different branches of the Slavic, or the German stock, though it is greater and different from that between the dialects of Greece, with which they have, not very properly, been compared. The following are some of the most striking and common peculiarities in which they all differ from the western languages:—

(1.) They delight in gutturals, of various degrees, some of which cannot be imitated by us.

(2.) The primitive words usually consist of two syllables, and are more frequently verbs than nouns.

(3.) The oblique cases of the personal pronouns and the similar possessive pronouns are always affixed to the verb, noun, or particle.

(4.) The verb has only two tenses. As for the optative and subjunctive moods, they scarcely exist. On the contrary, a general analogy is found in expressing the different modifications in the meaning of a verbal.

(5.) There are only two genders, masculine and feminine. The cases are indicated by prepositions; the genitive, very peculiarly, by a close connection with the nominative. There are no distinct forms for the comparative and superlative. However, the Arabic is an exception to this rule.

(6.) Compound words are never found either as nouns or verbs, but only as proper names.

(7.) The syntax is somewhat simple, and the style is remarkable for the absence of a periodic structure, which arises from the want of particles and the awkward use of them.*

§ 2.

HEBREW LANGUAGE. ITS DIFFERENT NAMES.

After this general survey, we will now turn to the Hebrew language itself, the only one which concerns us at this time.

The term "*Hebrew language*" (לְשׁוֹן עִבְרִית) does not occur in the Old Testament, though it must have been common when part of it was written. Instead of this name, the language is usually called the *language of Canaan*, Isa. xix. 18, קַנְעָנִי - לְשׁוֹן; but here the expression is rather the poetical than the common term. It seems to be called the *Jews' language* in 2 Kings xviii. 26, (com-

* C. G. Anton, Versuch Unterscheidungszeichen der Or. und Occid. Spr. zu entdecken; Leip. 1792, 8vo.

pare Isa. xxxvi. 11, 13,) and in Neh. xiii. 24. The latter passages follow the usage which arose after the captivity of the ten tribes; for, after that event, the name *Judea* and *Jew* was applied to the whole land and nation. In Jeremiah it is commonly used as a general name of the people, and in particular, in xxxiv. 9, it is used as synonymous with *Hebrew*. The term *Hebrew*^a first occurs in the Apocrypha.^b But there it means the prevalent Aramæan popular language, which, at that time, had taken the place of the old Hebrew. In Josephus, by the term *language of the Hebrews*,^c the old Hebrew language is to be understood.^d

Although it requires no proof that the Hebrew language received this name because it was the language of the Hebrew nation, yet, since the manner of using and writing this name, since its origin and meaning, appear to be contested, a short explanation on these points will not be out of place.^e

1. The following remarks may be made on the difference between the name *Hebrew* and *Israelite*:—(1.) In the writings of the Hebrews themselves, the former word is chiefly used merely as an antithesis to men of a different race; for example, to distinguish them from the Egyptians, or Philistines, or where one not a Hebrew is introduced as speaking.

(2.) Foreign writers, Greek and Roman, seem to have been acquainted only with this name and that of *Jews*, but to know

^a Ἑβραῖοι, or τῇ Ἑβραϊδὶ διαλέκτῳ.

^b Prologue to Sirach.

^c Γλῶσσα τῶν Ἑβραίων.

^d See John v. 2, xix. 13; Acts xxi. 40, xxii. 2, xxvi. 14; Josephus, Ant. i. 2, et al. See *Elias Levita*, in Thisbi, voce יְהוּדִי; *Vitringa* ad Isa. xxxvi. 11; *Mangey*, in Philo, vol. ii. p. 86; and *Henke*, Museum, vol. ii. p. 638.

The name *holy language* (קִדְשֵׁי הַקֹּדֶשׁ) first occurs in the Targum on Gen. xi. 1, xxxi. 11, 47, and xlv. 12, and *Pseudo-Jonathan*. By this term it is distinguished from the language of the holy books, in opposition to חֲלָל "ל", the *profane language*, i. e. the Chaldee.

The term *Assyrian language* (אַשּׁוּרִי) is sometimes improperly used for the Hebrew language written in the Assyrian characters. Tr. *Megilla*, ch. ii. No. 1, vol. ii. p. 392, ed. *Surenhusius*. *Mikne Abraham*, fol. 6. *Gen. Jakob*, fol. 142, col. 1.

^e Yet *Augusti* (Einleit. in A. T. p. 27) seeks a different explanation. "The Arabians were divided into two parties, the *surviving* and the *extinct*. *Hebrews* may, perhaps, mean the language that is extinct. (עֲבָרָה = אֲבָד, *interiit*, Job xxxiv. 20. Ps. cxliv. 4.)"

See *Pococke*, Spec. Hist. Arab. p. 3.

See Lexicon, sub voce עֲבָרָה. Perhaps 1 Sam. xiii. 3, 7, is the only exception.

nothing of the term *Israelites*. So Pausanias calls them *Hebrews*, (τοὺς Ἑβραῖους,) and their land, the *country of the Hebrews*, (Ἑβραϊὴν χώρα.) Tacitus and Josephus use this term throughout. This shows there was the same relation between these two contemporary names which we find among many nations: *Hebrew* is the proper name of the people, by which they were known to foreign nations; *Israelite* is the patronymic, or genealogical name, which is usually current only among the people themselves.*

Here the question arises, whether the name *Hebrew* was ever used in a wider sense than that of *Israelite*.^b It seems this was the case; but the limits of this use cannot be distinctly defined. Abraham is called *the Hebrew*, (Gen. xiv. 13,) from which it may be inferred that his race was called by the same name. In Gen. x. 2, Shem is called the father of *all* the sons of Heber — an expression somewhat emphatic. In the New Testament, the term *Hebrew* means the *Syro-Chaldee*, in opposition to Greek and Latin; in the Old Testament, it is used in opposition to the *Aramæan*. In the latter, might not the term *Hebrew* be used, inasmuch as it embraced, in its widest sense, the *Aramæan* also? However, the descendants of Abraham, — the *Ishmaelites*, or *Idumæans*, — or of Heber, — for example, the *Nahorites* and *Arabians* descended from *Joctan*, — are never called by this name. Though originally more extensive, the term may have been gradually restricted.

2. The genealogical table in the Bible (Gen. x.) refers the origin of the name to Heber, (עֵבֶר, Ἑβραῖος,) the founder of the race, and the *sons of Heber*, (בְּנֵי עֵבֶר,) or *Heber*, is used poetically for *Hebrews*, (עֵבֶרִים,) as if this word were a patronymic from *Heber*. But the spirit of that entire table, in which names of people, cities, and lands, are personified, leads us to conclude Heber was not an historical, but only a mythical personage, whose name was first formed from that of the people. This was, doubtless, the case with *Ion*,

* Compare the names of the Hungarians (i. e. *strangers*) and *Magyars*; the *Germans* (*war-men*) and *Dutch*, (probably a patronymic from *Teut*;) the *Phœnicians* and *Canaanites*; the *Kalmucks* (*lingers*) and *Oelots*; the *Tscherkassen* (*robbers*) and *Adige*, &c. The primitive name is generally *appellative*. This fact will serve as a guide hereafter.

^b *Stuhlmann's* Hiob. p. 24. Probably there is no difference in the meaning of the terms in 2 Cor. xi. 22, and Phil. iii. 5; the repetition is mere tautology, as it appears from σπέρμα Ἑβραίων.

Dorus, and Æolus. The example of the Arabians shows how arbitrarily the Orientals alter these names; for, when they repeat their genealogy, they substitute for *Heber*, חֹדֶר, or חֹדֶר, names which they have abbreviated from יְהוּדָה.^a It is very difficult to tell what was the *true* origin of this name; but it may be considered as decided that it was, originally, an appellative. The most natural derivation is from *Eber*, עֵבֶר = עֵבֶר הַיָּמִינִי, *the yonder land*,) that is, the country beyond the River Euphrates. Then *Hebrews* meant, *men from the other side* — *yonderers*. The Canaanites might, very properly, have applied this name to the horde that migrated with Abraham, or they may have brought it with them from an earlier time.^b

§ 3.

ORIGIN AND AGE OF THE HEBREW LANGUAGE.

1. The elder writers upon language, and the theologians, in treating this subject, adhered to the mythical history of Genesis, which says that one universal language prevailed until the building of the tower of Babel, and from this, by the immediate agency of the angry Deity, the various languages of the world, and consequently the Hebrew, proceeded; thus, in a myth full of meaning and importance, concealing a problem which no philosophy has ever solved in a satisfactory manner.^c

2. Men have gone still further, and permitted themselves to ask the question, What was the original and universal language? Following the opinion of the elder Jews, most writers decided in favor of the Hebrew, and attempted to establish their opinion by several arguments, namely: (1.) The names, before the confusion of tongues, have a genuine Hebrew etymology; for example, אָדָם, *man*, אָדָם,

^a See *Hottinger*, *Hist. Orient.* p. 38—44.

^b See *Bockart*, *Phaleg*. xi. 14. *Hottinger*, *Thes. Phil.* p. 5. *Löscher*, l. c. p. 53. *Walton*, *Prol.* iii. 1. *Hirzel*, l. c. p. 4. It has been falsely derived from עֵבֶר directly, or from אֲבִרָה, as *Augustine* will have it, *Quæst. in Gen.* lib. i. qu. 24.

^c The myth of the confusion of tongues (in *Gen.* xi.) is analogous to a Greek fable in *Philo*, *De Confusione Linguarum*, (p. 251, ed. Colon,) where the origin of the different languages is placed at the end of the golden age, and is ascribed to the anger of Saturn at the ingratitude of men. Previous to this, men and animals spoke the same language, and were mutually intelligible to one another. See the passage from *Plato's Politicus*, in *Bockart*, *Phaleg*. p. 3.

breath, vanity, and others. They forgot that these very names might have been formed by the Hebrews, or transformed. (2.) In almost all languages, traces of the Hebrew may be found; this sometimes takes place very naturally, but it is not to be proved by accidental resemblances. (3.) By the historical explanation of particular passages, like Gen. ii. 23.^a

3. But if, independently of all mythical views, we attempt to determine something as to the antiquity and origin of the language, we find ourselves completely forsaken by history. In those writings which are proved to be the oldest, we find the language in the same degree of culture and perfection which it commonly attained in other writings. Beyond this we cannot follow it, as we can the Latin and German languages. The degree of grammatical perfection which belongs to it is not small, and presupposes an existence of centuries. When we are inquiring about its antiquity, we must not place the simplicity, the sensuous and poetical character, of the language too high in the estimate; for that simplicity is, for the most part, the characteristic of this whole class of languages; and its sensuous and poetic character is scarcely more important than it usually is in all old original languages.^b The *onomato-poetica* are actually less numerous than in the western languages, and less than it might be expected. In the formation of the radicals of three letters, there is a regularity which few languages can show.^c

4. It is more than probable that there was a time when the Hebrew language was more closely united with the cognate dialects; when the law of the *triliterals* was not yet formed. But this cannot be proved; and still less do our Hebrew writings extend back to that time. Since Aramaisms and Arabisms are found in the book of Job,

^a See *Onkelos* and Jerusalem Targum, on Gen. xi. 1. *Josephus*, Antiq. i. 4, x. 2. The opinions of the old writers may be found in St. *Morini Exercitatt. de Ling. primæva*, (1694, 4to.) ; C. A. *Bode, Diss. de Ling. primæ.*, (1740, 4to.) ; A. *Pfeifferi Opp.* p. 689; and *Anton, De Ling. primæva*, (1800, 4to.)

^b *Herder's Spirit of Hebrew Poetry*, vol. i. p. 7, and p. 310, (German ed.) *Eichhorn*, Einleit. § 10. However, it is not necessary, and not true of every language, that, in its earlier age, it should have been a highly poetic language, since, in the oldest documents, it has come down to the very verge of prose.

^c The following are some of the *onomato-poetica*: אָוִי, אָוִי, אָוִי, *alas*; אָוִי, *ah*; אָוִי, *io, euge*; אָוִי, אָוִי, אָוִי, אָוִי, *to sigh, to groan*; אָוִי, אָוִי, אָוִי, *to lick*; אָוִי, *turtur*, (but the name of animal sounds, for the most part, is not imitated from their actual sound;) אָוִי, *to laugh*; אָוִי, *to neigh*; אָוִי, *to low*.

some have availed themselves of the circumstance in order to refer the book to the earliest period; and they have appealed to the confusion of the Greek dialects in the Homeric age. But these Aramaisms and Arabisms do not differ from those which are found in the other poetic passages of the Old Testament, and particularly those which belong to the second period of the language. This argument, then, for the high antiquity of the book, is as untenable as all others.*

§ 4.

COUNTRY WHERE IT ORIGINATED. ITS RELATION TO THE PHœNICIAN LANGUAGE.

Without doubt we are to look to Palestine as the birthplace of the Hebrew language; and obvious appearances unite in supporting the assertion that, with a few alterations, it was the language of the Canaanitish or Phœnician race,¹ who inhabited Palestine before the immigration of the descendants of Abraham. The latter received this language,² carried it to Ægypt, and brought it back with them to Canaan. The following are the most weighty arguments in favor of this conclusion:—

1. The Canaanitish names of persons and places are genuine Hebrew, and, for the most part, their etymology can be very easily ascertained; for example, Abimelech, אֲבִימֶלֶךְ, (*father of the king*;) Melchisedek, מֶלְכִּי־צֶדֶק, (*king of righteousness*;) Adonibezek, אֲדֹנִי־בֶזֶק, &c. &c. It cannot be objected to this, that perhaps

* The statement (Gen. xxxi. 47) that Laban, a man of Mesopotamia, called a place by the Syriac name לָבָן-בְּרִית, which Jacob called by the Hebrew name בְּרִית־לָבָן, *hill of witness*, presupposes that the dialects were then divided as they afterwards were. But it merely *proves* they were so divided in the writer's time, and he supposed such was the case in the patriarchal age. But the circumstance is not improbable. The Jews, however, think Abraham spoke Aramaean before his migration to Canaan. Liber *Cosri*, ii. 68. See Preface to *Gesenius's* Lexicon, translated in the Biblical Repository, vol. iii. p. 1—45. *Simonis*, Arcanum, p. 140. *Ilgen*, De Jobi Nat. et Virt. p. 18.

¹ כְּנַעַן, or כְּנָעַנִי, is incontestably the domestic name of the Phœnicians: even the Carthaginians were acquainted with it; for Augustine says (Ex. Ep. Rom.) some rustics near Hippo, being asked whence they were, answered, in Punic, *Chanani*; i. e. they were Canaanites.

² כְּנַעַנִי is read on Phœnician coins. *Eckhel*, Doct. Num. vol. iv. p. 409.

³ According to Gen. xxxi. 47, an Aramaean dialect is ascribed to them. See above, p. 435, No. 4.

these names were afterwards given to these places, or that names of persons and places were *Hebraized*, with some alterations; for the character of the language is so penetrating that we can easily compare with it the Persian and *Ægyptian* names, on which it has made only rare and slight alterations. Sometimes, when names are changed, the fact is expressly stated; for example, Num. xxxii. 38, Jos. xv. 15, xix. 47.

2. The case is the same with the Phœnician proper names, and the Phœnician words that are deciphered from inscriptions and coins, or preserved by Greek and Roman writers. So far as these words can be recognized, they either coincide completely with the Hebrew, both in form and signification, or they approach more nearly to it than to any other of the cognate dialects, even nearer than to the Syriac.

The Punic language, spoken at Carthage, which early separated from the parent state, without doubt received many foreign ingredients; but it cannot conceal its origin. Augustine and Jerome, among the ancients, frequently remarked this.*

3. After the return from *Ægypt*, the Canaanites remained a long time with the Hebrews in the land, and no difference of language is mentioned. But this difference between the Jewish and other languages was noticed, not only in respect to the *Ægyptians*, (Ps. lxxxi. 6, cxiv. 1,) but in respect to such nations as spoke the cognate dialects, for example, the *Aramæan*, as used by the *Assyrians*, (Isa. xxxvi. 11,) and the *east-Aramæan* of the *Chaldees*, (Jer. v. 15.)

4. The Hebrew language itself seems to present certain phenomena which lead to the opinion that it was formed in Canaan. Thus the term *sea* (יָם) is the only term for "the west." It is sometimes said that the internal structure of the language shows it grew up in the midst of polytheism; but the appearances that seem to favor this opinion can be explained in another way more satisfactorily, and more in accordance with analogy.^b

* *Augustine*, Ep. ad Rom.: Christus: Hunc Hebræi dicunt Messiam, quod verbum linguæ punicæ consonum est, sicut alia Hebræa permulta et pæne omnia. *Quest. in Jud. vi. 16*: Istæ linguæ non multum inter se differunt. *Tract. xv. in Joan.*: Cognatæ quippe sunt linguæ istæ, Hebræa et Punica. *Jerome*, on Isa. vii.: Lingua Punica quæ de Hebræorum fontibus manare dicitur. See, also, on Jer. v. 25. *Præf. in Ep. ad Galatos*.

^b See *Eichhorn*, § 10, 11.

Clericus (Ling. Heb. i. 5, and on Gen. i. 1, and xi. 5) thinks מְלִיחָה of poly-

5. For this reason it is called *the language of Canaan*. Isa. xix. 8.*

§ 5.

AGE OF THE LANGUAGE IN ITS PRESENT FORM.

It may be maintained, with the highest degree of probability, that the Hebrew language, in its present form, and the literary productions in that language, can scarcely extend beyond the period of David and Solomon. Here it is that we find the first sure ground in the history of the language.

On the supposition that the Pentateuch was a production of the Mosaic age, we must place the *terminus a quo* much higher. But although this doctrine has found such learned defenders in the present age, it can scarcely be brought again before the bar of impartial criticism. If there were no historical arguments, the language, with which we are now alone concerned, would lie as a very important weight in the balance; for it is a fact that the language of the Pentateuch coincides perfectly with that of the other old historical books, and, in the poetic passages, it coincides with the poetry of the first age of the language.^b If these writings are separated by nearly a thousand years from one another; if the former are to be ascribed to Moses, as some maintain, then we shall have a phenomenon before us that is without a parallel in the whole history of languages, namely, that the living language and the circle of ideas of the people remained unaltered during so long a period.

theistic origin, but was preserved after the introduction of monotheism, and applied to *God*, who stood in the place of all *gods*. Jewish writers preceded him in this. Liber *Cosri*, p. 256. See *Herder*, l. c. vol. i. p. 48. *Gabler*, in *Eichhorn's Urgesch.* vol. i. p. 220, pt. ii. p. 108, vol. ii. p. 218. *Eichhorn*, in voce in *Simonis Lex*. But the thought is rather ingenious than well founded, for the *pluralis excellentiæ* occurs in מְלָכִים and מַלְאָכִים, where such an explanation cannot be admitted.

* See proofs of this in *Walton*, Prol. iii. 14—19. *Bochart*, Can. ii. 1. *Clericus*, l. c. No. 5. *Bellermann*, Erklärung d. punischen Stellen im Pönulus der *Plautus*, pt. i. p. 5, and pt. iii. p. 5. An appeal has erroneously been made to the verse in *Chærilus*. See § 1, No. 1. *A. Pfeiffer*, Opp. 692. *Fulleri*, Miscel. iv. 4. *Herder* (l. c. vol. i. p. 317) calls this opinion "one of the fables of our age, which has not understood its meaning," but brings no proof.

^b The unimportant idiomatic expressions need not be considered in this connection.

Attempts have been made to explain this in two ways: * 1. that the Oriental languages, like their customs and manners, alter less than those of Western nations; and, 2. that the writings of Moses were the classics of the nation, and so became the rule and standard of succeeding writers. But it can easily be shown how inadequate these theories are to explain the fact. The first is by no means supported by history to the degree maintained; for all know that the Oriental languages, with which we are acquainted during a thousand years, have undergone very obvious changes during that period. The last has still less weight. †

In this connection, it has been maintained, either that these old documents were imitated in the subsequent written language alone, or that the living and spoken language was likewise fixed by such classic works. In the first case, an appeal is made to the example of the Greeks and Romans; to that of the Koran and Luther's Bible. This is the only argument that has a show of probability in its favor. But this theory not only contradicts other plain evidence that the Mosaic writings did not exist so early, but also assumes that, like those classics, they were in all hands. Still further, the other historical books have not the character of imitations, like some of the later imitative psalms. They do not relate to the Pentateuch, as the poems of the Alexandrian writers relate to those of Homer, but in language and character they seem to be productions of the same, or very similar ages.

Finally, these analogies do not prove what is expected of them. The case of the Greek and Roman classics is not to the point; for the question now concerns a living, not a dead language. The two other cases are against this hypothesis; for our literary language and that of the Arabians are no longer the language of Luther's Bible or the Koran. The last case answers itself. Even in our age of study, it is not conceivable that a writer, though never so classic, could, in the slightest degree, hold back the pressure of the living language; not to mention that, in antiquity, there was incomparably

* *Michaelis*, Einleit. in A. T. p. 166. *Jahn*, Einleit. vol. i. p. 266. *Eckermann's* Theol. Beyträge, vol. v. pt. i. p. 92.

† *Jahn* (l. c.) appeals, with the more plausibility, to the example of the Syriac in the Peshito of the second century, which does not differ in *essentials* from that of *Abulpharagius* in the thirteenth. But here he overlooks the most important fact, that, since the Arabian conquest, the Syriac has been a dead language, capable of no further development or culture. But still their stock of words (*Sprachvorrath*) is remarkably different.

less reading and writing, and more speaking and acting. The contrary case is rather the true one—that the language carries the old documents along with it, in their turn, and constrains them to speak in the language of later times. If, here and there, in the Pentateuch, far older documents are actually to be found, at the bottom,^a we must necessarily assume that they have been wrought over, and clothed anew in the language of the age. The result remains the same for the history of language, namely, that the literary productions of the Old Testament, which were written in their present form before the exile, were all composed about the same time.^b This is the only point to be proved in this place.

§ 6.

FIRST PERIOD OF THE HEBREW LANGUAGE.

1. As the language appears at present in the writings of the Old Testament, we can distinguish in them only two periods distinctly marked by their character. The one includes the *writings before the exile*, the other the *writings during the exile and after it*. The former has, not inappropriately, been named the *golden*, the latter the *silver* age.

2. Here, two kinds of style are met with, existing at the same time—the *prose* of the common historical narrative, and the *poetical diction*. The latter, with all its peculiarities, occurs in the historical books, whenever prophecies, blessings, and songs of praise, rise to poetry. This poetical language,—which is not externally distinguished by measure of the syllables, but rather by a rhythmic measure of periods, and their parallelism,—in reference to the usages of language, forms and significations of words, grammatical additions, &c., has many peculiarities of its own, which are not always properly observed. Most of these peculiarities belong to the common form, in other dialects, and particularly the Syriac; and this explains the fact, that some of these peculiarities reappear in the later style of the silver age, which has an Aramæan tinge. In reference to rhythm and

^a It is probable there are such in the decalogue.

^b In opposition to the writers mentioned in note a, p. 439, see Fulda, in *Paulus's Neu. Rep.* vol. iii. p. 135. Othmar, (*Nachtigall*), in *Henke's Mag.* vol. ii. p. 471. Compare *Adelung*, l. c. vol. i. p. 359. *Meyer's Hermeneutik. A. T.* vol. i. p. 124, sqq.

language, the prophets stand midway between poetry and prose. Yet the prophets of the golden age belong almost entirely to the poets. The later prophets, for example, Jeremiah and Ezekiel, first approach the prosaic style.*

3. By the very nature of the Hebrew language, it is impossible to distinguish sharply what belongs to this or to the following period; besides, this is not the place. In general, only the following can be affirmed with any probability: Of the larger historical writings, the Pentateuch, the books of Joshua, Judges, Samuel, and the Kings, may be reckoned in this class; at least the chief portions of them were composed in this period, though it is still necessary to suppose there was a later redaction, and an addition of single parts was made.^b The collection of Psalms, especially in its first books, contains, doubtless, many old pieces from David, or his school. However, the greater part of them are a production of later times. It is often very difficult to decide in particular cases; for later poets often imitate, very successfully, the language of the earlier, and sometimes,

* On the rhythm, see *De Wette*, Introduction to the Psalms, in *Bib. Repository*, vol. iii. p. 445, sqq. *G. I. L. Vogel*, *De dialectico Poet.* V. T.; Helmst. 1784. *Abend*, in *Ex. xv.* Preface to *Gesenius's Lexicon*, in the *Bib. Rep.* vol. ii. l. c. Some peculiar words are used in poetry, for which we find different terms in prose; e. g. אָנֶשׁ, for אָדָם, *man*; בּוֹא, for אָחַד, *to come*; הָיָה, for הָיָה, *to show*; מִלְחָה, for מִלְחָה, *a word*; עֲלֵמָה, for עֲלֵמָה, *antiquity*; מַיִם, for מַיִם, *water*.

1. To the *signification* of words belongs the use of *adjectives* for *substantives*, applied to a definite subject; e. g. אֱלֹהִים, *the Strong*, i. e. God; אֱלֹהִים, *the strong*, i. e. an ox; יְהוָה, *the only, the favorite*, used for *life*, &c. &c.; besides, יְרוּשָׁה, יִצְחָק, and עֲשׂוֹ, for *kingdom of Israel*, *Israel* in general, and *Edom*, &c.

2. To the *form* of words. — אֱלֹהִים, for אֱלֹהִים, *God*; הָיָה, for הָיָה, *to be*; עַמִּים, *people*; שָׁבוּת, *years*; יָמִים, *days*, for the termination in *ים*; מִנִּי, and מִנִּי, for מִנִּי, *for*; מִנִּי, *of me*; יֵלֵךְ, for יֵלֵךְ, *will go*.

3. *Grammatical forms and affixes*. — The paragogic letters, הָ, יָ, and יָ, the first in *stat. absol.*, the latter as *nomen regens*, the *suffixes* to מִן; e. g. מִן, מִן, (for מִן, מִן); וְהוּא, for וְהוּא, *for*; הָיָה, for הָיָה, *the plural* is הָיָה, and הָיָה, *for*; the use of *Piel* and *Hiphil* as *intransitive*, the future apocope for the common forms, use of the participle of the finite verb, irregularities of number and case, ellipsis of the prepositions, &c.

^b The 33d chapter of Deuteronomy must have been added in later times; v. 7 could scarcely have been written at any time except during the exile.

as in the case of the Psalms of Korah, perhaps, surpass them in poetic value. However, it is of the highest importance, — and the remark has been justly made, — that a certain hardness, compressedness, and boldness, a struggle between the thought and language, should be regarded as a mark of antiquity. Later poets move after the customary forms, while the former must first break the path. The book of Proverbs has more unity of character and language; it contains nothing which renders it necessary to assume that it was composed at a later date. Next to this comes the book of Job, though, in another respect, it inclines to the later character.^a

The age and genuineness of the Prophets are the most certain. It is only difficult to determine their relative age. The four contemporaries, Amos, Hosea, Micah, and Isaiah, make the beginning.^b Of these, Hosea is particularly distinguished by his antique hardness, and inconcinnity of expression. Next come Joel, Nahum, and Habakkuk, equally distinguished by high poetic flight, lively coloring, and a certain classic concinnity, in which Joel surpasses all.^c Obadiah, Zephaniah, and Jeremiah, were nearly contemporary witnesses of the destruction of Jerusalem by the Chaldees, and the captivity. The last of these sang his elegies on the ruins of Jerusalem. Finally, Ezekiel uttered his oracles during the exile, on the banks of the Chaboras. But this most original of the poets, whose luxuriant fancy swells out into new, gigantic, and grotesque figures, possesses too little taste and concinnity to merit the name of a classic writer.^d

^a Ps. x. and lxxviii. must therefore be old. See *Dath's* Psalm. p. 147. *De Wette*, Com. ab. d. Ps. p. 23, sqq. The same must be said of some of the older prophets.

^b Here the later and spurious passages must be rejected; e. g. Isa. xl.—lxvi. This forms a whole, — composed, indeed, at the end of the exile, — and has no small excellences of language, though it is prolix, and contains repetitions. By this operation more than half of Isaiah must, perhaps, be rejected; and it may be asked how the collection came to be called by his name. Perhaps in consequence of the well-known rule, *a potiori*, — which so often guided the Hebrews. But who does not know with how little critical judgment the titles of works and collections are selected by the Orientals?

^c Several parallels, especially of an historical character, in Joel and Amos, show the two prophets lived about the same time. See *Rosenmüller*, in V. T. pt. vii. vol. i. p. 433, who follows *Vitrings*. Nahum and Habakkuk are to be placed somewhat later. The first mentions the invasion of the *Assyrians*, the last, of the *Chaldees*.

^d The Bible itself sometimes give notice that the language had changed; e. g. 1 Sam. ix. 9, נָבִיא, (*prophet*), anciently called שֹׁמֵר, (*see-er*). *Samuel* is called by this name, 2 Sam. ix. 9, 1 Ch. ix. 22, 26, 28, xxix. 29; and also a later prophet,

§ 7.

SECOND PERIOD. LATER AND CHALDAIZING LANGUAGE.

1. With the exile begins a new epoch for language and literature, which is particularly distinguished by an approach to the cognate east-Aramæan dialect, to which the Jews in the land of exile became accustomed. At first, this dialect served only as the language of the people, in connection with the proper Hebrew language. But after the return, it gradually displaced the old dialect from the mouth of the people; so that, at the end of the Maccabaic period, the latter only maintained itself as the written language, on which, however, the influence of the cognate dialects was perfectly unavoidable. But this influence is not equally great upon all the literary productions of this epoch; and several pieces which their historical connections refer to a late period, are nothing inferior to the works of a previous age, in regard to purity of style.*

2. In general, this age is inferior to the former in respect to historical and poetical composition, as well as to purity of language. The modern prophets, Haggai, Malachi, and several late psalmists, write in the most weak and watery style. Poor in invention, they pile up old phrases.^b The books of Daniel, Esther, and Jonah, contain legends suited to a perverted Jewish taste. Finally, the book of Chronicles is an uncritical compilation of more ancient historical works. It was composed by priests of a late age, and is conceived in their spirit. However, this decision is not to be pronounced too generally, for even the Maccabaic period shows that the old spirit

Chanani, 2 Ch. xvi. 7, 10. In Exod. iii. 14, the name of God is changed from יְהוָה to יְהוֹה. See *J. C. Bonnet*, *Biblioth. Hag.* Cl. iv. p. 205, who shows the true sense of the passage. Compare *De Wette*, *Beiträge*, vol. ii. p. 177, sqq. *Vater*, *Com. in Pent.* vol. iii. p. 631. The proper names also contain vestiges of the older language.

* E. g. the *Pseudo-Isaiah*, (ch. xl.—lxvi.) the Psalms of the Sons of Korah, which, for the most part, belong to the times of the exile or after it, (Ps. xlv. lxxxiv. lxxxv.) most of the Psalms "of degrees," (cxx. sqq.) belong to the same period; as, also, Ps. lxxiv. lxxix., and some others, in which, with *Paulus*, *Rosenmüller*, and *De Wette*, we discover marks of the Maccabaic age. Purity of language is not a certain proof of antiquity, though the reverse is true, that Chaldaizing language proves a later age. See *De Wette*, l. c. p. 16—26.

^b E. g. Ps. lxix. (compare xxii.) xxv. xxxv. lxxxviii. So the hymns in *Chronicles*, and that in *Jonah*, chap. ii.

muds and the rabbins belongs, for the most part, to this later usage, which was common with them, and which may be advantageously explained from them.

5. Since no attempt has hitherto been made to collect the chief characteristics of this later style,^a a selection of the most important is placed below.

To save room, the references and Aramæan parallels are omitted, but may easily be found by referring to the Lexicon. The idioms which have their parallels in the Chaldee are marked *:

LATER WORDS.—בֹּדֶךְ *, *byssus*, elsewhere שֵׁשׁ בִּרְיָה *, *a castle*; גִּמְצָץ *, *a pit*; צִנּוֹן *, *a treasure*; זָמַן *, *time*; חֲרִיט *, *noble, illustrious*; רָחַשׁ *, *race, stock*, with the verb הִזְרִיחַשׁ, ἀνοργασέσθαι; (only in *Hiphel*), *to extend*; כְּבֵר *, *formerly, long ago*; מֶר *, *cor*, a measure, (compare חֲמֵר); כָּשֶׁר *, *to be just, successful*; נִשְׁכָּח and נִשְׁכָּחָה *, *a chamber in the temple*; מְדִינָה *, *a province*; מְרָרַשׁ *, *interpretation*; לֶחֶם חֲפָנִים, לֶחֶם חֲפָנִים, *the show-bread*; בָּצַח *, *to be chief*; סוֹף *, *for* קֵץ, *the end*; סָכַל, סָכַל, and סָכְלוֹת *, *a fool, folly*; מַעֲבָד עֲבָד *, *labor, work*; צִוְרָה *, *for* חֲצֵר, *fore court*; אֶמְחָד, אֶמְחָד, *in connection with*; עֲשָׂה *, *to think upon*; צִרְיָה *, *necessity*; לָקַח *, *to take, receive*; מְבַר *, *to examine*, (in *Piel*, *to expect, hope*); מְגָא, מְגָא, and מְגָא *, *to become great*; מְכָל, *intelligence, understanding*, and מְכָלִים *, *to be intelligent*; מְבַח, *to extol, praise*; מְשָׁלִים with מְשָׁל, and מְשָׁלוֹן *, *to rule*; מְסָר, *a series*; מְסָר *, *to be or become straight*; מְסָר with מְסָר and מְסָר, *to be strong, powerful*; almost all the names of the months, e. g. מְסָר *, מְסָר *, מְסָר *, מְסָר *.

The later language often prefers certain peculiar forms instead of the kindred forms used in the earlier period. It is fond of substantives ending in יָ, וֹן, and וֹת *; e. g. בְּנִינָה *, *a building*; עֲנִינָה *, *business*; חֲשָׁבוֹן *, *understanding*; רִתְרוֹן *, *excellence*; בְּשָׁרוֹן *, *success*; רִצְיוֹן *, *striving*; מְשָׁלוֹן *, *dominion*; מְלָכוֹת *, *kingdoms*, &c. The following forms occur: בְּתָב *, *book*; זָמַן *, *time*; כְּבֵר *, *already*; adjectives like מְשָׁלִים, מְשָׁלִים, מְשָׁלִים. Other single examples are, אֶרְבָּנָה *, *for* אֶרְבָּנָה, *purple*; גִּנָּה = גִּנָּה, *a garden*; דְּבָר = דְּבָר, *cause*; יוֹדֶר *, *advantage*, and, as an adverb, מְרָא *, *a word*,

^a *Loscher* (l. c. p. 63) has made a small beginning.

command; מִדָּע *, for דַּעַת, *knowledge*; רִבּוּא, for רִבְכָּה, *ten thousand*; דְּרִמָּשֶׁס *, for דְּרִמָּשֶׁס, דְּרִמָּשֶׁס *, for דְּרִמָּשֶׁס, *to be*. The modern language substitutes the proper name יְרוּשָׁלַיִם for the old form יְרוּשָׁלַיִם.

LATER SIGNIFICATIONS AND USAGES. — אָמַר *, *to command*; אֲרָצוֹת, *the (other or heathen) lands*; חֵפֶץ *, *business*; סוֹב *, *fortunate, joyful*; מָה, *what?* without an interrogation, for *the same*, with the relative following, as a circuitous way of expressing a negation *; סֹפֵר, *a learned man*; עָמַד = קָיָם, *to stand up, to come forward*, with עָל, *to stand by*, (in *Hipheh*, קָיָם and חָקָיָם); עָנָה *, *to begin to speak*; פָּקַד *, *to commission, command*; פָּטַר *, *to let go free*; צִדְקָה and צִדְקָה, *salvation, deliverance*; רַב * = שֹׁר, *ruler*; שָׁלַם, *to give up, to give to God*; חֲמִיד = עוֹלֶה חֲמִיד, *the daily offering*. Some of them are connected with later religious ideas; e. g. שֹׁר, *prince of angels, archangel*; שָׂטָן, *bad angel*; קְדוֹשִׁים *, *the holy*, i. e. *the angels*, also for *the Jews*; בְּשָׁעִים, *the wicked*; and עֲנִיִּים, *godly sufferers*. The last term is applied to the Jews, the other to the heathen that oppressed them.

LATER COMBINATIONS AND PHRASES. — אֱלֹהֵי שָׁמַיִם, *God of heaven*, for the more ancient צְבָאוֹת אֱלֹהִים; אִשָּׁה אִשָּׁה, *to take a wife*, instead of "לָקַח אִשָּׁה"; עָצָר כֹּחַ, *to have power, to be strong*; עָשָׂה כִּי יִרְצֶה, *he does what seems good to him*, as a description of unlimited power; מָקוֹם אִשָּׁר, *to restore the captive*, instead of מָקוֹם אִשָּׁר, *to restore to his prosperity*. See above, No. 2.

LATER ORTHOGRAPHY. — The *scriptio plena* is used where it is contrary to analogy; e. g. מוֹרִיגִים, for מוֹרִיגִים, *threshing-sledges*; חֵן, for חֵן, *grace*, in the *construct*; קוֹדֶשׁ *, רֹב *, בֹּחַ *, for קֹדֶשׁ, רֹב, בֹּחַ; the interchange of אָ for אַ at the end *, e. g. the feminine termination אָ, and the alternation of the verbs לָא and לָה *; the quiescent א, e. g. in מֵאוֹל מֵאוֹל, for מוֹל, מוֹל, &c.

PECULIARITIES OF FLEXION AND SYNTAX. — The rejection or assumption of א at the beginning of words; e. g. חָד, for אָחָד, שׁ, for אִשָּׁר, where the ר is assimilated; hence, שָׁל, for אִשָּׁר לְ; חֲסִידִים (Eccl. iv. 14.) for חֲסִידִים; on the contrary, אִשָּׁר, for אִשָּׁר, אֲזוּרִיעַ *, זֹרִיעַ *. Combinations like עָדָה, for עָדָה, מֵלֶךְ, for מֵלֶךְ; and extensions like יְרוּשָׁלַיִם *, for יְרוּשָׁלַיִם; the use of ה as a relative, of

אֲתָּר as the indefinite article; of the *participle*, and *infinitive* for the *finite verb*; neglect of the old distinction between the *common* and the *apocopate* and *paragogic* form of the future, (hence וְאִמְרָה and וְאִשְׁרֵי,) and prefixing ל to the accusative* and nominative, &c.

The reception of Persian words belongs to this period, and is more frequent in the Aramæan parts of Scripture.

§ 8.

IDIOMS OF PARTICULAR WRITERS AND BOOKS. PENTATEUCH, JOB, AND EZEKIEL.

To the foregoing remarks on the varying usage of the two periods, some special observations may be added, on particular writers of both periods. Here in conformity with our purpose, we limit ourselves to the language in its narrowest sense, that is, to the vocabulary, the peculiar forms, and inflections.

1. The language and usage of the *Pentateuch*, in the historical passages, agree perfectly with those of the other historical books. This has been said above, and is generally admitted. However, the *Pentateuch* has some peculiarities. וְיָא is used as the feminine pronoun *she*, in which sense וְיָ, the common form, occurs only eleven times in the *Pentateuch*. נַעֲרָ is also used in the feminine for *a girl*, while בִּתְּלָה, the common term in the other books, only occurs once, (Deut. xxii. 19.)^{*} From Ruth ii. 21, it is highly probable it was used at a later period.[†] Both these forms have commonly

* See *Vater*, l. c. p. 668. The Masorites and the Samaritan text have erased both of these peculiarities by substituting וְיָא and נַעֲרָ wherever the other words occur. *Michaelis* reckons among these peculiarities the defective writing of ׀ before the *suffixes*; but the opposite may be shown from the collections made by *Hiller*, *Arcan. Keri*, &c. p. 46. The pronouns אֵל and אֵלָּה, for אֵלֶּה and אֵלֶּהָ, might, with more justice, be cited; for they often occur in the *Pentateuch*, and only once out of it, namely, 1 Ch. xxviii. 8.

† The same which is expressed, in verse 21, by עַם הַנַּעֲרִים אֲשֶׁר לִי, is expressed in verses 8, 22, 23, by נַעֲרֹת, and verses 8 and 23 especially render it necessary to understand the word in a feminine sense. So the LXX., μετὰ τῶν κορίστων. *Dath*, who saw the necessity of giving it a feminine sense, very uncritically wished to amend it by נַעֲרֹת. More justly *Michaelis*, l. c. The Masorites left it untouched, probably because some sense can be made of it as it stands.

been considered as archaisms;* and they have been used as proofs of the high antiquity of these books. This may be conceded, and they may be paralleled with the Latin forms *Tullī, terrai, senatus, dies*, (in the genitive,) which were somewhat more ancient, but were used by some writers along with the common form. From this it follows, either that a lower degree of antiquity is to be ascribed to them, — which is readily granted, — or that this usage was a peculiarity of the author or compiler. From the circumstance that these idioms appear also in the later book of Deuteronomy, it is in the highest degree probable that a conforming hand has been busy with them. The example of the Chaldees shows that the poverty of the language is no proof of high antiquity; for, with them, forms which once were separated are frequently reunited; thus, *אֵת* is used for *אֶתָּה* and *אֵתָּךְ*.

But a remarkably different style prevails in Deuteronomy. Its most remarkable characteristic consists in a certain diffuse, rhetorical, and moralizing tone, and the constant return of favorite phrases. The usage approaches the modern form.^b Some favorite words and phrases are, *דָּבַק בַּיהוָה*, *to rely upon Jehovah*; *גָּדֹל* = *גָּבוֹד*, *greatness, majesty of God*; *מִשְׁלַח יָדָם*, *business*; *בַּעֲרֹתָ חָרַע מִקִּרְבְּךָ*, *to put away the evil from the midst of you*, (a later for the more usual form, *that soul shall be rooted out*;) the accumulated synonymes, *שָׁמַיִם, שָׁמַיִם, שָׁמַיִם*; the rhetorical form, *heaven of heavens, God of gods, &c.*, (x. 14, 17; compare 1 Kings viii. 27, 2 Ch. ii. 5.) *חֵן*, *law*, is a word decidedly later, (xxxiii. 2.) To judge from the historical allusion, especially verse 7, the whole chapter could not easily have been written before the exile. It is particularly instructive to compare chap. xxviii. and xxxiii. with Levit. xxvi. and Gen. xlix. The tone and usage agree, for the most part, with certain of the Prophets. The book has several phrases, almost peculiar, in common with Jeremiah; e. g. *נָתַן לְיוֹרְעָה לְ*, *to give up*, (xxviii. 25; compare Jer. xv. 4, xxiv. 9, xxix. 18, xxxiv. 17; the phrase is nowhere else except 2 Ch. xxix. 8;) *אֱלֹהִים זָרִים*, *strange gods*, (xxxii. 16; compare Jer. iii. 13, v. 19;) *דָּבַר אֲפֹסֶת מִפִּי יְהוָה*, *to teach apostasy from God*, (xiii. 5; compare Jer. xxviii. 16, xxix. 32;) *שָׁחַט לְ*, *to cut off the young men*, (xxxii. 25; compare

* *Michaelis*, l. c. § 31. *Eichhorn*, l. c. § 406. On the other hand, *Vater*, l. c. p. 616.

^b See *Vater*, l. c. p. 493. *De Wette*, *Diss. de Deuteron.* p. 7—10. [In the Introduction, vol. ii., below, § 160.]

Jer. xv. 7, xxxvi. 13—15, Lam. i. 20;) שְׁרִירָתָה לֵב, *stubbornness of heart*, (xxix. 18; compare Jer. iii. 17, vii. 24, ix. 13, xi. 8.)

2. In the book of Job, observation discloses to us two phenomena, namely, that the usage and the circle of ideas in this poem, on the one side, correspond closely with many of the most excellent psalms, but in a manner peculiarly striking with the Proverbs of Solomon. But, on the other side, they incline decidedly to the modern writings of the second period. Besides this, many Arabisms have been ascribed to it; to which this reply may be made,—that certainly there is found in the book much that is analogous to the Arabic usage, or which may be explained from this language; but this is at the same time Hebrew also, and belongs to the poetic style; or it is also Aramæan, and has been borrowed by the poet from the Aramæan popular language. So it appears in this book not as an Arabism, but an Aramaism. The style is not more conformable to the Arabic in this, than in other poetic books and passages, and it would be utterly unjust to conclude from this that the poet had a direct intercourse with Arabia and its literature.

The above peculiarities of the language can only be explained on the supposition that this book was composed between the two periods, that is, in the exile: other circumstances render this supposition probable.* The following words and significations are entirely peculiar: בֶּחַי, for *heart, breast*; תַּבְּיִחוֹ, *the lower world*; עֲמָלֵךְ, for *the work of God*; לִשָּׁן, for *the organ of speech*, not that of *taste*,—*vau* inserted between sentences to be compared together, (v. 7, xii. 11; compare Prov. xxv. 25, et al.); תּוֹכְחוֹת, *proofs, warnings*; מִשְׁפָּחָה, *deliverance, wisdom*; תְּהַלְלוֹת, *prudent direction, counsel*; תְּחַסֵּס, *to strike hands*, as a pledge of suretiship. The terms *father, brother, and sister*, are used metaphorically, xvii. 14, xxx. 29; compare Prov. vii. 4, xviii. 9.

* See Bernstein, in Keil and Tzschirners, Anal. iii. 37, sqq. See Rosenmüller, Prol. ad Jobum, p. 32—34. See Jerome, Præf. in Dan. Leclerc, Sentimens, &c., p. 183.

Parallel Phrases and Expressions.—

Job v. 4.

— xv. 7.

— xviii. 5, 6, and xxi. 14.

— xxi. 17.

— xxiv. 2.

— xxviii. 28.

— ——— 18.

— ——— 4, 5.

Prov. xxii. 23.

— — — — — viii. 24—26.

— — — — — iii. 8, xv. 20, xvii. 22.

— — — — — xiii. 9, xx. 20, xxiv. 20.

— — — — — xxii. 28, xxiii. 10.

— — — — — i. 7.

— — — — — iii. 15.

— — — — — xxx. 4.

LATER WORDS AND SIGNIFICATIONS. — חַשְׁמַן, *name of an evil angel*; i. 7, ii. 2, sqq.; compare 1 Ch. xxi. 1. עָנָה, *to begin*; iii. 2, xxxiv. 1. מַעֲרִיטִים, *thoughts*, applied to *night visions, dreams*; iv. 13, xx. 2; compare xxxiii. 15, Dan. ii. 29, 30, iv. 16. דְּבָרָה, *cause*; v. 8. מָנָח, *to arrange, appoint*; vii. 3. עֵם, *like as*; ix. 26, xxi. 8; compare Eccl. ii. 16, vii. 11. אָמַר, *to command*; ix. 7. (See Lexicon, sub voce, No. 3.) מָח, *quodcunque*; xiii. 13; a circumlocutory form of negation, xvi. 6, xxxi. 1. עָבַר, *to conceive*; xxi. 10. חֲקָץ, *study, business*; xxi. 21, xxii. 3. נָצַר, *to decide, determine*. אֵי, *not*; xxii. 30. עָרָה = עָבַר; xxviii. 8. יוֹדְעִים, *the wise*; xxxiv. 2; compare Eccl. ix. 11. פָּקַד, *to command*; xxxiv. 13, xxxvi. 23; compare 2 Ch. xxxvi. 23, Ezra i. 2. מַעֲבָד, *work*; xxxiv. 25; compare Dan. iv. 34; xxxvi. 2 is entirely Aramaean. נִתְּנָה לִי זָעִיר, *indulge me a little*. מוֹרָא = מָרָא, *Lord*; xxxvi. 22.*

LATER PHRASES. — ix. 12, *Who says to them, What doest thou?* compare xxi. 22, Eccl. viii. 4; still stronger, Dan. iv. 35. רִיחַ מִים; xiv. 9; compare רִיחַ נָר, Dan. iii. 27. בְּשָׁלוֹם, *in the midst of peace*, for *suddenly*; xv. 21; compare בְּשִׁלְחָה, Dan. viii. 25, xi. 21, 24. לֹא בְיָד, *not by the hand*, (of men); xxxiv. 20; compare בְּאֶמְסֵי יָד, Dan. viii. 25, and בְּיָדָיו, ii. 34, 35. כִּי יִשָּׁל אֱלֹהִים נַפְשׁוֹ, *when God shall draw his soul out* (of his body); xxvii. 8; compare the image (Dan. vii. 15) of the body as a sheath for the soul.^b

LATER ORTHOGRAPHY AND GRAMMATICAL FORMS. — רִדֵּעַ, for רִעַע; vi. 27. רִים, for רָאִים; xxxix. 9, 10. רִישׁוֹן; viii. 8. מֵאִים; xxxi. 6. חִיר, for חֵר; xli. 4. שֵׁ, for שֶׁשֶּׁר; xix. 29. חֲצִיר לְמַלִּיר, for חֲצִיר לִי; xviii. 1. מִנְחָה, for מִנְחָה, מִנְחָה.

3. Ezekiel also stands on the borders of the two periods. His book belongs to the scanty class of books, that, from beginning to end, preserve a unity of tone, distinguished by favorite expressions and peculiar phrases, by which all suspicion of spuriousness is removed from particular chapters. He shares many peculiar terms and Chaldaic expressions with his contemporary, Jeremiah. But they were more numerous in Ezekiel, and among all the writers of

* Where no parallels are given, see the Lexicon.

^b Buxtorf's Lex. p. 1307.

the Old Testament, perhaps he has proportionally the greatest number of grammatical anomalies and inaccuracies.*

4. Of all the books of the second period, the book of Ecclesiastes is tinged most deeply with the Aramaean dye, and the greatest part of its favorite expressions, that constantly recur, are peculiar to it. Some approach very nearly to the usage of the Talmud.^b

* On the peculiarities of Jeremiah and Ezekiel, see *Eichhorn*, l. c. § 536, et seq., and below, vol. ii. § 217—224.

Ezekiel has, in common with Jeremiah, the form אֶתִּי, אֶתְּךָ, for אֲנִי, אַתָּה, (see *Hiller*, l. c. p. 381;) the suffix כִּי, לְכִי, for כִּי, לְךָ; the form אֶתְּךָ, and אֶתְּךָ, for אֶתִּי, and אֶתְּךָ: the latter occurs in the books of Kings.

These are some of his favorite expressions. — בֶּן אָדָם, *son of man*, as title of a prophet; ii. 1, 18, iii. 1, 17, et al. *The hand of Jehovah came upon me*; i. 3, iii. 14, 22, xxxvii. 1; comp. xi. 5, xxxiii. 32. *Behold, I am against you*; xiii. 8, xxi. 8, xxxiv. 10; comp. v. 8. *To break the staff of bread*; iv. 16, v. 16, xiv. 12. מַכְשָׁל, *snare*, in its different applications; iii. 20, vii. 14, xiv. 3, 7, xviii. 30, xxi. 28, xlv. 12, et al.

^b E. g. the prevalent use of שֶׁ, for אֲשֶׁר, of שֶׁל, for לְ, viii. 17. עֲנִיָּה, *office, affair, thing*. אַבִּירֹחַ, *the copper berry*; xii. 9. אָזַן, *to weigh, prove*; xii. 9. דּוּרָץ בֵּן, *besides*; ii. 25. (See *Mishna*, Tr. *Kilaim*, ii. 5, vol. i. p. 117, of *Surenhusius's* ed.; note the Chaldee, בֵּר מֶן.) דּוּשׁ, *to enjoy sensually*; ii. 25. אָרִי, *alas!* iv. 10, x. 16, &c.

The following are *Aramaisms*. — אֵלֶּיךָ; vi. 6. מִזֶּה-שָׁ, *that which*. מִזֶּה-שָׁ; i. 9, iii. 15, 22, vi. 10, vii. 24. עָבַר; i. 11, ii. 12, 16. שֶׁחָצַם, *word, thing*.

MODERN HEBRAISMS AND FAVORITE EXPRESSIONS. — רַעֲיוֹת רִיחַ, *vain effort*; i. 14, ii. 11, 17, 26, iv. 4, vi. 9; also רַעֲיוֹן רִיחַ; i. 17, iv. 16. תַּחַת חֶשְׁמֶשׁ; i. 3, 9, 14, ii. 18, 19, 22, iv. 1, 3, 7, 15, et al.; and תַּחַת חֶשְׁמֵי שָׁמַיִם; i. 14, ii. 3, iii. 1. עֲמַל, *pains-taking, trouble*; iv. 4, with the verb. עָמַל עָמַל; ii. 11, 18, 19, 20. הַמְּעֵשִׂים שֶׁנֶּעֱשׂוּ, *the things that go on there*; ii. 17, iv. 3. עֵלָם; iii. 11, perhaps the same as κόσμος, in the N. T. sense of *world*. הָעֵלָם הַבָּלִים הָבֵל, &c. Nouns in דָּת and דִּין are frequent. See above, § 7.

§ 9.

OLDER PASSAGES WROUGHT OVER AGAIN BY LATER WRITERS.
 PHILOLOGICO-CRITICAL RELATION OF THE PARALLEL PASSAGES
 IN THE BOOKS OF SAMUEL, KINGS, AND CHRONICLES.

1. It was remarked above, (§ 6, 3,) that in the productions of the second period, the language is commonly easier, more flowing, and intelligible, than in the more ancient compositions. The obvious reason of this is, that a language which has already gradually ceased to be the language of life can no longer be used with that originality and freedom which led to hard and difficult constructions; and, therefore, it will be obliged to resort to easy construction and greater clearness. This remark, and the fact that some expressions seemed too hard, or not intelligible or correct enough, for later times, is very easily established by recurrence to those parallel passages where later writers transferred sentences from an older text into their own works, and wrought them over anew. In the latter, the difficulties and hard constructions of the former are commonly removed.^a

2. The most instructive example of this kind is afforded by the parallel passages in the books of Samuel, Kings, and Chronicles.^b The authors of the books of Chronicles may have had either our books of Samuel and Kings before them, or, at least, the text of these books in a different arrangement; but this is certain, that the Chronicles give us a recasting of the parallel passages in the books of Samuel and Kings, which was made several centuries after the original. In Chronicles, not only are later expressions and orthographies substituted for the earlier, but difficult and rare forms are exchanged for the common; hard words are explained, and other

^a Isa. xv. 5, (comp. Jer. xlviii. 5,) where, for the more difficult יַעֲרֶר, there is a *quid pro quo*, שִׁבֵּר; Isa. xvi. 6, 7, (comp. Jer. xlviii. 29—31,) אָנֹכִי, for אֲנִי; Num. xxiv. 17, Jer. xlviii. 45, קִרְקֵר, for the more difficult קִרְקֵר; the common form of the singular, פָּאָר, instead of the construct state of the dual, פָּאָרִי. See Rosenmüller, on Isa. xvi. 17. See De Wette, Com. on Ps. p. 25.

^b The character of this *philological recasting* of old materials — with which we are alone concerned at this time — is parallel, in some respects, with the historical change of which De Wette treats, Beiträge, vol. i. p. 42.

difficulties, hardnasses, and the like, are so softened and illustrated that the readings of the reviser often have the appearance of glosses.*

* 1. LATER ORTHOGRAPHY AND FORMS.—מִלְכָּחָה, for מִלְכָּחָה; 2 Ch. vii. 18, 1 Kings ix. 5. דְּרִמְשֶׁק, for דְּרִמְשֶׁק; 1 Ch. xviii. 5, 6. הָרָמִים, for הָרָמִים; 2 Ch. xxii. 5, 2 Kings viii. 29; especially the prevalent *scriptio plena*, e. g. דְּרִיר, for דְּרִיר, &c. אֶתֶר, for אֶתֶר; 1 Ch. xi. 31, 2 Sam. xxiii. 29. מִרְרִים for מִרְרִים; 1 Ch. xxi. 23, 2 Sam. xxiv. 12. רִקְחִיל, for רִקְחִיל; 2 Ch. v. 2, 1 Kings viii. 1. וְאֶשֶׁרִים and וְאֶשֶׁרִים; 2 Ch. vi. 10, 11, 1 Kings viii. 20, 21. Here, also, belongs יִרְאֵשׁ, 2 Ch. xxiv., for יִרְאֵשׁ, 2 Kings xii., and תִּגְלִית, תִּגְלִית, 1 Ch. v. 6, 26, 2 Ch. xxviii. 20, for תִּגְלִית פֶּלֶאֶסֶר.

2. WORDS OF THE LATER USAGE, WHICH WERE SUBSTITUTED FOR THE EARLIER.—גִּרְפָּה, a corpse, for גִּרְפָּה; 1 Ch. x. 12, 1 Sam. xxxi. 12. 2 Sam. vi. 16, David is said to be בִּד אֶסֶד, *clothed with a linen shirt*; 1 Ch. xv. 27, בְּמִעֵל בָּרַץ; but, as it is often done in glosses, the words of the original are also left. Here, also, belongs רִפְסֻדוֹת, for רִפְסֻדוֹת, *floats*; 1 Kings v. 23.

3. GRAMMATICAL GLOSSES, EASIER READINGS, AND DESIGNED IMPROVEMENTS.—מִבְּרִי, for מִבְּרִי; 1 Ch. xi. 2, 2 Sam. v. 2. הִלְכָּה הַלְלִים, for הִלְכָּה הַלְלִים; 1 Ch. xvii. 21, 2 Sam. vii. 23. (Here הַלְלִים is not to be construed with the plural. See the emendation of the Samaritan, on Gen. xx. 13, xxxi. 53, xxxv. 7, Ex. xxii. 9.) וְיִבְרָא, for the anomalous וְיִבְרָא; 2 Ch. x. 12, 1 Kings xii. 12. וְיִבְרָא, and וְיִבְרָא, for the rarer form וְיִבְרָא וְיִבְרָא; 2 Ch. xviii. 34, 35, 1 Kings xxii. 34, 35, 2 Ch. xxi. 9, 2 Kings viii. 21. סִכְרִיב, for סִכְרִיב; 2 Ch. xxi. 9, 2 Kings viii. 21. מִאִירֹת, for מִאִירֹת; 2 Ch. xxiii. 1, 2 Kings xi. 4.

4. EXEGETICAL GLOSSES AND EXPLICATIONS OF THE OLDER TEXT.—2 Sam. v. 18, 22, וַיִּנָּשְׂבוּ, *they extended themselves*; 1 Ch. xiv. 9, 13, וַיִּנָּשְׂבוּ. —2 Sam. vi. 16; מִפִּצּוֹ וּמִקָּרְעָר, *leaping and dancing*, (2. ἀναξ λεγόμενα); 1 Ch. xv. 29, מִקָּרְעָר וּמִפִּצּוֹ. —2 Sam. vii. 5, וַיִּנָּשְׂבוּ; 1 Ch. xvii. 4, וַיִּנָּשְׂבוּ. (Right! for the question contains a refusal.) —xxiii. 8, וַיִּנָּשְׂבוּ; 2 Ch. xi. 11, וַיִּנָּשְׂבוּ אֶת - הַנִּיבֹתוֹ, *he threw his spear*, (an explanation for xxiii. 18.) —xxiii. 19; חֲכִי, *in truth*. (This is entirely wanting in 1 Ch. xi. 21.) —xxiv. 12, וַיִּנָּשְׂבוּ, *I lay before thee*; 1 Ch. xxi. 10, וַיִּנָּשְׂבוּ. —1 Kings viii. 7, וַיִּנָּשְׂבוּ, *they covered*; 2 Ch. v. 8, וַיִּנָּשְׂבוּ. —viii. 30, 31, 34, 39, 43, 45, וַיִּנָּשְׂבוּ, *in heaven*; 2 Ch. vi. 21, sqq., מִן הַשָּׁמַיִם, *from heaven*. —x. 18, מְדֻשָּׁה, *adorned*; 2 Ch. ix. 17, סְדֻר. —x. 26, וַיִּנָּשְׂבוּ מִאִירֹת רֶכֶב, *1400 harnessed chariots*; 2 Ch. ix. 25, *4000 span of horses and chariots*. (The gloss is correct; the number only is an exaggeration.) —x. 28. The most difficult part of the verse is omitted

3. Among the examples of this kind, there are many which render it plain that the language was becoming extinct at the time of the Chronicler, and, here and there, difficulties prevented the older text from being understood.*

in the parallel. — xii. 6, עָמַד אֶת פָּנָיו, *to stand before and serve some one*; 2 Ch. x. 6, לְפָנָיו. — xxii. 32, וַיִּסְתּוּ עָלָיו, *they turned aside to him*; 2 Ch. xviii. 31, וַיִּסְתּוּ עָלָיו. — 2 Kings xv. 36, xx. 20, xxi. 17, xxiii. 28, וְזֶלַת הָיָה כְּתוּבָה בָּהֶם, *lo, this is written*; (the Chronicler always has כְּתוּבָה בָּהֶם;) 2 Ch. xxvii. 7, xxxii. 32, xxiii. 18, xxxv. 27. (The text and gloss are both in xxiv. 27, "וְזֶלַת הָיָה.") — xvi. 3, הָעֵבֶר בְּאֵשׁ; 2 Ch. xxviii. 3, וַיִּבְרַח בָּהֶם. — xxi. 3, הַמִּזְבֵּחַ אֲשֶׁר אֵשׁ, *the high (altars) which Hezekiah destroyed*; 2 Ch. xxxiii. 3, נִסְּף; (because אֵשׁ is usually applied only to persons.) — xxi. 8, לֹא אֶסְרֵם לְהִגִּיר, *I will no more cause the feet of Israel to wander afar from the land*; 2 Ch. xxxiii. 8, מֵעַל הָאֲדָמָה, לְהִסִּיר, *to drive them, &c.*

Other names are pretty often substituted for the old geographical names.

5. EUPHEMISMS. — 2 Sam. x. 4, עַד שְׂחוֹתֵיהֶם; 1 Ch. xix. 4, עַד הַמִּסְשָׁעָה.

6. CONJECTURE UPON A DIFFICULT TEXT, OR ON A TEXT NOT UNDERSTOOD. — 2 Sam. vi. 5, בְּכָל-עֵצִי בְרוֹשִׁים, *all sorts of fir-tree (instruments);* 1 Ch. xiii. 8, בְּשִׁירִים. — vi. 7, עַל הַשָּׂל; Vulgate, *propter temeritatem*; 1 Ch. xiii. 10, עַל אֲשֶׁר שָׁלַח יָדוֹ. — viii. 3, לְהַשִּׁיב יָדוֹ, *so as to extend his power again*; 1 Ch. xviii. 3, לְהַצִּיב יָדוֹ. — x. 8, פָּתַח הַשַּׁעַר, *at the opening of the gate*; the Chronicle פָּתַח הָעִיר, 1 Ch. xix. 9.

The authors of the *Keri* attempted to make similar corrections. So the readings in Chronicles often agree with the *Keri* in Samuel and Kings. The latter may have been borrowed from the former; but sometimes they contain, perhaps, an explanatory reading older than the Chronicler, which he has adopted.

* This will appear the more clearly from some examples where the Chronicler, instead of a gloss, which is probably false, upon a difficult text, gives a conjecture, or a *quid pro quo*. 1 Sam. xxxi. 13; הָאֲשֵׁל. Although learned rabbins (*Jona, Michlal Jophi*, on Gen. xxi. 33, 1 Sam. xxii. 6) justly compare the Arabic *أشَل*, *tamariscus*, yet this is one of those words, the signification of which, it seems, early became doubtful or was lost. Hence arises the different renderings of this word in the versions, and in the parallel passages referred to. Most of them call it *tree*, or *wood*, using the general term; thus *Aquila*, *δενδρα*; *Sym.* *φύρον*; *Vulgate*, *nemus*; which also is defended by *Celsius*, Hierobotan, i. p. 535, sqq. Others call it some special kind of tree; e. g. the *Syriac*, *amygdalus*; *Theodotion*, *τὰς ἀγίς*. So, in 1 Ch. x. 12, הָאֲשֵׁל is used therefor; it is a

4. At the first glance, it may surprise us that these writers could have had an imperfect and uncritical acquaintance with a language

well-known *quid pro quo*, put for a difficult word, and is certainly neither a correct gloss, nor a statement derived from another source, as *Michaelis* thinks. Supp. ad Lex. Heb. p. 136. [See *Gesenius*, Thesaurus, and *Furst*, Concord. sub voce.]

2 Sam. v. 17; when David heard this, *וַיִּרְדָּ אֶל הַמִּצְרֵיָהּ*, *he drew down to the hill top*. Instead of this very obscure word, the Chronicler has *לִסְנִיָּהוּם*, (1 Ch. xiv. 18,) which by no means gives the true sense of the old reading. See *De Wette*, Beit. vol. i. p. 67.

2 Sam. v. 24; *אִזְּ הָרָחֵץ*, *then bestir thyself*. (Compare *וְהָרָץ*, *diligent, eager*.) This sense of the word may have ceased to be common at an early period, and therefore the translators could only guess at the meaning. *Seventy*, κατεβίησεν τοὺς αὐτοὺς. *Vulgate*, tunc inibis prælium. *Chald. Syr.* confortaberis, sumes animos. So, in the parallel, 1 Ch. xiv. 15, it is *בְּמִלְחָמָהּ*, which some erroneously regard as the correct explanation.

2 Sam. viii. 1; David took *הָאֶמְצִיחַ מֵהָרָג*, the *bridle*, i. e. the *metropolis*, from the hand of the Philistines, i. e. brought them under his dominion. See the Arabic phrases in *Schultens*, Job xxx. 11. In 1 Ch. xviii. 1, for this we read, *בְּגִלְגָּדִים*, the city *Gath* and the *circumjacent villages*; but no interpreter has succeeded in showing this is the true meaning of the original term. See *Dath's Glass*, Phil. sac. p. 783.

2 Sam. viii. 18; the sons of David were called *כֹּהֲנִים*, *priests*, which, probably, is to be understood as meaning unlevitical priests of the king's house and palace, who are obviously upper officers of the king. (Compare verse 17 with 1 Sam. xxi. 2, xxii. 9.) The Chronicler, who would endure no unlevitical priest, (compare 1 Sam. i. 11 with 1 Ch. vi. 18,) explains it by *הָרֹאשִׁים לִירֵד וְהַמְלִיךְ*; 1 Ch. xviii. 17. So the Chaldee on Gen. xli. 45, Ps. cx. 4, translates *כֹּהֵן* by *רִבֵּנָא*, *chief*, which can hardly be defended. Here the interpreter was led by one of his preponderating opinions. *De Wette*, l. c. 81, 82.

2 Sam. xxiii. 11; a piece of ground full of *עֲדָשִׁים*, *lentiles*. 1 Ch. xi. 13; *שְׂעִירִים*, *barley*. If this is not a (false) gloss for the former word, then it is a *quid pro quo*, a substitution of the known for the unknown. So the Samaritan, in Gen. xxv. 34, alters this term, which he did not understand, into *עֵר שִׁים*, which the Samaritan translator, in a manner unintelligible to me, renders *עֵר שִׁים*.

1 Kings x. 22; a *ship of Tarshish*, (*תַּרְשִׁישִׁי*), i. e. a great sea-ship, brought, every three years, gold and silver, ivory, apes, and peacocks, (as it seems from ix. 28) from *Ophir*. According to 1 Kings xxii. 49, the *ships of Tarshish* set out from Ezion-Geber to go to Ophir. The Chronicler, who did not know that a *ship of Tarshish* meant any large merchant vessel in general, thus explains

which had not then entirely ceased to be vernacular; but this will astonish us less when we consider that a grammatico-critical knowledge of the mother tongue and its etymologies was not sought for among the ancients; at least not so long as the language was a living one. Cicero's and Varro's unlucky etymologies of Latin words are well known. And we must place in the same category a number of attempts at etymology that occur in the old books, which can no more be justified, or admitted as correct, than they can be charged on their authors as great faults.* Such etymologies are forced, in

the former expression, — *ships that go to Tarshish*, אֲנִיּוֹת הַלְכוֹת תַּרְשִׁישׁ, and, in both passages, makes them go to Tarshish; but, in the second passage, where *Ophir* is expressly named, he omits it, to avoid the contradiction. See *Bredow*, *Untersuch.*, &c. ii. 260—303. 1 Kings x. 13; Solomon gave the queen of Sheba all that she wished and desired, besides what he gave her, וְכָל מַלְכוּת שֶׁבַח, as it became King Solomon, i. e. a present worthy of King Solomon. The Chronicler, probably misunderstanding the last expression, gives this inappropriate term, — *besides that which she brought to the king*, מִלְכּוּת אֲשֶׁר הָבִיאוּ לַמֶּלֶךְ. 1 Kings x. 14; *kings of the allies*, or auxiliaries, מְלָכֵי עָרֵב, 2 Ch. ix. 14; for this, מְלָכֵי עָרֵב. This will scarcely suffice in this place, where only Solomon's subjects seem to be spoken of. (See *Lexicon*, sub voce.) 2 Kings xxii. 13, 17; the somewhat unusual expression, וַיִּצְתָּר אֲנִי, *my anger is kindled*, which the Chronicler (2 Ch. xxxiv. 21) expresses by *my anger is poured out*, the more usual form וַיִּתֵּן; but so unsuitable in the last place, that he leaves out the addition — *and shall not be quenched*. He could not have understood the etymological sense of the latter. — verse 13, כִּבְלֵי - הַצִּהָבִים עֲלֵינוּ, *according to all which is prescribed for us* (in it); 2 Ch. xxxiv. 21, כִּבְלֵי - הַצִּהָבִים, *according to all which is written in the book*. I conjecture the expression עַל כִּבְלֵי, *pre-scribed*, was unknown to the later writer.

* Gen. v. 29; he called his name נֹחַ, for he said, This shall *console* us, (יִתְחַמֵּנֵנוּ). — xix. 37; מוֹאֵב is explained by מֵאֵב, *from the father*. — xxii. 8, 14; the name מִירְיָה מִירְיָה is so played upon that we see the author wished to derive it from רֵאָה, as it is clearly done in 2 Ch. iii. 2. Gen. xxix. 32; it is said of the etymology of Reuben, רְעוּבֵן, (i. e. *behold a son*!) she called his name *Reuben*, for she said, יְהוָה בִּרְעֵנִי, *Jehovah has looked upon my affliction*. Ex. ii. 22; בֶּרֶשׁ is explained by בֶּרֶךְ, *a stranger*, and no respect seems paid to שֵׁם. See *Vater*, l. c. p. 666.

Compare the etymologies of *Janus*, *Ovid*, *Fast.* i. 125, sqq.; of *Maius*, *ibid.* v. 1—110; *Lemuria*, v. 481; *Agonalia*, i. 320, sqq.

the highest degree, where the historian connects certain proper names with mythical stories with which they originally had no connection, or, in general, when he uses them to serve the end of historical myths. The Greek and Roman poets and writers of myths, in similar cases, are bold in the highest degree.

§ 10.

EXTINCTION OF THE LANGUAGE.

1. In the last period, the relation between the written and the popular languages, which were cognate and contemporary, may be illustrated, more or less, by the analogy between the ancient and modern Greek, the Slavic and the Russian, and even between the German popular dialect and the written language of Germany; but, in this latter instance, the written language is the modern. The last comparison is the more suitable, inasmuch as the less careful German writers—in particular, the Swiss and Swabian—sometimes permit the peculiarities of the popular language to shine through, here and there. The example of the German nation also shows how a dialect (the High German) can be pretty well understood without speaking it.

We cannot accurately determine how long the old Hebrew remained a living language; whether it continued a long time in some sections, among the "more respectable" and educated; in short, the more and the less of the subject cannot be distinctly ascertained.

This only is certain, that, in Nehemiah's time, the people still spoke Hebrew; that, in the time of Antiochus Epiphanes and the Maccabees, the Hebrew was still written,* though the Aramæan was the prevalent language; and, on the contrary, about this time, and shortly after Alexander the Great, even the learned Jews found it hard to understand difficult passages of the old writings, because the language had ceased to be a living speech.^b The reign of the Seleucidæ, and the new influence of an Aramæan people, seem gradually to have destroyed the last traces of it.

* Compare Daniel and the coins of the Maccabaic age.

^b [See instances where the writers of the books of Chronicles misunderstood the more ancient documents, Samuel and Kings, in § 189—192, below.]

2. The Talmudists and the Jewish grammarians,* Ephodæus, Elias Levita, and Kimchi, followed by Hottinger, Walton, Buxtorf, and others, make an exaggerated and incorrect statement, when they say that in the exile the Jews had completely forgotten the old language, and immediately after that period, that the priests and literary men had to acquire it as a learned language. They all rely, mainly, as it seems, on a false explanation of Neh. viii. 8. There it is said, "And they [the priests and Levites] read in the book, in the Law of the Lord, *מְסֹרֶת*, (verbally, or truly, accurately,) and gave the sense, and explained what was read." The parallel passage in Ezra iv. 18, shows that *מְסֹרֶת*, the word on which this question turns, must have this meaning. There the king of Persia says, "The letter which you sent me has been read before me, *מְסֹרֶת*, verbally," *word for word*.^b Here we have a reading of the Scripture, word for word, accompanied with explanations of whatever was difficult, and probably with a religious application of it, all in the same language.

The Jews explain the word differently. They understand *מְסֹרֶת* in the rabbinical sense of "explained," "with explanations," and suppose it refers to a translation into the Chaldee language.^c But even in the rabbinical writings, the word never means translation into another language; and besides, it is expressly said (Neh. xiii. 23, 24) that the Jews spoke Hebrew at that time.^d

* Gemara, Tr. Megilla, 3, c. 1. Nedarim, 37, 2. Ephodæus, Gram. c. 7. Elias, Præf. ad Metherg. Kimchi, Præf. ad Michlol. Hottinger, Thes. Phil. p. 279. Walton, Proleg. iii. § 24. Buxtorf, Diss. Philol. p. 157.

^b See same use of the word, Lev. xxiv. 21, Num. xii. 34. Buxtorf, Lex. נָקַב. Ex. xxviii. 11. Isa. viii. 11.

^c Rambach, Clericus, and Dathe, follow this opinion. The latter thinks the word refers to a translation into the Persian language, in Ezra iv. 18; but this is expressed by *תְּרַגְּמוּ*, (Ezra iv. 7, 18.)

^d See Bertholdt, p. 992. The author of the book Cosri, pt. iii. p. 15, thinks a knowledge of the Hebrew language and law was preserved in the hearts of priests and judges. Even Walton thinks the language was not entirely forgotten among the people. See the views of Pfeiffer and Löschner, l. c. Semais, Int. in Ling. Heb. p. 33. Carpzov, Crit. p. 213. See Eichhorn, Bibliothek, vol. viii. p. 360, sqq. Paulus, Verosimilia de Judæis Jesu tempore Græca locutis. De Rossi, Ling. di Christo; Parm. 1772, 4to.

§ 11.

RICHES AND EXTENT OF THE ANCIENT LANGUAGE.*

It is self-evident that the entire vocabulary of the ancient language cannot be contained in our relics of the old Hebrew literature. However, we are not to estimate the lost portion too highly, by reckoning all possible combinations from trilateral radicals; for, if this rule is followed, we shall have now remaining scarcely the sixth part of the primitive words.^b The relics of the language, however, enable us to judge that the people who used it moved in a pretty limited circle of ideas; but of these the religious ideas were the most completely formed. The language itself discloses the same fact, for religious ideas are pointed out and distinguished with the greatest copiousness and accuracy. It had a great copiousness in words of a similar sense, on account of the peculiar structure of its poetry, where the parallelism of the members often demanded different expressions of the same thought.^c In comparison, it may be said that the Hebrew language, in general, and in respect to its copiousness, stands midway between the Arabic, which is more, and the Syriac, which is less, copious. However, some sources may be found that furnish more or less important contributions to the language contained in the Bible, and from which both grammars and lexicons may be enriched or derive explanations. They are the following:—

I. The *proper names*, which, in Hebrew, as in all languages, were at

* See a treatise by *Corn. Van Waenan*, De Lingua Heb. pomœriis ampliandis, in *Schultens's Sylloge of Dissertations*, p. 719, sqq. See *Schultens*, De Defect. Ling. Heb. § 12.

^b *Albert Schultens* (De Defect. Ling. Heb. § 12) thinks there were about twelve thousand *trilateral* roots possible. Exclusive of the *quadrilaterals*, only about two thousand of these occur. If every root had but thirty derivatives, then thirty thousand are lost! What a conclusion from the possible to the actual! See *Simonis*, Introd. in Ling. Heb. p. 16. *Michaelis*, Supplem. p. 109. *De Sacy*, Gramm. Arab. vol. i. p. 30. *Leusden* enumerates the words that occur in the Hebrew (and Chaldee) Bible at five thousand six hundred and forty-two. In Greek, there are about eighty thousand.

^c It has been said that it contains sixteen *verba frangendi*, ten *verba querendi*, and fourteen expressing *confidence in God*. In words relating to things that belong to the life of Oriental herdsmen, the language is incomparably richer than the most highly-cultivated European language, e. g. in names for cattle and wild beasts at different ages. See *Carpzov*, Crit. sac. p. 201.

first appellatives. They may contain much from the most ancient language, which will explain the formation of the present dialect. From this source we obtain a whole series of grammatical forms, new *verbs* and *nouns*, — with which we are acquainted in the Arabic and Syriac languages, but which it is certain were Hebrew likewise, — and primitive forms, from which only the derivatives remain.* . . .

1. In other dialects, the following proper names are very well-known appellatives. — Geshur, גֶּשׁוּר, *bridge*. Dothan, דּוֹחַן, *two springs*. Nun, נֹחַן, *fish*. סֶנַח, *law*. Sisera, סִיסֶרָא, *battle-array*. Cain, קַיִן, *a smith*. Appellatives from the names of beasts are particularly clear. — Aran, אָרָן, *wild goat*. Jemimah, יֶמִימָה, *dove*. Hoglah, הוֹגְלָה, *partridge*. Othni, עֹתְנִי, *lion*. Shaalabbin, שַׁעֲלָבִין, *city of foxes, (fox-borough.)* We can trace more than thirty proper names in א to similar radical words. This has been done, though not completely, in *Schiedii Lex. Heb. ed. Gronwood*. In many instances, the etymology is, indeed, obscure, but a good deal of the obscurity may be cleared up by a careful examination. Thus יְרוּשָׁלַם is certainly not compounded of יְרוּשָׁלַם, *possession of peace*; but it means rather *people of peace*, from יָרַח, equivalent to the Arabic דָּרַי, synonymous with אָרַל, *people*, so that perhaps it means *tent, or dwelling of peace*, for יָרַח, in Hebrew, had this modified sense. Compare אָרַל, *a tent*, in Arabic אָרַל, *a people*; also, בֵּית, *a house, or a people*. So יְרוּשָׁלַם, or יְרוּשָׁלַם, the name of a desert, means *dwelling of God*.^b The writers themselves explain many difficult words, as, for example, אֲבִרְחָם, (Gen. xvii. 5,) עֶשָׂר, (xxv. 25.) But in other cases, the etymology which they give is not correct.^c Thus, according to 1 Sam. i. 20, שְׁמוּאֵל is derived from שָׁמַע and אֵל, *called of God*; but a better meaning is, *name of God*, from שָׁמַע, the construct state of שָׁמַע, as אָבִי and אֵבִי are the construct state of אָב. So אֲבֵל־מִצְרַיִם means *mourning of Egypt*, according to Gen. iv. 11; but it rather means *place or threshing-floor of Egypt*. In some instances, we have not the means of understanding fully an allusion

* See the literature on the explanation of the proper names in *Wolff*, *Bib. Heb.* vol. ii. p. 565. *Hist. Lex.* p. 219, sqq. Yet much is still to be done. The most useful works are *Simonis*, *Onomasticon*, V. T., (1741, 4to.) and *Hillari* *Onomast.*, (1706, 4to.)

^b See *Lexicon*, sub voce.

^c See above, § 8, 4.

to the etymology of a name; an example occurs in Jer. xx. 3, פִּנְסוּרָה, which seems to mean *welfare*.^a

2. The *grammatical forms*, which seldom or never occur in the common language, are as follows: the *emphatic state* of the Aramæan in עִירָא, *a city*, עֵלָא, *a yoke*; the *dual form* in הָם, הֵן, and הֵן, (see § 21, 3;) the Arabic form of the *Segolate noun*, as in אֶרֶד; the Chaldee form of the future, as יַעֲרִץ, *he would advise*; יַעֲרֹשׁ, *he assembles together*; the participle, as אוֹבֵדֵל, *camel-keeper*. Compare הוֹמִיךְ, *maintaining*, (Ps. xvi. 5;) the frequent *jod compaginis*, as in מְלֵךְ, &c.

The old singular forms, of which only the plural is now found, are of special importance. הָר = הֵר, *a mountain*, (compare Gen. xlix. 26;) עִיר, *a city*, of which the plural occurs, עִירִים. There are several words of the form אֲבֹ, of which only the plurals remain, as אֲבִירִים. So יְמֵאֵל, *God's day*, which is a relic of יְמֵה = יָמָה, and יָמָה is the singular of יָמִים. So מְחַשְׁלָה, or מְחַשְׁאָל, where מְחַה = מַחָה or מַחָה, (in Æthiopic, *mēt*,) signifies *man*, and is the singular of מְחַרִּים. Of the same form are יַעֲרֵאֵל and יַעֲרֵאֵל, where יַעֲרָה = יַעֲרָה, or יַעֲרָה, and יַעֲרָה = יַעֲרָה.

II. Another source, not always sufficiently regarded or made use of for single ancient forms of speech, is found in the variants of the Kethib, where the authors of the Keri have sometimes inserted some old and genuine words along with what seemed to them to be incorrect, and with some real errors. According to the old critical canon, that where both are supported by equal authority, the more difficult reading has the preference, the balance turns in favor of the Kethib; and the analogy of the cognate dialects often comes to settle the well-known controversy of the Masorites, according to the principles of these languages.^b

^a See *J. D. Michaelis*, Com. in loc.

^b For an alphabetical list of the Kethib and Keri, see *Simonis*, Analysis Lect. Masoret.; Hal. 1752, 8vo. They are arranged in classes by *Hiller*, De arcan. Kethib et Keri; Tub. 1692, 8vo. On the superiority of the Kethib, and the explanation thereof, see *J. A. Danzius*, Sinceritas Scripturæ V. T. prævalente Keri vacillans; Jen. 1713, 4to., reprinted in *J. Iken*, Thes. Phil. novus. *F. Tsepregi*, Diss. de Authentia select. Chethibim, partes ii., (Francq. 1736;) reprinted in Sylloge Dissertat. above cited, vol. i. No. 2, 3. *J. F. Froberg*, Diss. de Utilitate Ling. Arab. in defendendis nonnullis locis τὸν Chethib; Leips. 1767, 4to.

The following are some of the rare *words* and forms of the Kethib, which have been displaced by the Keri, and which are found only in the passages referred to: בחל, probably *בָּחַל*, *to be greedy* or *avaricious*; Prov. xx. 21.* אָשָׁה = אֵשׁ, *fire*; Jer. vi. 29. חוס = חֵסֶן, *bosom*; Ps. lxxiv. 11. סָרָם = סָרָם, *not yet*; Ruth iii. 14. רָשָׁם, *to be placed*, neuter of רָשָׁם, (as רָצָר, from רָצָר;) Gen. xxiv. 33, Judg. xii. 3: it occurs without the Keri, only in Gen. i. 26. פְּרוֹזִים, for פְּרוֹזִים, *villages*; Esth. ix. 19. And, after the same analogy, אֲרוֹמִים, *Syrians*; 2 Kings xvi. 6. יַעֲזָרִים, *woods*; Ezek. xxxiv. 25, and נְבוֹכַדְנֶאצַּר, Jer. xlix. 28, Ezra ii. 1, for אֲרַמִּים, יַעֲזָרִים, and נְבוֹכַדְנֶאצַּר. צָעִיר for צָעִיר, *little*; Jer. xiv. 3, xlviii. 4. רָאִשׁוֹן = רָאִשׁוֹן; Job xv. 7, Josh. xxi. 10. (It is the prevalent form in the Samaritan text.) מַאֲרֹת, for מַאֲרֹת; 2 Kings xi. 4, 9, 10, 15. (Compare the Arabic مَلَايَا.)

The following are peculiar in respect to *grammar*: The imperative; like רָדָסִי = רָדָסִי; Ps. xxxviii. 21. Participles, like עֲשִׂינָה; 1 Sam. xxv. 18, 2 Kings xxiii. 4. Double plurals, or duals, like מְבוֹחָחִים; 2 Ch. xxxiv. 5. רִבְכָּה; 1 Kings vi. 16. Duals in עָם; Ezek. xxv. 9, xlv. 19.

The variants of the Samaritan Pentateuch furnish far more numerous additions to the language; but, on account of the correctional character of this text, we cannot, on this authority, assume that every thing is old and genuine Hebrew which does not bear the mark of an Aramæo-Samaritan form; for it may be a modern alteration. The same remark is to be made respecting the variants of the Hebrew manuscripts, for they disclose an attempt to remove what was difficult or unusual from the text, more frequently than they show that any thing strange, and elsewhere unknown, was to be found in it. However, the variant בִּין שְׁוֹרָתָם, Job xxiv. 11, (for בִּין שְׁוֹרָתָם, after the analogy of חֲמוֹתָם,) deserves some attention. In a verse interpolated after Ps. xiv. 3, we find the ἀπαξ λεγόμενον מִכָּל, *a star*, in the sense of *fate*.

III. On the Jewish coins of the Maccabaic age, some glosses occur, which, with few exceptions, are not found in the more ancient He-

* See A. Schultens, in loc.

brew; for example, לחרות ציון, or לחרה, *for the liberation of Zion*, read לחרות.*

IV. Some few words of the most modern Hebrew are found in the Greek Apocrypha; but as they are written in Greek letters, it is, in general, very difficult to interpret them.^b

V. Many old Hebrew words are doubtless preserved in the language of the Talmud, particularly of the Mishna, which, in antiquity and language, comes the nearest to the most modern books of the canon. But who will undertake to separate the old from the new? However, if we may infer any thing from the analogy of other dead languages, we must maintain that many derivatives from old primitives, and their new significations, may be of late origin. It is natural that this should be the case with all words which relate to more modern ideas. But it is not the business of men who use a dead language to form new primitives; and in this case, for the most part, there must be something ancient at the bottom, especially if the usage of the word differs from the Syriac. We may assume, with some confidence, a certain antiquity for the numerous names of animals, plants, &c., which occur in the Mishna, and which were so soon forgotten, that even in the Gemara they required an explanation.^c For the most

* Bayer, De Nummis Heb. p. 21. *Ekkhel*, Doctrina Num. Vet. vol. iii. p. 469. In the Mishna and Targums we find חיריח and חיריח; חיריח is more frequent, and is allied to חורר, *liber, ingenuus*. The derivation from חרת is false.

^b E. g. the title of 1 Macc., Σαββαίος-Σαββαίος, i. e. שַׁבְּתָא בְּנֵי אֵל. *History of the Princes of the Sons of God*, (*Michaelis*, Or. Bib. xii. 112; see in *Bertholdt*, l. c. p. 1047;) Μακκαβαίος, most probably מַכְבֵּי, *Hammerer*; comp. *Charles Martel*, (*Bertholdt*, l. c. 1045;) Αβδαιος = חַסְדֵּי־יִרְמְיָהוּ, i. e. the *pious* adherents of Jehovah, (Ps. lxxix. 2;) Αλεξάνδρ, or Αλεξανδρ, (1 Macc. ii. 5,) a surname of Eleazar, i. e. *foramen, podex brutorum*, (*Michaelis*, Supplem. p. 696; see 1 Macc. vi. 43—46;) Απφους, a name of Jonathan, חַנְּנִיָּהוּ, *libertus*. Others are derived from the Syro-Chaldee vernacular; e. g. φαρισαιοι = פְּרִישִׁי, *separatus*; Εσσαίος, *pious*.

^c A great number of them may be found in Tract Kilaim, in *Surenhusius's* Mishna, vol. i. p. 109. Many of them, if we do not include the foreign names, seem to be vernacular in Palestine, and old; e. g. אגס, in Arabic, *أجاص*, and also انجاص, *pears*, though in other dialects of the Arabic, *plums*; חרדל, חַרְדָּל, *mustard*; דלעת, *a gourd*; זרע, *salad*; קטנור, *pulses*, &c.

part, they agree with the Arabic. The negative argument, which may be brought from the fact of their non-occurrence in the Old Testament, has little value; for those books, from their peculiar character, did not furnish an occasion for the use of the word.

VI. Here and there, in the oldest versions, particularly in that of the Seventy, significations are given to words which they really had in the old Hebrew, and which are confirmed by the analogy of the cognate dialects, but of which no examples now occur.

VII. On account of the very close affinity between the Hebrew and the Phœnician, something may be found in the relics of the latter dialect which was genuine Hebrew, but does not occur in the documents that are preserved to us.*

§ 12.

DIALECTS IN THE HEBREW LANGUAGE.

1. The analogy of almost all other languages would render it probable that, while the Hebrew was a living language, some diversity of dialects had found place, even if there were now no distinct traces of such a diversity. But in the case of a meagre language, which itself was at first only a dialect of a greater family of languages, too much is not to be built on this supposition. The comparison of the Greek dialects is not to the point, for all actual traces of dialects among the Hebrews relate merely to pronunciation. In the written language, nothing can be found which can be called a provincialism, with any considerable degree of probability. Still less can the peculiarities of the second period be regarded as provincial idioms.^b

* See Excurs. of *Gesenius*, at end of his *Gesch. Heb. Sprache*, [and also his *Palaographische Studien über Phönisches und Punisches Schrift*, and *Script. Ling. Phœnic. Monumenta*, 3 pts. 4to.; Halle, 1837.]

^b *Jo. Kiessling*, *De Dialectis Heb.* diss. 11. *Eichhorn*, l. c. § 11. *Nachtigall*, in *Allg. Bib.* vol. ix. p. 235. *Dereser* finds traces of a *Moabitish* dialect in the book of Ruth. But *Kiessling* (l. c.) goes farther than any other, and finds a dialectic variation in the anomalous inflections that often occur; e. g. in the feminine termination תִּי, he finds the *Philistine* or *Idumean* dialect. Comp. מִיִּי, מִיִּי, מִיִּי. He thinks מִי (for מִי) belongs to the dialect of Judæa. See *Simonis*, *Onomast.* V. T. p. 40. *Nachtigall* (l. c.) speaks of a dialect east-Jordanic, and a west-Jordanic dialect distinguished by the use of מִי = מִיִּי

2. The following are the passages: Judg. xii. 6, according to which the Ephraimites were distinguished by an habitual pronunciation of ϖ like ω , (*sh* like *s*;) Neh. xiii. 23, 24, where the zealous patriot was angry because the dialect of Ashdod had stolen into Jerusalem instead of the genuine Jewish dialect. Some also mention Judges xviii. 3, where it is said the Danites knew the voice (קִינָה) of a young Levite. But the terms of the expression, and the context, render it probable that it is not a dialect, ($\lambda\lambda\epsilon\iota\alpha$), which is here spoken of, but the *individual* voice of a young man who was known to the parties concerned.*

Since the Philistine names of persons, places, and gods, are regular Hebrew in their form, as עֲדָזָה , בְּעֶלְזָבוֹב , אַבְרִימֶלֶךְ , the dialectic difference may consist chiefly in the pronunciation. סָרַךְ , *prince*, seems to be a peculiar word. *Máqras*, the name of an idol of Gaza, is Syriac, מַרְנָשׁ , *Dominus hominum*. But this may be of recent date.

3. It has already been shown that, throughout the second period, a popular language prevailed, which differed from the written language, but was yet similar to it. However, at an earlier date, the language of common life may have differed from it in some forms; and some words are found, which are not so easily explained by referring them to the influence of the Syriac, as by the supposition that they were incorrect expressions used in common life, which have stolen into the written language. Here, probably, belong the numerous inaccurate and careless expressions in Ezekiel; the occasional confusion of *gender*, especially in the pronouns, (thus אֲנִי is used in a *masculine*, and אֲתָם in a *feminine* sense;†) the confusion and blending of kindred forms, (as הוֹשִׁיעֲבוֹדִים , for הוֹשִׁיעֲבוֹדִים , Zach. x. 6;) the conjugation *hithpael*; the frequent use of the redundant *dativ. commodi*, לִי , לָךְ ,‡ and perhaps the abbreviated forms, like סָרַךְ .§ Much, which

In this way, he claims Eccles., Cant., and a part of Jonah, for the first period. But he adduces no adequate reasons.

* See *Drusius*, in loc.

† The common Arabs use an analogous form. See *Lexicon*, sub voce אֲתָם .

‡ See *Steph. Byzant.* sub voce *Γάλα*. *Bochart*, *Geog. sac. lib. i. ch. xv. p. 60*. The fact that Peter was detected by his language, *Matt. xxvi. 73*. Compare the paraphrases in *Terence*, and the formula in *Horace*, *Quid mihi Celsus agis?*

§ Compare, in Arabic, تَقَبَّلْنِ , vulg. تَقَبَّلْنِ . See *Weckherlings*, *Heb. Lesebuch*, p. 60.

belongs here, seems to be preserved in the rabbinical language, as נִתְּפַל , נִתְּפַל , the conjugation *nithpael*, &c.

§ 13.

RELATION OF THE HEBREW LANGUAGE TO THE COGNATE DIALECTS.

In order to make the necessary use of the cognate dialects, it is very important, for every one who wishes to go beyond the rudiments, to form a just notion of the kind of relation between them.

This subject belongs rather to hermeneutics, upon which we shall not enter; but a few remarks will not be out of place here.

1. In all respects, geographical as well as others, the Hebrew language stands midway between the copious Arabic and the Aramæan language, which is incomparably poorer. This is shown in the orthography, the vocalization, and in the greater or less richness in grammatical forms, and stock of words. In the alphabet, the Arabic has six letters more, and expresses certain degrees of sound in the letters ا , (آ) ح , ط , ظ , and ع ; by a written character. The Syrians have one letter (ܐ) less than the Hebrews; they write א instead of it. The Arabic is richer in vowels than the Hebrew, and the Syriac is poorer. Compare قَتَلَ , كَبَلَ , and صَبَّ . In Arabic, the abundance of grammatical forms is much greater. It has ten regular conjugations, with their passives, besides the unusual conjugations, a dual form of verbs, and a distinct separation of verbs, ب , ل , and ن , &c. The Syriac has no conjugation *niphal*, no alterations of the future tense; and, in the irregular verbs, the forms أَل and أَلَّ , ع and عَ , and both classes of ب , run together, while, in Hebrew, they are separate. Still further, the Hebrew has united the peculiar formations of the two other classes. The Arabic forms all the *passives* by the obscurer vowels; the Syriac by prefixing the syllable ܐܐ : the Hebrew forms *pyal* and *hophal* in the first way, and the *reflective hithpael* in the last.

2. The Hebrew bears marks of being older than the Arabic and Syriac in their *present form*. Therefore, in Hebrew the etymology is often very obvious when it is lost in the other dialects. We can see several forms and senses of words originating in the Hebrew which are fixed in the present Syriac and Arabic.

3. On account of its riches and the copiousness of its sources for the knowledge of the language, the Arabic will yield the inquirer proportionally the richest booty. However, it is not to be concealed that the Aramæan often lies nearer to the Hebrew, since it is evident, both from history and geography, that the Hebrews had a nearer contact with nations who spoke the Aramæan than with such as spoke the Arabic.*

§ 14.

GLOSSES TAKEN FROM FOREIGN LANGUAGES THAT ARE NOT SHEMITISH.

Since the Israelites, while their language remained a living speech, stood in close connection with several foreign nations, and, part of the time, lived in the same region with them, it is almost impossible that single words should not be introduced to the Hebrew from languages which had no other affinity with it; and sometimes, after a slight alteration, they became naturalized in it.

1. During their residence in Ægypt, they may have received a small number of Ægyptian words, particularly names of things which were common in Ægypt. These may be explained by the present Coptic language, a descendant of the old Ægyptian; but this is now extinct, and is only used as an ecclesiastical language.^b It has no affinity with the Shemitish languages.^c

* It is interesting to notice the modification the Aramæan words underwent when they were admitted into the Hebrew. All the words which the Syrians apply to the *worship of God* are applied to *idolatry* by the Hebrews, because the worship of the Syrians appeared to them as apostasy, or false religion; e. g. *קִמְרִיִּם*, in Syriac, *priests*, in Hebrew, *idol-priests*; *סָגַר*, in Syr. *to fall down*, in Heb. *to fall down before idols*; *קִסֵּם*, Syr. *ܩܨܡܐ*, *to prophesy*, Heb. *to foretell by divination*, applied to *false prophets*; *פָּשַׁע*, Syr. *to pray*, Heb. *to practise magic*; *קִדְּשׁ* and *קִדְּשָׁה*, Syr. *consecrated man or woman*, Heb. *a prostitute*. In the Peshito, *אַרְמֵיִת*, which properly means *Syriac*, is *heathen*.

^b See *Quatremere*, *Recherches sur la Langue, &c. de l'Égypte*; 1806, 4to. *Adelung*, *Mithridates*, vol. iii. *Ign. Rossi*, *Etymologiæ Ægyptiacæ*; Rom. 1808, 4to.

^c See *Jerome*, *Com. in Isa. xix. 18*, lib. viii. ch. 19, and *Michaelis*, *Or. Bib.* vol. v. p. 50, sqq. *Origen*, *Cont. Celsum*, iii. p. 115, al. 451.

EXAMPLES. — *אָרֶב*, Ægypt. *αρι*, *Nile grass*. *יָאֵר*, Ægypt. *ιαρο, ιερο, a flood, the Nile*. Some proper names, e. g. *פֶּרְעֹה*, *φουφο, king*. Perhaps the names of some of the months, *בִּבְרָה*, Copt. *τϥβη*. The names of the precious

2. Persian words were admitted into the Hebrew in a far later period,—that of the Persian dominion. For the most part, they are such as were borrowed from things which were peculiar to Persia, such as the titles of magistrates, honorary titles, &c. The dialect which, at that time, prevailed in Persia proper, is called *Parsi*, and from this the Persian words contained in the Hebrew and the contemporary Greek and Roman writers were borrowed. However, they frequently agree with the older dialects, *Zend* and *Pehlvi*, and, in most cases, the modern Persian, which is not altogether different, must supply the want of older sources.*

stones have been sometimes taken for *Ægyptian*, but the fact cannot be proved. Accidental agreement has sometimes been mistaken for affinity; as, אֲנָכִיר, Copt. *avox*, I; יָם, Copt. *isum*, the sea; סְרַפְסִים and סְרַפְסִי, *Serapis*, &c.

Many such words, with a little alteration, are capable of a Hebrew etymology; so their true origin has been overlooked; e. g. יָמֹס, Copt. *XHMI*, *Ægypt*, which the Jews, perhaps, regarded as a southern region. מִזְמוֹרֹת, the Nile-horse, (probably *p she-mout*, the water-oz;) אֲבֵרֶךְ, i. e. *ape-rich*, lower the head.

Among modern interpreters of Scripture, *Bochart* and *Pfeiffer*, (*Dubia vexata*), but still more *P. E. Jablonski*, have distinguished themselves by applying the Coptic to explain such expressions. The explanations of *J. R. Forster* (*Mantissæ Egypt. ad Lib. de Byssu Antiquorum*, *Epist. ad J. D. Michaellem*) are less acceptable. See, also, *Wahl*, *Magazin für morg. und Bib. Lit. Th. i.—iii.* The best collection and explanation of all the real and alleged *Ægyptian* glosses is made by *Jablonski*, *Opusc. ed. Te Water*, vol. i. *Scholz* borrowed his explanations (*Eichhorn's Repert.* vol. xiii. p. 1—31) from these papers.

* On the language of ancient Persia, see *Anquetil du Perron*, [*Acad. des Inscrip.* vol. xxxi. xxxvii. xxxviii.] in *Kleuker's Zend-Avesta*, vol. ii. p. 29, sqq., especially the *Lexicon of Zend and Pehlvi*, vol. iii. p. 137, sqq. See *Kleuker's Anhang zur Zend-Avesta*, vol. i. p. 2. *Bochart*, (*Phaleg.* i. 15,) *A. Pfeiffer*, (*l. c.* and *Opp. Philol.*; *Ultraj.* 1674, 4to.,) *De Dieu*, (*Crit. sac.*,) *Hottinger*, (*Smegma Orient.* p. 75—80,) *Reland*, (*De vet. Ling. Pers. Diss. miscell.* vol. ii. p. 97,) *Jahn*, (*Einleit. and Archæol.*) and *Lorsbach*, (*Archiv. für morg. Lit.* vol. i. ii.,) have done much to explain these words, but much is still obscure. See the *appellatives* in *Simonis*, *Arcanum Form.* p. 639, the *proper names* in his *Onomast.* V. T. p. 567.

EXAMPLES.—אֲנָכִיר, a letter; compare אֲנָכִיר, something written. דָּה, דָּא, *Law*; *Pehlvi*, *Dadha*; *Zend*, *Dastis*. כֶּרֶם אֵל, פֶּרְמִי, worm-red, i. e. *kermesin*, [*crimson*.] פֶּרְמִי, *Parsi*, *Pardomim*, nobles; compare *Pardem*, in *Pehlvi*, the first. פֶּדָם, *Pers.* *Pedam*, *Peigham*, word, saying, edict. פֶּתָה,

3. Still more difficult is the inquiry to what language the Assyrio-Babylonian names of gods, persons, and especially of kings, (Nebo and Nebuchadnezzar,) belong. They occur in the writings before the exile, and in the works of profane authors.^a It is almost universally acknowledged that these are the relics of the proper Assyrian language; and then the only question is this — To what Asiatic family of languages does that belong?

Many old writers on language, whom Adelung, Heeren, and Eichhorn, have followed, consider it a Shemitish dialect, which resembled the east-Aramæan of the Babylonians. This supposition is supported by Isa. xxxvi. 11, where the Assyrian *Rabshakeh* is commanded to speak Aramæan; by the name *Assyrian letters* for Chaldee square letters, and finally by the fact that the Syrians and Assyrians are often confounded together in the classics. Following this theory, these names have been explained from the Shemitish dialects.^b But the foreign aspect of these names, and the ill-success which has attended these attempts to explain them, furnish a reason for rejecting the hypothesis, especially as these objections may be enforced by other arguments. The fact that *Rabshakeh* was commanded to speak in Aramæan does not prove it was his mother tongue, for this dialect was used at the Persian court, as a means of communicating with the provinces on this side the Euphrates. (Ezra iv. 7.) The name *Assyrian writing* proves only the probable identity of the *writing character*. The uncritical confusion of names that are similar in Greek and Roman, but not in the Oriental languages, does not deserve consideration in this inquiry.

The attempt of J. D. Michaelis (at the suggestion of J. R. Forster)

תִּשְׁתָּא, *governor*, &c., which last word has not yet been adequately explained. *Proper Names*. — אֲרַתְחַשְׁתָּא, *Artaxerxes*, i. e. in the Zend, *Arta-Schetrao*, *Great King*. בֹּרְשׁ, *sun*. מִתְרַת, *given by Mithra*.

The Hebrew has some words in common with the Persian; but, notwithstanding that, they may be of Shemitish origin; e. g. כֶּזֶב, *a treasure*, Pers. کنج, Pehlvi *Gand*. פֶּרֶס is doubtful. In the old Hebrew, Persian words are doubtful; e. g. דְּמַשֶּׁק. See Lexicon.

^a See these in the canon of *Ptolemy*. Comp. *Semler*, in his *Erläuterungsschriften zur Allg. Welthistorie*, vol. iii. p. 105, sqq.

^b *Lascher*, l. c. p. 41. *Simonis*, *Onomast.* p. 567. *Adelung*, l. c. vol. i. p. 330. *Heeren*, *Comment. Soc. Gott.* vol. viii. *De Ling. Imperii Persici*, § 15. *Eichhorn*, *Gesch. neuern Sprachenkunde*, vol. i. p. 417.

to explain them from the Slavic dialects is still more unfortunate and objectionable. He proceeds on the supposition, which is wholly groundless, that the Chaldees of the Bible are the northern Chaldees of Xenophon and Strabo. Thus he completely overlooks the connection between the Assyrian and Babylonian dynasties. On the other hand, it may be admitted, with the highest degree of probability, that these names,* and, in general, the Assyrian language, belong to the Medo-Persian stock.*

4. After the conquests of Alexander the Great, there was so important an intercourse between Greece and Hither Asia, it is not to be wondered at that some Greek words were adopted into the Asiatic languages; without doubt this has been done in the Chaldean passages of Daniel, and therefore it seems possible that the same may have been done in the contemporary Hebrew writings. Many interpreters have thought they discovered Greek words, or Græcisms, or turns and senses borrowed from the Greek. But they will not stand before an accurate examination.^b

With more reason, a Greek origin has been ascribed to two words which occur in the oldest Hebrew writings; e. g. פִּירִד, Syriac, לְמִפְרָא, λήμνας, פִּינֶנֶשׁ, פִּינֶנֶשׁ, Chaldee, פִּינֶנֶשׁ, πάλλαξ, πάλληξ, παλλαξίς, pellex. Both, therefore, must have passed, at an early date, from the Greeks to the Phœnicians. But פִּינֶנֶשׁ seems to have been brought from the East, where polygamy was common, to the Greeks; and the etymological arguments are not sufficient to support the theory.^c

* See Michaelis, Spicileg. Geog. ii. 102. On the other hand, Adalung, l. c. Gesenius, Lexicon, sub voce פִּינֶנֶשׁ. See Rosenmüller, in Habac. i. 3. See Jablonski, l. c. iii. 129. Quatremere, Recherches sur la Langue et les Antiquités de l'Égypte; 1806, 4to. Rossi, Etymologicæ Egypt. ; 1806, 4to. Lersbach, Archiv. für morgenländische Lit. i. 2, &c.

^b Some interpreters explain as Greek the words in the modern Hebrew, explained above as Persian; e. g. פִּינֶנֶשׁ, πρότιμοι, παρότιμοι; פִּינֶנֶשׁ, φθίμα, word, thing. But these words rarely occur in Greek in the same sense as in Hebrew. Drusius, on Esther, i. 3. Simonis, Lex. Eickhorn, l. c. § 614, 2. On the other hand, Jahn, l. c. ii. p. 627. Gesenius, l. c. sub voce. Least of all to be admitted is Bertholdt's opinion that the word pardomin, in Parsi, is derived from the Greek πρότιμοι.

See, on one side, Zirkel, Untersuch. ab. d. Prediger, (Ecclesiastes,) 1792, p. 46—56, and Bertholdt on Daniel, xi. 20. On the other hand, see Eickhorn, Allg. Bib. vol. iv. p. 904, sqq., and J. E. Ch. Schmidt, Salomis Prediger, p. 283, sqq.

^c See Michaelis, Supplem. ad Lex. iii. v., and his Einleit. in A. T. p. 166.

§ 15.

AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE HEBREW AND WESTERN LANGUAGES.

It was remarked above that the old writers on languages found their principal argument in favor of the originality of the Hebrew language on the fact that traces of it are found in most known languages, particularly in the Western dialects. Much of this agreement between them rests on forced and perverted combinations. Under the following rubrics may be seen whatever is truly or very probably Hebrew, with the grounds on which the coincidence rests.

I. Words have passed from the Hebrew or Phœnician language into the Greek, and from this into several Western languages.

1. A considerable number of names of plants, spices, and similar productions, came from the Orientals to the Greeks, along with the objects to which the name belonged; e. g. חֲזָז, ἀγγύλον, [*the bitter aloes*;] חֲזָז, ὕσσωπος, [*hyssop*;] בְּרִיחַ, βδέλλιον, [*bdellium*;] בִּיצָה, βύσσος, [*fine linen*;] דְּבִלָּה, πάλαθον, [*a mass of dried fruit*;]! דְּבִלָּה, ἔβενος, [*ebony*;] דְּבִלָּה, γαλβάνη, [*galbanum*;] בִּמְדִּי, κύμινον, [*cumin*;] כֶּפֶר, κύπρος, [*the cypress*;] כַּרְבָּס, carbasis, [*linen*;] כְּחוֹשׁ, χιτών, [*a shirt*;] לְבָנֹה, λεβανότις, -τος, [*the rosemary, incense*;] לֵידָם, λήδον, [*the ledanum*;] נֶרְדִּי, νάρδος, [*nard*;] מָן, manna; מֵר, μύρρα, [*myrrh*;] נֶחֶר, νιτρον, [*nitre*;] קָנָה, canna, [*the cane*;] קַצְיָה, cassia; קִנְמוֹן, κιννάμωμον, [*cinnamon*;]* שֹׁשַׁן, σοῦσον, [*the lily*.]

2. The names of the letters.

3. The names of some musical instruments and precious stones. נָבֶל,νάβλα, nablum, [*the nablion, a musical instrument*;] כִּנּוֹר, κίνορα, [*the kinoor*;] (חֹס, κυμαπανον?) יָשָׁפֶחַ, jaspis, [*the jasper*;] סַפִּיר, σαπφείρος, [*the sapphire*;] שֶׁמֶרֶץ, σμίς, [*emery*?]

4. There are also some others; e. g. נֶמֶל, κάμηλος, [*the camel*;] כַּד, κάδος, cadus, [*a caddy*?] כֶּבֶד, κατώ, [*a kind of offering, consisting of small cakes*;] כְּלִיבָה, κλωβός, [*a cage*;] סֶם, σής, [*a corn-worm*;] סָרְבֵּל, σαράβαλα, saraballa, [*trousers*;] עֶרְבֹךְ, ἀφάβων, [*earnest money*;] קוֹם, ἀήφος, [*an ape*;] פֶּרֶךְ, άφ, άφα, άφρος,

* See Herodotus, iii. 111.

among the Ionians, [*a pasture ground*;] מַעֲדָה, σάκος, [*sack*;] מַלְחָה, μάλθη, *maltha*, [*a mortar*;] מִנְיָה, pinna, *a little tower on the top of a wall*.

5. The Hellenistic Jews alone adopted the names of weights and measures; e. g. σίκλος, σάτον, and βᾶρις for בִּירְה, *a burgh*.

Some other words were first introduced from the Arabic into the Western languages in the middle ages; e. g. מִסְכֵּן, Arab. *meskeen*, [*poor*,] hence *mesquino*; כֶּתֶן, Arab. *kittinon*, [*cotton*.]

II. The following examples of coincidence between the Oriental and one or more Western languages belong to the few marks, still left, of close connection which once prevailed between two languages which are now entirely separate, or they are in some cases the result of chance; e. g. אֶרֶץ, [*the earth*—*erde* in German, *aarde* in Dutch, *erdh*, or *yord*, in Danish;] יַיִן, *olivos*, *wine*; מֶסֶךְ, and מִזְג, μίσγω, *misceo*, [*to mix*—*mischen* in German, *mikks* in Danish, *amichten* in Persian, &c.;] רִיחַ, *riechen*, [*to smoke*;] שֵׁשׁ, *sez*, *sechs*, ἕξ, *six*; שִׁבְעַת, *septem*, *sieben*, *seven*; טָוֹר, *tawaron*, Arabic, ταῦρος, *taurus*, *a bull*.

III. Since the identity of these words, especially of those in No. I, is not to be doubted, some have gone too far, and, from similar terms and phrases in the Greek and Hebrew poets, have concluded there was an actual connection between them. All languages, in the same stage of culture, resemble each other in some points.*

* See *J. A. Ernesti*, De Vestig. Ling. Heb. in Ling. Græc. p. 178. *Hezel*, Griechenland, Alteste Gesch. *P. M. Ogerii* De Græc. et Lat. Ling. cum Heb. Affinitate. *Bauer*, Hemeneutica, p. 138. (*Bogani*) *Homerus Ebraizans*, Ox. 1668. *Lakemacher*, Observatt. Phil. pt. iii. p. 300. *Rink*, De Ling. Orient. cum Græcæ mira Convenientia; Regiomonti, 4to. *Pfochen*, Distribue de Ling. Græc. N. T. Puritate.

E.

(See § 30, sqq.)

HISTORY OF THE HEBREW WRITING CHARACTER.*

§ 1.

ON THE WRITING OF THE SEMITISH NATIONS IN GENERAL.†

I. Much as the origin of writing, in general, is lost in the darkness of antiquity, and is thereby incapable of being accurately investigated, yet this remains undoubted, — that the alphabet of the Phœnicians — a Semitish nation, at least one that spoke a Semitish language — is the parent of many Oriental alphabets, and, also, through the influence of the Greek, of all the Western alphabets. Besides, it is clear, from the names of the Semitish letters, and the nature of this alphabet, that it was invented by a Semitish people; and, therefore, the two traditions of antiquity, which ascribe this invention to the Phœnicians,‡ or the Aramæans,§ have a decided preponderance over the other opinion, less widely diffused, which ascribes that honor to the Egyptians.¶

II. Amid all the diversities of the numerous Semitish alphabets, ancient and modern, they all agree in two main features; namely, 1. The alphabet contains only the consonants and the three long

* From *Gesenius*, l. c. § 40 in the original. See his *Lehrgebaude*, § 1, sqq.

† On this subject we possess no complete and satisfactory work. Much information, however, may be found in the following works: *Ed. Bernardus*, *Literatura Orbis eruditi a Characteribus Samaritanis deducta*; 1689; ed. *Carl Morton*, 1759. *Walton*, *Proleg.* ii. *Battner*, *Figure varise varisque Forme Literarum Heb., Syr., Arab*; Gott. 1769, fol. See his *Comparative Tables of the Writing of different Nations*; pt. i. Gott. 1771, pt. ii. 1779, (unfinished.) *Eichhorn*, *Einleit.* in *A. T.* vol. i. *Wark*, *Sketches of the Oriental Writing*, in his *Allg. Geschichte der morgenlandischen Sprachen*, p. 585, sqq. tab. 7—10. *Paulus*, *Memorabil.* vol. vi. p. 102, sqq. *Nouveau Traité diplomatique*, vol. ii. p. 90, of *Adelung's* German version.

‡ See *Herodotus*, v. 98. *Pliny*, N. H. vii. 56. *Tacitus*, *Annal.* xi. 14.

§ *Plin.* N. H. v. 12. *Lucan.* *Pharsal.* iii. 220.

¶ *Diod. Sic.* v. 24, *Wesseling's* notes. *Plin.* vii. 56. See *Tychsen*, *Bib. d. alten Literatur*, vol. v. p. 1, sqq.

§ *Plin.* l. c. *Cicero*, *Nat. Deorum*, iii. 23. *Plutarch*, *Sympos.* xx. 3. *Walton*, l. c. ii. 3. *Battner*, l. c. p. 12.

vowels, (α, γ, ι,) while the short vowels are expressed by small signs written above the letters, below, or with them, or else are entirely omitted; and, 2. They are all to be read from the right to the left. To the last peculiarity, which extends to all the ancient Oriental alphabets,^a the Æthiopic forms the only exception; but that certainly does not belong to this stock, and is obviously a character formed later, and by Greek influence.^b There is no certain trace of Boustrophedon.

III. Two characters may be easily distinguished among the old Shemitish alphabets, although they flowed from one source:—

1. The *Phœnician* character. To this belong, (1.) The inscriptions at Cyprus, Malta, Carpentras, and the coins of the Phœnicians, and of their colonies. It has no vowels, and sometimes divides the words, sometimes not.^c (2.) The Jewish coin-letter. (3.) The Phœnician-Ægyptian character, with three vowel signs, which Count Caylus deciphered on the mummy rolls.^d (4.) The Samaritan character, which proceeded from the first, as also the old Greek character, (though the language belonged to a stock entirely different,) sometimes written from right to left, sometimes the reverse, and sometimes in Boustrophedon.^e

2. The *Hebrew-Chaldee* character. To this belong, (1.) The square letters. (2.) The Palmyrene character, which appears to be a sort of cursive character derived from the former, without vowels and divisions of words, but with ligatures.^f The following are

^a On the Egyptians, see *Herodot.* ii. 36; on the Greeks, *Montfaucon*, *Palæog.* Gr. p. 118; on the Etruscans, and the Eugubine tables in the old Greek character, *Gruter*, *Theat. Inscript.* vol. i. p. 143. Compare *Chishull*, *Antiq. Asiat.* p. 24, and *Fabrizy*, in *De Rossi*, *Spec. Var. Lect.*, (ed. *Schnurrer*), p. 269. Only the arrow-headed characters and the Egyptian hieroglyphics are exceptions. See [*Grotefend*, *Erläuterung der Persepolit. Keilschrift*; 1 vol. 4to. 1837.] and in *Heeren's Ideen*, vol. i. p. 937, sqq.

^b *Ludolf*, *Hist. Æthiop.* lib. ii. c. 2. *Wahl*, l. c. p. 632.

^c After the early and defective attempts to decipher this alphabet, by *Scaliger*, *Rhenferd*, *Bochart*, and *Montfaucon*, *Barthelemy* and *Swinton* acquired great merit in this work, and *Dutens* and *Battner* brought the results of their labors into a form which afforded a critical survey. See the literature of the subject in *Ekkel*, *Doct. Nummorum vet.* tom. iii. p. 403; *Jahn*, l. c. vol. i.; and *Heb. Gram.* 3d ed. The alphabet by *Dutens* is engraved in *Michaelis*, *Or. Bib.* vol. viii. p. 17.

^d *Caylus*, *Recueil d'Antiq. Egypt.* vol. i. p. 65, sq., and vol. v. p. 77, sqq. *Battner*, tab. ii. No. 2. *Tychsen*, l. c.

^e *Montfaucon*, p. 122.

^f *Barthelemy*, *Reflections sur l'Alphabet et la Langue dont on se servoit*

closely connected together, and somewhat more distantly related to the others. (3.) The old Syriac, or the Estrangelo.* (4.) The old Arabic, or the Cufic, (a descendant of the latter,) but not the oldest Arabic alphabet, the Hamjaritic, which was, perhaps, the same with the Hebrew.[†]

§ 2.

HEBREW WRITING. ITS ANTIQUITY AND VARIOUS CHARACTERS.

The narrations in Genesis do not contain the smallest trace of the art of writing. Even tradition (which elsewhere places important inventions so much higher than historical criticism will allow) does not seem to have claimed such an antiquity for this art.^c On the contrary, we find there the same means are used to preserve the remembrance of remarkable events that other uncultivated people employed before the invention of writing; such as heaps of stones, trees, altars, &c., which were named after the event. (Gen. xxi. 33, xxxi. 46, xxxv. 7, l. 11.)^d The first trace of Hebrew writing is found in the stone tables of the Law of Moses, (Ex. xxxi. 18,) but it appears in such a manner that it seems to bear the mark of historic truth in itself. After this, mention is frequently made of writing; for example, the inscription on the ornaments of the high priest, (Ex. xxviii. 9;) on Mount Ebal, (Deut. xxvii. 12, Josh. viii. 52;) even larger literary writings, (Num. xxxiii. 2, Deut. xxxi. 24, Josh. xviii. 9, xxiv. 4, 26.) The latter, and some earlier passages, (Ex. xvii. 14, xxiv. 4,) are liable to the attacks of historical skepticism;^e for the analogy of other nations teaches us that it is a very long step from the mere knowledge and first use of alphabetical writing to a ready use of it, and an application to literary purposes, for which centuries are often requisite.^f

Since the first certain trace of the art of writing is found after the

autrefois à Palmyre; Paris, 1754. *Swinton*, in the *Philosoph. Transactions*, vol. xlviii. pt. i. p. 690. *Battner*, tab. i. No. 1. See the engraving in *Michaelis*, *Gram. Syriaca*. The oldest inscription belongs to 49 B. C., the latest to the 3d century A. C. The language is Syriac.

* *Michaelis*, l. c. p. 14.

† *Niebuhr*, *Arabia*, p. 94, sq. *Pococke*, *Spec. Hist.* p. 155.

^c We can say nothing of the rabbinic fables, which ascribe this and other arts to Adam and the patriarchs. See *Münster*, on Gen. ii.

^d *Goguet*, *Origine des Loix*, vol. i. p. 172, in German version.

^e *Vater*, *Comment. in Pentat.* vol. iii. p. 522, sq. *De Wette*, *Archæologie*, p. 346.

^f *Wolf*, *Proleg. ad Homerum*, p. lviii., sq. and lxvi., sq.

Ægyptian period, the conjecture is natural and easy that the Hebrews received their alphabetic characters in Ægypt; and this is the more probable, if that land is considered the cradle of the art, or, at least, to have possessed it at an early date. Some, therefore, have been inclined to pronounce the above-named Phœnician-Ægyptian character to be the oldest alphabet of the Hebrews.* But it cannot be proved that any alphabetic characters were used in Ægypt before the Persian age, and, since hieroglyphics prevailed, it is exceedingly improbable;† and it is, therefore, much more credible that, about this time, alphabetic writing passed over from the Aramæans, or Canaanites, to the Hebrews, with whom they were related by their language, and especially since it is not improbable that, during the bondage in Ægypt, other tribes of the Hebrews were wandering, with nomadic freedom, on the frontiers of the Ægyptians. (1 Ch. vii. 21.)‡

The characters in which we find remains of the old Hebrew written at this day, are of three kinds, one of which belongs to the Hebrew-Chaldee, and two to the Phœnician character. Some general notice of them may precede the inquiry upon their mutual relation.

1. The common character of the Jewish manuscripts of the Bible is called *square letter*, from the form; or, more commonly, the *Assyrian* character.§ The Talmud gives the reason of this latter name correctly, — because it came from Assyria with the Hebrews. But here *Assyria* is to be taken in the broader sense of Chaldee and Babylonia, as it is often done in the Bible and the classics;¶ and, therefore, this is justly called the *Chaldee* square letter.

2. The character in Hebrew inscriptions on the Jewish coins struck under the reign of Simon, the Maccabaic prince, (era of the

* Such is the opinion of R. Simon, Deyling, and others. See Eichhorn, § 61, seq.

† Eichhorn, Gesch. d. Lit., (1805,) vol. i. p. 14.

‡ Bertholdi, p. 160. De Wette, l. c. p. 31.

§ Buxtorf, Lex. Talm. p. 241. Philol. Theol. 235. See, also, the Talmud. Gemar. Sanhedrim, fol. 21, c. 2.

¶ Num. xxiv. 22. Comp. Bertholdi, p. 793. Herod. i. 78, 105. Strabo, v. p. 743. Persia is included in this term by later writers, e. g. Ezra vi. 26. The letters of the inscription on the grave of Sardanapalus are called *Chaldee* (Athen. xii. p. 529) and *Assyrian* by the same writer, p. 469. The *Assyrian* writing on the pillars at the Bosphorus is called *Persian* by Strabo, xv. p. 502. See Jablonski, l. c. vol. iii. p. 130.

Seleucidæ, 170—172,) without vowels, on account of their similarity with No. 3, are often improperly called *Samaritan*, but correctly, *Jewish coin-letters*. The figures of four letters (י, כ, ס, ש) do not occur; that of ש is doubtful.*

3. The character of the Samaritans, with which they not only write the Hebrew Pentateuch, but also their own Samaritan and Arabic text. We find it a variety of the preceding, rendered more artificial in some features; but this is less obvious in the written than in the printed character.^b The Samaritans call this "*Hebrew writing*," in opposition to the square letter, which they call "*Ezra's writing*."^c It has no vowels, but has a diacritical mark, and observes a division of words and sentences. In the following inquiries upon the history of the writing and the alphabet, the nature of the subject demands that the consonants should be treated separately from the vowels.

§ 3.

MUTUAL RELATION OF CHARACTERS. DIFFERENT OPINIONS.

After what has been said, there rises the question, (not unimportant for the criticism of the Old Testament,) Which of these was the old original alphabet of the Hebrews, and what was their mutual relation? It is not inconsistent with our design to make a careful examination of this subject, formerly so much contended about,^d and to present the various views which have been entertained, with the reasons for them, to the attention of the reader.

* *Hottinger* and *Reland* long ago opposed the opinion that these coins were struck before the exile. Their authenticity was contested by *O. G. Tycksen*, (*Unächtheit d. Jüdischen Münzen*; Rostock, 1779,) but triumphantly defended by *F. R. Beyer*, the chief writer on this subject, (*De Nummis Hebræo-Sam.*; Valent. 1781, 4to. *Num. Heb. Sam. Vindicatio*; 1790, 4to. *Legitimatad de las Monedas Heb. Sam.*; 1793.) See *Eckhel*, l. c. iii. p. 458, and *Tycksen*, in *Com. Soc. Göttingen*, vol. viii. and xi. See the literature in *Rasche*, l. c., (1729,) and *Wahl's* *Erdebeschreibung von Ostindien*, p. 404. *R. Asarias* (in *Montfaucon*, p. 122) collected the first alphabet of these characters. See *Beyer*, *De Num. Heb. Sam.* p. 224; *Jahn*, *Archæologie*, vol. i. § 2; his *Hebrew Gram.*, 3d ed.; and *Einleit.* in *A. T.* vol. i.

^b See specimens in *Cellarius*, *Epist. Sam.* p. 1. *Van Floten*, *Spec. Cod. Sam.*; *Lugd.* 1803. *Blanchini*, *Evangel. Quad.* p. 604, tab. 2.

^c *Antiquitat. Eccles. Orient.* p. 125, 130. *Eichhorn*, *Rep.* vol. xiii. p. 288.

^d See the writings in *Wolf*, *Bib. Heb.* vol. ii. p. 420, iv. p. 164. *Rosenmüller*, *Handbuch*, vol. i. p. 564. *Löscher*, p. 200, 213. *Carpiov*, *Crit. sac.* p. 227, 233.

The various opinions may be referred to the three following classes:—

1. Writers proceeded from the obvious appearance that the square letters were only used in religious writings, while the coin-letter was employed for more profane or common purposes, and so naturally came to the opinion that the Hebrews had two kinds of writing at the same time, the one (the square letter) a sacred and sacerdotal character, the other (the coin-letter) a character used for the circumstances of common life. Following the steps of some Jewish scholars,^a this opinion was greedily received by such Christian critics as deemed it an apologetic duty to represent every unimportant external of the holy books as sacred and very ancient. The younger Buxtorf,^b in particular, belongs to this class; he connected this opinion with the high antiquity of the square letter in the following manner: The square letter was the oldest, and the original alphabet of the Hebrews; but, before the exile, the Samaritan character was also used at the same time, first for holy things, and finally for common life. During the exile, the priests, and the learned portion of the people, cultivated the sacred character, while those who remained behind in Palestine, from whom the Samaritans sprung, used the common character. Ezra brought the former with him from the exile, and extended it more widely; therefore it was called *Assyrian*, i. e. *Chaldee*. The common character was mainly used by the Samaritans, but by the Jews only occasionally; for example, on their coins. [This opinion is, indeed, supported by the analogy of other Oriental languages; by some passages in the Bible, which are capable of a different explanation; by the authority of Tertullian, who did not understand Hebrew; and by the fact that the Jewish coins do not contain the same letters as the manuscripts. This is the substance of the author's remarks, which, in this sentence, I have condensed, and not translated.]

2. A careful consideration must lead to the other conjecture,—that we find the square letter in the exclusive possession of the Jews, while the other character belonged mainly to the Samaritans, the descendants of the old kingdom of Israel. Before the exile, there may have been this difference between the two kingdoms, Judah and Israel, in respect to the writing character; ^c and this conjecture

^a *Obad. Bartenora*, ad *Mischnam*, Tr. *Jadaim*, 4, 5. *R. Jacob*, in *En Israel*, fol. 413. *Shalsheth Hakkab.* fol. 89.

^b *Diss. Philol. Theol.*; Basil. 1662, 4to. No. 4.

^c *Paulus*, l. c. p. 114.

is supported by the fact that, in other respects, the kingdom of Israel often inclined to the customs of the neighboring Phœnicians. But how, then, can it be explained that the same character appears on the coins struck at Jerusalem? Whence the name *Hebrew* or *Assyrian* writing? (See § 2, 1, 3, above.)

3. There remains only one other view, which is, that each kind of writing arose one after the other, so that one gradually displaced the other. Here there are two parties directly opposed to one another. The one gives the precedence to the square character, the other to the Phœnician-Samaritan. The opinion of the former, which is supported by the authority of most modern Hebrew scholars, has been already given above. But there is another, and more ancient opinion, or legend of the rabbins, opposed to it, which maintains that the Hebrews, before the exile, used an ancient character, which was the present Samaritan, but Ezra exchanged it for the present character, which had an Assyrian-Chaldaic origin.

First, let us follow this legend to its sources, in order to subject it to an impartial examination. It is found partly in the Babylonian and Jerusalem Talmud, and partly in the writings of Origen and Jerome, who received it from their rabbinic teachers. In the first it is said, (Sanhed. sect. 2, fol. 21, col. 2, fol. 22, col. 1,) "In the beginning, the Law, the Hebrew writing, and the sacred language, were given to the Israelites; but again, in the days of Ezra, the Assyrian writing and the Aramæan language (?) were given them; but the Israelites chose the Assyrian writing and the sacred language, and left the Hebrew writing and Aramæan language to fools, [*idiotis*.] Who were the fools? The Samaritans, says R. Chasda."

Ibid. cap. 1: "It may be that the Law was not given by the hand of Ezra, but the writing was changed by his hand; and it is called *Assyrian* because it came up from Assyria with them."

Origen derives authority from the same source, and says* that, in the old alphabet, *thau* had the form of a cross, and that, in certain manuscripts of the Seventy, the name *Jehovah* was written in the old Hebrew; and adds, "It is said Ezra used different letters after the captivity." It is also an error of this Father, who was not very well skilled in the Hebrew language, that *Jehovah* was written in the old, i. e. the Samaritan characters; but this passage shows the author was acquainted with the former legend.

Jerome speaks more clearly and boldly, deriving his authority from

* In Ezek. ix. 4. Hexap. i. p. 86, ed. *Montfaucon*; ii. 94, ed. *Bakrî*.

Origen, or, more directly, from his rabbinic teachers: "It is certain that Ezra the Scribe and Doctor of the Law, after the taking of Jerusalem, and the restoration of the temple under Zerubabel, *invented* (reperisse) other letters, which we now use, and which had been the characters of the Samaritans and Hebrews up to that time."^a The same tradition leads the Samaritans to call the square letter *Ezra's writing*.

Now, even if we do not consider that Jerome, according to his custom,^b states as a fact what Origen only mentions as a tradition or opinion, and makes Ezra invent a character which he only introduced according to the Jewish opinion, — the tradition, as he relates it, contains a contradiction; for it states the old alphabet had a π in the form of a cross, and this was the Samaritan alphabet, in which the π has not this form. However, the contradiction disappears when we refer to the coin-letter, which the Jews also called a Samaritan character, and which may resemble the character in the Samaritan manuscripts still more closely. This must be considered as the sense of the Jewish authority; and the question, then, is merely this: How far is this account — after making the necessary modifications — confirmed or weakened by other considerations and arguments? A close examination will show that many of the arguments which are frequently used are by no means satisfactory; and yet the result may be, that it contains substantially the truth, although, by reason of the imperfection of materials in our possession, the historic fact cannot be established; and the approbation it has received from many modern critics has been too unconditional and decided, and sometimes even hasty and uncritical.^c

(1.) The former defenders of this opinion derived their chief argument from the Samaritan Pentateuch, which they supposed

^a Prolog. ad Reg. Opp. iv. p. 7. See *Eusebius*, Chron. ad A. M. 4740, and *Scaliger's* note. *Spanheim*, De Usu Num. Opp. i. p. 63.

^b *Faber*, in *Harmer's* Observations, vol. i. p. 39, 148.

^c The first Jewish scholar in modern times, who declared in favor of this, was *R. Joseph Albo*, (about 1400,) in *Sepher Ikkarim*, iii. 16, fol. 81, col. 2. Then it became the favorite opinion of the Anti-Buxtorfian school, which contended for the corruption of the Hebrew text, and preference of the Samaritan text and version. See *Jo. Morinus*, Exercit. in Pent. Sam. p. 91. *Scaliger*, in *Euseb. Chron.* p. 62. *Lud. Cappellus*, Arcan. Punct. i. 6. *Diatribe de veris*, etc. Heb. Lit.; Amstelod. 1645. *Walton*, Proleg. iii. 30, sqq. *Kennicott*, Diss. i. p. 597. *Houbigant*, Prol. 49. Among the moderns, *Eichhorn*, *Augusti*, and *Bertholdt*, in their Introductions, and *Hug*, Gesch. d. Buchstabenschrift, p. 6.

descended from Moses in a straight line, and, remaining free from all Jewish influences from the time of Rehoboam, contained the old character, in its most correct form. But we cannot defend the existence of the Samaritan Pentateuch before the exile,* and must maintain that it is a copy of the Jewish original, written in the Samaritan character, about the time when the Samaritan form of worship was established. The Samaritans wrote the Hebrew codex in their own characters, as they write the Arabic at this day, as the Syrians write Arabic in their Syriac letters, and as the Jews formerly wrote Arabic and Persian, and even Spanish and German, in their own characters.¹ Notwithstanding this, the existence of this character among the Samaritans is most easily explained, if it is admitted to have been the character of their ancestors, which was better preserved by those who remained in the land, than by the Jews who returned from a foreign country.

With this question some have connected the hypothesis, that a manuscript written in the Samaritan or ancient character lay at the foundation of the Alexandrian version of the Pentateuch; and they have mainly sought to prove this by the confusion of letters, which are similar in the Samaritan, but not in the Chaldee alphabet.² But we need only examine the examples with a little attention to see that scarce one of them has the smallest value as an argument. According to the author's investigations, the variants of the Seventy, which seem to have arisen from confounding similar letters in the Pentateuch, as well as in the other books, refer to the square letter.³

(2.) The names of several letters can only be explained by a reference to their figures in the Phœnician-Samaritan alphabet, and not by the figures of the square letters, which shows that the former is older than the other, and nearer to the original alphabet. But, in respect to other letters, this remark may be made in favor of the square characters,⁴ and, in some cases, the figure of neither alphabet applies to the name. This circumstance only proves that both alphabets were derived, in different times, from the original, in which, doubtless, the conformity between the name and the figure of the letter prevailed throughout; and that each has preserved some traces of this conformity, which were wanting to the other.⁵ But

* Comm. de Pent. Sam. § 2.

¹ Simon, Hist. crit. V. T. i. 10, 73.

² Hassencamp, De Pent. LXX., &c.; 1765. Eichhorn, § 183.

³ Gesenius, Com. p. 12.

⁴ Rhenford, Opp. Phil. ed. Millæus, (1792, 4to.) p. 226.

⁵ Simon, l. c. i. 13. Michaelis, Or. Bib. vol. xxii. p. 122. Paulus, l. c. p. 117.

this circumstance affords little evidence to enable us to determine which was the most ancient among the Hebrews. It is more important for the antiquity of the Phœnician alphabet, that,

(3.) We can trace it much farther in history than the square letter. We have a very early and certain proof of it in the old Greek character in the inscription at Sigeum and Amycla,* which is derived from the Phœnician, and closely allied to it. On the contrary, *we cannot trace the Hebrew Chaldee character on historic monuments^b beyond the birth of Christ, nor by combination above the age of the Seventy.* There is an important probability in favor of the higher antiquity of the former character, though the absence of historical testimony is not decisive against the use of the square letter among the Hebrews.

All the previous arguments, especially 1 and 3, obviously render it highly probable that the Phœnician-Samaritan character was that first used by the Hebrews.

(4.) An explanation of this legend will bring us still nearer certainty. In respect to outward authority, it is opposed by another, which is supported by a far greater number of Jewish teachers; but that is the oldest tradition, which seems to have prevailed in the time of Origen and Jerome; and the definite statement respecting the letter *𐤎* contains an historic fact, which, though, perhaps, it is misrepresented, cannot have been taken up at random. On the contrary, the other and more modern Jewish story has rather the appearance of an apology, and seems to be the production of an age when it was thought important to discover something holy, and of primeval antiquity, in the outward form of the Bible.

(5.) But perhaps the most important fact is found in the *names* of the two alphabets, (the square letter being called *Assyrian*, and the writing of *Ezra*; the other called *Hebrew*.) Both are probably older than this tradition, and independent of it. It is often the case that the last trace of an historical fact is discernible in such names, and it is not to be despised; and in this case, it can only be explained by supposing the *Assyrian* character to mean properly the *Assyrian*, that is, the *Chaldee*, and the other to be the original *Hebrew*. The *Palmyrene* inscriptions show it is a fact that the *Aramæan* was originally written in this character. Is it probable the old and genuine *Hebrew* character would be called *Assyrian*, because it

* *Chishull*, l. c. p. 2. *Nouveau Traité de Diplomatique*, vol. ii. p. 66. *Bellerophon*, *Archæologie*, p. 60.

^b The *Palmyrene* inscriptions belong here.

was more extensively used after Ezra returned from Chaldæa? How much more probable that it was itself the character of the Assyrians and Chaldees! Would the Samaritan be called *the Hebrew character*, because it was used by the common people of the Hebrews? Were the others less Hebrews? Where was the difference between them?

§ 4.

PROBABLE RESULT.

If we now unite the results of our previous inquiries with some other considerations, we think the following statements may be considered probable:—

1. Many of the above arguments agree in this, — that the influence of the exile and the Chaldee writing character produced a change in the old Hebrew character, like that produced in the language itself. The legend ascribes this change (which, from its nature, could only be brought about gradually, and which must belong to an entire age) to Ezra, who, in many Jewish legends, appears as a collective name, to whom was referred every thing which was done in this whole age in behalf of learning. This truth may lie in the story of Ezra, namely, that the new writing came from Chaldæa, as the Phœnician origin of the Greek writing lies in the story of Cadmus. It is still matter of controversy, whether the new writing was directly Chaldee, or a mixture of the old and the Chaldee; but the former is more probable.* Perhaps it is true that, before this change and afterwards, while this writing was current, and used with freedom, many letters occur, which cannot be explained from the alphabet then existing. The great variety and freedom of the Phœnician characters render this plain.

2. In the age of the Seventy, the writing was essentially like the present square letter, and the manuscripts, not excepting the Pentateuch, from which this version was made, were written with such letters. Among other peculiarities, the final letters were wanting. The proof of this is found in the fact, that the numerous deviations of the text of the Seventy from the common text, so far as they arise from corresponding similar letters, can be explained by the square character.^b The passage Matt. v. 8 may be brought to sustain this

* Jahn, Einleit. vol. i. p. 326. Eickhorn, § 65.

^b Cappellus, l. c. vol. ii. p. 581. Morinus, De Ling. Prim. p. 236.

proposition, for *jod* was the smallest letter in the time of Christ; consequently the square letter prevailed.

3. The Maccabees chose for the coins the ancient character, which, it is probable, had not then gone entirely out of use, in the same way that the Cufic character was taken, by the Arabians, as a coin-letter, some centuries after the introduction of the *nishi*. The Maccabees did this from their fondness for the old, and perhaps because it was akin to the Phœnician character; and they hoped to favor their trade and commerce by means of it. The tendency of this age to preserve, imitate, and restore, the ancient Hebrew, is well known and obvious. Here it shows itself particularly in the use of the old Hebrew dialect for inscriptions, even in the old name *Israel*, instead of the modern *Judah*.*

4. We can now lay aside the question whether the Assyrian writing, in the time of the Seventy, was a smaller and more flowing character, (like the Palmyrene,) from which, afterwards, the square letter was formed, as a sort of *fraktur*, under the hands of the biblical caligraphists.* It is true that Jerome mentions the Hebrew as a small character, injurious to the eyes.* The addition of the final letters, and other changes mentioned below, prove that in this period other alterations were made for the sake of caligraphy.

5. This statement differs from one that resembles it in an essential point, namely, the opinion that the square letter was gradually formed, by the art of the caligraphists, from the old Phœnician character, a little after the time of the Maccabees.* It appears the two alphabets differ from one another, actually and essentially, as belonging to two different lines: this is shown by the difference between many letters, but in particular by the fact that several square letters approach nearer the original form than the Phœnician.

6. The objections that arise to this alteration of the character are easily answered. "It is not conceivable," says one, "that Ezra, who adhered so pedantically to the old, should have taken this new character from the profane and hated Chaldees." But it is not Ezra who did this; but his age and the circumstances brought it about. If he had wished, he could as little hinder it as he could restrain the influence of the Chaldee language.

"But old accounts—for example, the book of Ezra and Josephus—say nothing of this." But we have not a detailed history of those times. It may have taken place so gradually that it did not become

* *Eichhorn*, l. c. *Gasenius*, *Lex. Heb. sub his vocibus*. *Michaelis*, *Or. Bib.* vol. xxii. p. 117. *Jerome*, *Prol. ad Ezech. xx.* *De Wette*, *Archæol.* p. 347.

an object of historic interest. "A transcription of manuscripts would be equally tedious and unnecessary." We are not to think of such a transcription; for, as the characters gradually changed, the early letters would not be forgotten so soon as to require it.

F.

(See § 30.)

ORIGIN AND HISTORY OF THE HEBREW VOWELS, ACCENTS, &c.*

§ 1.

SURVEY OF THE SUBJECT.

1. It was mentioned above, as a striking peculiarity of the Shemitish languages, that in most, and probably in all of them, only the consonants were written; that all the other marks of the tone, particularly of the short vowel tones, were omitted in writing, and were first gradually fixed at a later date, by vowels and diacritical marks. The question now arises, Was this the case with the Hebrew characters? The want of historical facts has given occasion to a tedious controversy among the philologists who have written upon the Bible, and to the most various opinions. Some have maintained the vowel points were contemporary with the original consonants, or, at least, that they were introduced by Ezra; while others maintain that they are the invention of anonymous Jews, who lived at a later period, namely, after the fifth century since Christ.^b

* Translated from *Gesenius*, l. c., § 48 in the original.

^b The following is a sketch of the different views that have prevailed, and of the literature of the subject. Almost all the Jewish writers of the middle ages maintain the vowels are contemporary with the consonants; or, at least, that they were introduced by Ezra and the Great Synagogue. (See *Buxtorf*, *De Vocal.* pt. i. ch. 1—4.) But there are some exceptions to this remark; namely, there are some hints in *Aben Ezra's* book *Zachuth*, fol. 138, 193, a doubtful passage in the book *Casri*, pt. iii. § 31, ed. *Buxtorf*. (See *Buxtorf*, *De Vocal.* p. 26, sqq. On the contrary, *Morinus*, *Exercit.* ii. 13, 2.) The book *Zohar* seems to have reference to such opposite opinions and doubts, in making its

2. Since the later and gradual formation of the present vowel system may be considered as established, it will be assumed in this place, and all controversy and critical arguments will be omitted, while we conjure up what we can respecting the pronunciation among the Hebrews, and the signs of pronunciation, with a short examination of the vocalization.

§ 2.

PERIOD WHEN THE HEBREW WAS A LIVING LANGUAGE.

I. When impartially estimated, the preponderance is found on the side of those arguments which show that the Hebrew language, during the entire period when it was a living language, was written without any vowels or diacritical marks. In favor of this we have,

1. The nature and analogy of the cognate Shemitish characters. Here, where facts speak for themselves, the objection that the inven-

strong defence of the antiquity of the vowels. (See *Buxtorf*, *Tiberias*, p. 76.) These Jewish opinions were embraced by some Christians who lived at the time, and probably received them from the Jews; e. g. by *Raymond Martini*, (about 1278, in his *Pugio Fidei*, iii. 19,) *Perez de Valentia*, (about 1430, *Introd. ad Expos. in Psalmos*; see *Semler's Hist. Theol. Abhandlungen*, i. 4,) and *Nicholas de Lyra*, (ad *Hos.* ix.) They were followed by the reformers, *Luther*, (on *Gen.* xxxvi. 38, 12, tract. de *Shamphorah*; on the contrary, see *Hody*, *De Bibl. Text.* p. 561, *Heumann*, *Consp. Reipub. Lit.* cap. iii. c. 14,) *Calvin*, (on *Zech.* ix. 7,) by *Pellican*, (*Præf. ad Pent.*) and others.

The modernness of the vowels has been defended minutely, and on good ground, by *Elias Levita*, (*Masoreth Hammasoreth*, translated by *Semler*; 1772.) The elder *Buxtorf* declared against him. The subject was discussed more earnestly after *Lud. Cappellus* published his *Arcanum Punct. revelatum*, which was assailed by *Buxtorf*, (ubi sup.,) to which *Cappellus* replied in his *Vindiciis Arcani Punct. revelati*. The opinion of *Cappellus* gradually prevailed, and has even been exaggerated by some. Yet the doctrine that the vowel points were original, and even inspired, became an article of the creed in Switzerland. *Formula Consensus*, canon ii. — The most modern defenders of the antiquity of the vowels, who think they were used before the time of the Talmud, are *G. O. Tychsen*, in *Eichhorn's Rep.* vol. iii. p. 102, and *Jac. Robertson*, in the dissertation prefixed to his *Clavis Pentateuchi*; Edinburgh, 1770, 8vo.

A few writers choose a middle course, and ascribe to the Hebrews a few ancient vowel characters, which were affixed to some difficult words. This, with different modifications, is the opinion of *J. H. Hottinger*, (*Thes. Phil.* p. 401,) *Jo. Prideaux*, (*Lect. de Capt. Relig.*; Oxon. 1648, p. 196, *Opp. omnia*, p. 163,) *Humphrey Prideaux*, (*Connection, &c.*) and *Albert Schultens*, (*Instit. Ling. Heb.* p. 48, 62, sqq.) They have been followed by *Michaelis*, (*Vermischte*

tion of an alphabet consisting entirely of consonants is highly unnatural and inconceivable, can have but little weight.^a

2. Jewish tradition. To this belongs the direct assertion of most of the Jewish scholars, that the vowels were published orally by Moses, and were written down and fixed by Ezra and the Great Synagogue. The indirect testimony of the manuscripts of the synagogue is of equal importance. The strong injunction not to point those manuscripts, among a people where all sacred knowledge, and every sacred deed, is a matter of tradition, rests on the belief or the knowledge that it was so formerly. Among the Arabians, the vowel signs were first added to the Koran for the convenience of the reader; but the Jews did not venture to disfigure the divine book by any human addition, and afterwards they referred the reader to the pointed text only to prepare him to read the unpointed.^b

3. To these must be added the evidence of some passages of the Old Testament, which are intelligible only on the supposition that their author read and wrote without vowels.^c Perhaps this argu-

Schriften, Th. ii. No. 1, Or. Bib. vol. ix. p. 82, 88,) by *Eichhorn*, (Einleit. vol. i.,) and others.

See a collection of the various opinions, and reference to the literature, in *Wolf*, Bib. Heb. vol. ii. p. 475, vol. iv. p. 214, sqq., with the arguments, pro and con, in *Carpzov*, Crit. sac. p. 242, sqq., and *Löscher*, De Causis Ling. Heb. p. 275, sqq. See the arguments in its favor in *Walton*, Proleg. iii. 39, and those which oppose it, in *Bauer*, Crit. sac. p. 128, sqq.

^a See *Herder*, Spirit of Heb. Poetry, vol. i. p. 28.

^b Some later Jews give us the erroneous view that the Cabalists first introduced the custom of reading the Law without points in order to make it ambiguous. They have been followed, in this opinion, by *Buxtorf*, (De Antiq. Vocal. p. 35, sqq.,) *Carpzov*, (Crit. sac. p. 267.) See, on the other side, *Bauer*, Crit. sac. p. 142.

^c Gen. xix. 37; מוֹאֵב is explained by *e patre* (בְּאֵב.) Here not only the vowels, but the quiescent ו seem to have been wanting. Gen. xxxi. 47; בְּלִעְרִי is explained as *hill of testimony*, (בְּלִיעֵר,) where the usual pronunciation is wholly overlooked. 1. 11; אֶבֶל מִצְרַיִם, *the threshing-floor*, or *the province of Ægypt*, is explained by "אֶבֶל מִצְרַיִם, *mourning of Ægypt*. The first is, doubtless, to be preferred. Judg. xv. 18; the name רֵמַת לָחִי (*height of the jaw-bone*) is derived from the circumstance that Samson *cast* the jaw-bone out of his hand, and therefore from רָמַח, *to cast*. So it would mean *jaw-bone-cast*. But this could be true only if pointed, — רֵמַת לָחִי, — and רֵמַת presupposes a derivation from רָם. 2 Kings xxii. 9; it now stands וַיָּבֹא שָׁמָּה חֲסָפָר וַיֵּבֶן, *and there came*

ment may be weakened by the fact that the violent etymologies of the Old Testament often turn on the consonants as well as the vowels; but it is confirmed,

4. By the certain reference which was made in the following age to this earlier period.

II. It may be true that such writings would be difficult to read, and ambiguous; but this fact is no objection to it. A knowledge of the language, especially the habit of using it as a vernacular tongue, compensates for much, and is quite indispensable in reading the modern languages, which are written according to their etymology, (such as the French and English.) But is not the reading of the Talmud very difficult for us? In general, *easiness* of reading must not be sought among the Orientals. At this day, few nations learn to read more slowly and painfully than the Arabians, and few writings are so little read, or so often misunderstood, as theirs. Even their own learned men will seldom read an unpointed manuscript which they are unacquainted with, without preparation.^a The frequent mistakes made in reading the Koran mainly gave occasion to the introduction of the vowels.^b

III. In order to lighten this difficulty in some measure, men have resorted to the conjecture that the ancient Hebrews perhaps used the *matres lectionis*^c more frequently than they are used in the present text, and that, after the introduction of vowels, these letters again disappeared. And it is true these letters occur more frequently in the unpointed text of the Talmud, Targums, and Samaritans.^d Without stopping to examine some uncritical arguments, an appeal has some-

Shaphan the scribe. If the writer in Chronicles had read it with these vowels, he would scarcely have interpolated an מֵהָ, so as to read, מֵהָ מִן הַסֵּפֶר, and *Shaphan brought the book*, as now it does, 2 Ch. xxxiv. 16.

^a *Elias Nisibensis* (apud *Abraham Echellensis*, ad *Ebed Jeru*, Catal. Libr. Chald. p. 178) says, Non possunt recte legere nisi tanquam divinantes, aut ex traditione. See *Ch. Th. Tychoen*, l. c. p. 260. *Volney*, Simplification des Langues Orient. p. 20.

^b *Abraham Echellensis*, l. c. p. 227. *Jo. Morinus*, l. c. p. 539.

^c The three letters מ, נ, ס.

^d See *Cappellus*, Arcan. Punct. i. 18, 19. *Jo. Morinus*, l. c. Exercitat. Bib. xviii. c. 3. *Bellermann*, Handbuch der Bib. Lit. vol. i. p. 88, sqq., and others, in *Löscher*, l. c. p. 297, sqq. *Morinus*, De Ling. Primæva, p. 346, sqq., (comp. *Vétringe*, Obs. Sac. p. 73,) and the refutation in *Dupuy*, Sur les Voyelles de la Langue Heb., in the *Memoires de l'Acad.* vol. xxxvi. p. 239. *Michaelis*, Vermischte Schriften, vol. ii. No. 1, § 15—22. *Jahn*, Einleit. vol. i. p. 337. *Bauer*, Crit. sac. p. 146.

times been made to the *matres lectionis* that occur, here and there, in the text, and it is maintained they are the relics of the old orthography. But they occur only in some particular manuscripts, from which they have found their way into the received text: they prove nothing. Some of them are more modern than the vowels, but they are all the production of a fluctuating orthography.^a The later copyists indulged themselves in these variations to a great extent, as a single glance into Kennicott's collection of various readings will show. But the whole assertion, however it may be limited, is contrary to all the analogy of the old Shemitish writing. The oldest Phœnician inscriptions and coins are uncommonly sparing of these letters, and omit them in cases where the omission very rarely occurs in the Hebrew. The Jewish coins sometimes have the full, sometimes the defective, reading. The same remark is true of the oldest Hebrew writings. The *scriptio plena* first became prevalent in the period when the language was half dead. It was used merely to render reading more easy. The orthography of the Samaritans, the Talmud, the modern Hebrew, and Chaldee, agrees with this statement. This very distinct gradation in the masoretic text is certainly genuine, for it is founded on the circumstances of the case, and supported by analogy. How could the men who affixed the points at a later age permit so many letters to be removed from the text as that hypothesis would make it appear? And, furthermore, how could we explain the perpetual diversity between the Septuagint and the Hebrew words?

§ 3.

THE VOWELS IN THE SEPTUAGINT, JOSEPHUS, AND OTHERS.

1. We have in the Seventy a valuable evidence of the condition of the new writing at that period when the old Hebrew was completely extinct as a living language. After a careful examination, it appears to me this version proceeded from a text entirely destitute of vowels; and the statement in the previous section is thereby confirmed, for it is not probable that there were vowel characters which were yet not used or known.^b

^a See the Excursus on the Phœnician Language, No. 3.

^b See collections of these variations, from all the biblical books, in *Morinus*, *De Ling. Primæva*, p. 385—396. *Cappellus*, *Crit. sac.*, ed. *Vogel-Scharfenberg*, p.

It has been objected, notwithstanding, that this version agrees so often and so strikingly with the present pointed text, that the agreement cannot be explained from the context, without we admit there were certain vowel characters in the text; and in particular that the words which occur but once in the Bible, and are distinguished from other well-known words solely by the vowels, are written in this version with perfect correctness, and this could not have been done if the writing character had not given them a hint.^a But after examining the explanation of these words in the Seventy, it becomes clear that the context and tradition were their only guides, and these not rarely forsook them.^b

500—545. Comp. *Wepler*, Philol. Krit. Fragmente; Cassel, 1783, vol. ii. p. 10, sqq.

^a *Buxtorf*, De Punct. Orig. p. 116, sqq. *Pococke*, Com. in Hos. *Bertholdt*, p. 176.

^b To show the strength or weakness of this argument, the following collection of explanations, given by the Seventy, chiefly relating to the letter א, may be examined:—

1. They continually distinguish between the following words: אָב and אֶב; אָבֵל, אֶבֶל, אָבֵל; אָז and אֶז, Deut. xxiii. 13; אָחִים and אֶחִים, Isa. xiii. 21; אֵי, *where?* and אִי, *alas! island*; אֵיֶסֶר, *a measure*, and אֵיֶפֶח, *where?* אָמֶן and אֶמֶן, Prov. viii. 30; אָמֶן and אֶמֶן, Cant. vii. 2; אָרְבֵּה, *locust*, and אֶרְבֵּה, *net-work*; אָשֶׁר, *ashes*, and אֶשֶׁר, 1 Kings xv. 38, 42; אָרְצָה, *caravan*, and אֶרְצָה, *portion*; אָשָׁה, *offering*, and אֶשָׁה, &c. But in all these cases, the context makes the distinction clear.

2. They also make a proper distinction between words of similar sound; e. g. אָדָם, *adilphos*, and אֶדָם, *eschatos*; אָבִי, *belly*, and אֶבִי, *magician*; אֵל, *also*, *but*, and אִל, *nose*; where the connection decides the meaning.

3. But where the context is uncertain, or the translator ignorant and careless, they confound words which ought to be distinguished.

Isa. xvii. 11, בָּאֵב אֶמְרֵשׁ, *ἐς πατρίδα ἀνθρώπων*, for בָּאֵב אֶמְרֵשׁ; (comp. Jer. xvii. 9, 16.) אֶחָדִים, *ἀλός*, Ps. xlv. 10, but *σκήναι*, in Num. xxiv. 6, and Prov. vii. 17, as if it were אֶחָדִים, *אֶיֶל*, commonly *ἐλαφος*, but, in Lam. i. 6, *κρλος*, as if it were אֶיֶל; so אֶיֶלֶת, commonly *ἐλαφος*, but in plural, Cant. i. 2, אֶיֶלֶת, it is *ἐλαφίς*, as if אֶיֶלֶת, *אֶיֶלֶת*, Gen. xlix. 21, *στέλεχος*, for אֶיֶלֶת, *אֶיֶל*, *μῆ*, as if אֶיֶל, Ps. vii. 12; אֶמְרֵשׁ, *δευξω*, for אֶמְרֵשׁ, Cant. iv. 8; אֶמְרֵשׁ, *ἐμας*, for אֶמְרֵשׁ, Ps. lxxiv. 9. They constantly distinguish אֶלֶל, *oath*, from אֶלֶל, *these*, and אֶלֶל, *God*; but not אֶלֶל from אֶלֶל, because both are names of trees, which the com-

Besides the context, which, in many places, would decide for them, the traditionary and common explanation would assist them. We need only recur to the versions of the Samaritan codex, which certainly had no points. There are many passages which, at the first glance, render it highly probable there were marks in the text to indicate the pronunciation; but the diversity of the other versions in this respect opposes the supposition.

2. We come to the same result by observing the method after which the numerous proper names in the Hebrew are translated into the Greek. Sometimes they are pronounced with vowels very different from the original; sometimes according to a different system of vocalization, which, departing from the masoretic custom, is sometimes analogous to that of the Arabic or Syriac.*

3. The examples in the fragments of the other Greek versions, and in Josephus, are of the same character. The latter, throughout, betrays an unpointed text, for, wherever he does not use the Seventy, but the Hebrew text itself, he differs from the orthography of the former.

4. But if an inquirer is not convinced by what has hitherto been said, and thinks, with Schultens, Michaelis, Eichhorn, and others, that in this period there were certain signs in the text to guide the reader, he would naturally recur to a diacritical point. His opinion will be favored by the Samaritan Pentateuch, which proceeded from a Jewish copy before the time of the Seventy, and is now, at least, furnished with this sign, (though it cannot be proved that it had it so early,) and by the old Syriac character also, which certainly is a descendant of the square letter. The *matres lectionis* in the Samaritan codex give the same result with those of the Seventy.

§ 4.

TRACES OF THEM IN THE TARGUMS AND TALMUDS.

1. The agreement between the oldest Targums and the vowels of the present text is very striking. We should be compelled to conjecture that the Palestine scholars, at least, had a pointed text at that time, if

text does not separate. See the proof-texts in Trommii, *Lex. Heb.*, at end of his Concord. e LXX., Int.

* See Hilleri *Onomast. sac.* p. 706, sqq. *Masch*, *Bibliotheca sac.* pt. ii. vol. ii. p. 35, sqq.

Josephus and Jerome did not contradict it. The agreement is better explained by the hypothesis that the explanation of the Targums lies at the basis of the later punctuation. Some very late writers of Targums may have had a pointed text before their eyes.

2. The statements of the Talmud, upon this subject, are still more difficult and obscure.* It is certain, and generally admitted, that it makes no actual and express mention of the points.^b But silence respecting a subject supposed to have been known, is not a convincing argument that it was not known. The numerous passages, selected, for the most part, from the Gemara, which relate to this inquiry, may be divided into two classes.

(1.) Passages where the meaning of clauses in the Bible is contested; and here the controversy rests on the different pronunciation of the same word; for example, Cant. i. 2, דודִּיךְ, or דודִּיךְ; Ex. xxi. 8, בְּגָדוֹ, or בְּגָדוֹ, &c.^c According to a rabbinical legend, Joab put his teacher to death because he taught him to pronounce זָכָר, instead of זָכָר, in Ex. xiv. 17.^d From the last passage it is perfectly clear that the Talmudists supposed the letters were written entirely without points in the time of David, and therefore this is analogous to similar controversies which have arisen respecting the unpointed Koran. But both, and especially the latter controversy, carry us back to a time when the ambiguity of a text without points began to be seriously felt, and when custom had fixed the pronunciation in some difficult places, which was usually observed in reading them. The phrase רֵשׁ אִם לְמַקְרָא וְרֵשׁ אִם לְמַסְוֶה, "*there is a mother, i. e. a reason for this reading, but it is itself the mother of the Masora,*" seems to refer to this. It occurs frequently, and is differently explained. Probably the מַקְרָא designates the received way of reading the text; the מַסְוֶה, a traditional explanation of the text, which, in this case, differs from the pronunciation of the word.^e In our editions of the Talmud, the text is without points in so many impor-

* The following writers contend for the mention of vowels in the Talmud: Buxtorf, *De Origine Punctorum Vocal.* p. 76, sqq., 101, sqq.; G. O. Tytchen, in *Repert.* vol. iii. p. 105, sqq. On the other side, see Jo. Morinus, *Exercit. Bibl.* xii. ch. 3—5, xv. ch. 3—5.

^b Buxtorf, *Tiberias*, p. 80.

^c Mishna Aboda Sara, 2, § 4. Gem. Kiddushin, c. 1, fol. 18. Sanhedrim, c. 1, fol. 4, A. Sota. c. 1, fol. 4, B.

^d Baba Bathra, c. 2, fol. 21, A. B.

^e Buxtorf, l. c. p. 103. Jo. Morinus, p. 456. Tytchen, p. 106.

tant passages that they must be learned from the context. However, we must suppose a sign, showing how the word was to be read, was almost indispensable.*

(2.) Another class is composed of these passages, where certain marks in the text are mentioned, especially the *Tangmin*, (טעמין,) the *Pesookim*, (פיסוקים,) and the *Semanim*,^b (סימנים.) The first, which afterwards was the common term for accents, is perhaps taken in the wider sense of vowel points and marks of interpunction, although its connection with Pesook seems to lead solely to a division of the words, sense, and verses.

The last is explained by Raschi as meaning *vowel points*, (נקוד;) but there are passages where it will not bear this meaning.*

(3.) There is no trace of marks for the vowel in the oldest critics upon the Bible, — who were nearly contemporary with the Talmudists, — the authors or collectors of the Keri and Kethib. All these readings relate solely to the consonants.

§ 5.

FURTHER TRACES IN ORIGEN, JEROME, AND OTHERS.

Some express statements of Jerome relate more directly than the Talmud to the existence of certain characters to assist the reading.^c The pronunciation of the Hebrew words in Origen's Hexapla, in Jerome, and some contemporary authors, is still very fluctuating, and analogous to the pronunciation of the Alexandrians, though somewhat more fixed than that.^d

* *Morinus*, l. c. *Baba Bathra*, l. c. : Cum venit (Joab) ante David dixit ei, Quare sic fecisti? Respondit ei, Quia scriptum est וְכִי עָמַלְךָ. Regessit David, Sed non legimus וְכִי. Dixit ei Joab, Docuerunt me legere וְכִי. Ivit et interrogavit preceptorum suum, dixit illi, Quomodo docuisti me legere? Dixit ei, וְכִי.

^b Gem. Berachoth, fol. 62. Nedarim, fol. 37. Megilla, fol. 3, ad Nehem. viii. 8. Hagiga, fol. 6. Nedarim, fol. 53. See *Buxtorf*, *Morinus*, and *Tychsen*, l. c. See above, § 79, sqq.

^c *Buxtorf*, p. 76. *Morinus*, p. 447. *Tychsen*, p. 108.

^d *Cappellus*, Arcan. Punct. i. 10. *Jo. Morinus*, l. c. p. 463. *St. Morinus*, p. 404, sqq. On the other side, *Buxtorf*, De Punct. Origine, p. 143, sqq. *G. O. Tychsen*, l. c. p. 127. Comp. *Dupuy*, (on the vowels in Jerome's Heb. MSS.) in *Eichhorn's* Repert. vol. ii. p. 270. *Jahn*, Einleit. vol. i. p. 340, sqq.

^e *Montfaucon*, Quomodo Vet. Int. Hebraice legerint, in *Origen*, Hexap. vol.

1. Jerome knew as little of the present vowel points, and their names, as of any other technical expression of Hebrew grammar. He maintains expressly, as a peculiarity of Hebrew writing, that it is rare to find a vowel^a in the middle of a word, but the consonants were pronounced differently, according to the pleasure of the reader, and the different custom of different provinces. This is the reason that he makes the frequent remark, that a word may mean very different things, as it is differently pronounced. In this connection he makes use of the term *accent*, (*accentus*), which sometimes refers to the pronunciation, but sometimes it must mean a sign in the text, to indicate the pronunciation. Perhaps he used it as a translation of the Talmudic word סֵמֶל. Jerome's version agrees with the present system of vowels far better than the Seventy.^b

2. The pronunciation of the Hebrew appellatives in Origen, Jerome, and some others, is analogous to that of the Seventy, but it agrees more closely with the present pronunciation.

3. If any one is willing to rest the question on the fact that signs of the vowels are occasionally mentioned in the Talmud and Jerome, the most that could be made out from them is, that *three* vowel signs were early used in the Hebrew.^c We must give up all historical proof of the fact, sought from other sources, and the age of *these* three marks is not wholly secured. But the fact is remarkable, that nearly all the variations of the old translators can be easily explained on the supposition that there was such a simple and ambiguous system of vocalization; for they are almost all but different gradations of the chief vowels. In general, the whole system of vocalization may be referred back to these three chief vowels; it only fixed their fluctuating pronunciation; and the entire doctrine of the vowel changes in the Hebrew languages relates almost solely to the limits

ii. p. 397, sqq., reprinted in *Wolf*, l. c. vol. ii. p. 653, sqq. *Jahn*, Gram. Heb. 3d ed. p. 443, sqq. On a passage of *Clem. Alex.* (Strom. iii. p. 529, ed. *Potter*), which some refer to the Heb. vowels, see *Bib. Bremensis*, vol. ii. p. 147.

^a Epist. 126, ad Evagrium.

^b Com. ad Habak. iii. 5. Hos. xiii. 3. Ad Titum iii. 6. Isa. lxx. 16. Jon. iii. 4. Gen. xxxiii. 29. See other passages in *Buxtorf*, p. 147. *Jahn*, l. c. *Montfaucon*, Hexap.

^c *Vossii* Aristarchus, i. 32. *Jo. Morinus*, p. 544. *Schultens*, Inst. Ling. Heb. p. 48, 62, sqq. *Michaelis*, Com. de Syrorum Vocal. p. 174, § 6, 7, in Comment.; Gott. 1774. *Bauer* takes the other side, Crit. sac. p. 146. See *Trendelenburg*, in *Eichhorn's* Repert. vol. xviii. p. 80.

of these three vowels. This remark was made long ago, and thoroughly carried out.^a

Others think only the diacritical point was used at this time, and it is certain the term *accent* in Jerome is not limited solely to the vowels. The analogy of the Arabic and rabbinical manuscripts confirms the opinion that at first only difficult passages were pointed.

§ 6.

TIME OF THE ORIGIN OF THE PRESENT SYSTEM OF PUNCTUATION, AND OBJECTIONS TO IT.

1. Without reckoning on uncertain accounts from the fourth century, we find many certain traces of the use of the present vowels in the fifth century.^b The Masora, collected, though not closed, about this time, mentions the chief of them by name, and notices their variations. The comparison between the Babylonian and Palestine readings relates, at least in two places, to *Mappik in He*; but the comparison which Ben Assher and Ben Naphtali made (about 1034 A. C.) relates exclusively to the vowels and marks to aid the reading.^c Still further, the version of Saadias, and the Greek version of St. Mark's library, presuppose the existence of a pointed text. In fine, the Jewish grammarians, from the eleventh century downwards, seem to have known nothing respecting this matter, except that the vowels were formerly written. Therefore they could not have known any manuscripts which contained an imperfect punctuation, or which showed the origin of punctuation.^d

2. If we are, from these facts, to determine the time in which the present vocalization was formed and completed, then more arguments speak in favor of that period between the sixth and eighth than between the ninth and the tenth centuries.^e They may have been quite generally known, for the first time, about the latter period. Between the eighth and the tenth century, the Jewish chroniclers mention

^a *Eichhorn*, Bib. vol. viii. p. 205. *Michaelis*, Or. Bib. vol. iv. p. 228, sqq. *Clericus*, Quæst. Jerome, p. 95. *Jahn*, Heb. Gram. 3d ed. p. 19. *Jerome*, Quæst. in Gen. ii. 23.

^b *Buxtorf*, p. 55 and 189. *Cappellus*, Arcan. Punct. i. 12.

^c *Michaelis*, Or. Bib. vol. iv. p. 219.

^d *Morinus*, p. 525. *R. Simon*, l. c. i. c. 27. *St. Morinus*, Ling. Primæv. p. 420. *Eichhorn*, l. c. *Tychsen*, Tent. p. 133.

^e *Hottinger*, Hist. Eccl. N. T. vol. i. p. 421, 528.

almost exclusively Babylonian scholars, and yet this masoretic and grammatical work was universally ascribed to the men of Tiberias.* Furthermore, the works that have come down to us from these two centuries, such as the later Targums, show that learning was in so degraded a condition that we cannot place that undertaking in this age. And, finally, in an earlier age, there was the same need of them as at a later day, and the difficulty of propagating a knowledge of the Scriptures by tradition became greater continually. At the same time, this hypothesis renders it easy to explain the fact that the true origin of the vowels was completely unknown to the Jewish scholars in that age; for some centuries, and those very dead centuries, lay between the periods. From these considerations, it becomes quite probable that the vowel points came into the schools of the critics of the Bible at an earlier date — before they came into general use. Such distinct traditions respecting the origin of the vowels as the Arabians have, are entirely wanting, for those which pass for such vanish on examination.

3. Among the objections which may be raised against the later origin of the vowels are many that seem not unimportant; yet they may be removed without doing violence to facts. "It is scarcely conceivable," says one, "that history should be silent respecting a fact so important for the outward form of the sacred Scriptures."† But it is silent concerning other things still more important in the history of Jewish literature; — on the formation of the canon; on the composition of so many anonymous writings; and, besides, the same must be said respecting similar contrivances of the Greek and Latin grammarians. But the men who did the most in this business did not boast of their invention; it was rather for their interest to avoid the appearance of novelty, and to give their work the authority of age as soon as possible. The history of literature shows how completely this agrees with the spirit of the Jews and of that age. To this is to be added the interposition of dark ages.

"We nowhere find any controversy about this matter, which we should expect among the Jews, who love controversy." But the passages of the Talmud above referred to may certainly be consid-

* See *Prideaux*, (l. c.), *Fourmont*, (in *Memoires de la Litterat.* vol. xx. p. 222, seq.), *Semler*, (*Theol. Abhand.* vol. i. p. 191,) and against them *Houbigant*, *Not. crit.* vol. i. p. 77.

† *Buxtorf*, p. 398. *Robertson*, p. 65. *Morinus*, 421.

ered vestiges of the time when this subject was deliberated upon. At a later date, we have no account of the critical treatment of the text. How little do we know of the origin of the Masora!

"The Masorites frequently remark upon anomalous and rare punctuation. How could they do this if they were the authors of this punctuation? Would they not have amended the anomaly, instead of pointing it out?" But it is well known this change in the text was not effected all at the same time, but gradually. In the course of one or more centuries, an invention of an earlier grammarian might have acquired such esteem, and have so much of superstition on its side, that no one would venture to change it, and a mystery might be sought in what was at first only an accidental anomaly. The same took place with the greater and smaller letters, and the extraordinary points, &c.

Finally, it is said, "The Karaites, who separated from the rabbins before the composition of the Talmud, have the complete system of punctuation, which they would not have received from their opponents if it were of recent origin. This fact, therefore, favors the high antiquity of the vowel points."^a But even if this sect existed, there is certainly ample room for controversy whether it existed as perfectly separated and completed at that high antiquity. And when the Karaites themselves place the antiquity of their sect, and the existence of the vowel points, so high, it is only by reasoning, inference, and pretension to antiquity, and not as a fact. But the fact that they make no scruples to use even *printed* books with points, shows that they did not, like the rabbins, regard every unessential novelty as profane.

4. The names of the Hebrew vowels, for the most part, correspond in their etymology to those of the Arabians, (and Syrians,) and therefore it is probable there was an historical connection between them. The copiousness of the former shows, perhaps, they were later than the others. But the fact that several of the later vowels are sometimes comprised under the same name shows, perhaps, that this copiousness was of gradual growth.

^a *Triglandus*, De Secta Karorum, p. 20. *Morinus*, l. c. Exercit. vii. *Carpzov*, l. c. 252. *Leusden*, l. c. 124. *Robertson*, l. c. p. 54. *Wolf*, Notitia Karaitorum, p. 112, 152.

§ 7.

EXAMINATION AND VALUE OF THE MASORETIC VOCALIZATION.

If the pronunciation of the old Hebrew, according to this theory, was continued and preserved by tradition, for a considerable time, before it was fixed by characters, the important question arises, How much of the true pronunciation have we preserved? Does this system restore us the true pronunciation of the old Hebrew, at least in general, and upon the whole, or is it a work of conjecture and caprice? Has it any authority in particular cases, or can the interpreter forsake and abandon it at pleasure? We think these questions may receive an answer that is favorable to the vowel system; * and, in what follows, shall attempt to prove it. But first, we will examine the principal objections to it.

1. "The subtle and pedantic character of the system proves it is the invention of some grammarians, who, from want of a just knowledge of the pronunciation, took that of the Aramæan as their standard." This subtilty, which is almost inconceivable in a living language, renders us certain it is the work of painstaking grammarians, but does not destroy the correctness of the tradition on which the system rests.

2. "The pronunciation of the proper names in the Seventy (which, in part, follows different principles) is against it, and leads to a pronunciation which is more perfect, richer in vowels, and like the Arabic."† It is certain the two systems of pronunciation differ from one another, like two dialects; but neither is to be rejected on that account. Doubtless we have two methods of pronouncing the Hebrew; one was current at Alexandria, the other in Palestine. They differ like two dialects, and have the same relation to one another that the written language of the Arabians—which is full-toned and rich in vowels—has to their popular language, which is

* So decide *Elias Levita*, *R. Simon*, *Eichhorn*, *De Wette*, and *Bellermann*.

† *Jo. Morinus*, p. 509. *St. Morinus*, p. 380, sqq. *Is. Vossius*, Respons. ad *Simon*, p. 192. *Cappellus*, Vindiciæ, p. 841. *Eichhorn*, Allg. Bib. vol. vi. p. 384. *Grove*, Vaticinia Nahumi et Habac.; Amst. 1793, 4to., his Ultima Capit. Jobi, pt. i.—ii.; 1788—1791, 4to.

Tychsen (Tentamen, p. 132, sqq., 153) brings historical arguments to show that there was an Alexandrian dialect of the Hebrew; but they will not bear examination. *Masch* follows him, Bib. sac. pt. ii. vol. ii. p. 35.

more like the Hebrew and Syriac. Jerome expressly says the Hebrew vowels were pronounced differently in different regions, and the greatest difference in the Arabic coins is in their vocalization. Origen also adheres to the Alexandrian pronunciation; but the Palestine system of the Masorites has some important arguments in its favor. The tradition, it is likely, would be preserved more pure in the native country; and again, the Palestine Jews have a great superiority over the Greek Jews, in general, in respect to the conscientious preservation of traditional matter, and in all other respects.^a

3. "The present vocalization of the proper names, particularly such as are not Hebrew, does not agree with the pronunciation as we learn it from other sources, and in part with certainty."^b But who knows how often the form of proper names has been changed, and even so far changed that it cannot be known, when they have been transferred to other languages? This is the case particularly in reference to the Oriental word יוון, *Greece*, which the Arabians and Syrians, as well as our punctators, pronounce *Javan*. But in other cases, as in the Persian words דָּרְרִישׁ and בּוּרִישׁ, without doubt, the Hebrew comes nearer the vernacular pronunciation. Still more confidently we might appeal to the original Hebrew words which the Greeks received from the Jews, and pronounced differently from the present punctuation.^c But who can assure us the word underwent no alteration in the mouth of the Greeks? Do not the living Oriental languages differ very much in the use of the vowels? But, above all, did not the Greeks receive these words directly from the Phœnicians, whose dialect did not coincide with the Hebrew in all minor respects?

4. "In many places, it is opposed to the analogy of the Hebrew language, which, if we may judge from the consonants, adhered rather to the Arabic; but the punctuation follows the Aramæan."^d It is

^a *Jo. Morinus*, p. 509, sqq.

^b E. g. יוון, *Iov*, as if יוון, *Greece*; בּוּרִישׁ, *ὑρος*, as if בּוּרִישׁ; דָּרְרִישׁ, *Δαριος*, as if דָּרְרִישׁ; גֶּשֶׁן, more correctly in the LXX. and Coptic version, Γίσερ, גֶּשֶׁן; יִרְדֵּן, *Ιόρδανης*, as if יִרְדֵּן; שָׁלֹם, *Σόλυμα*, as if שָׁלֹם, &c. See *Lexicon*, sub voc. See *Hyde*, *Rel. vet. Pers.* p. 43—67, and *Bight*, *Præf.* ad *Opp.* *Lightfoot*, vol. i. p. 6.

^c E. g. אֲדוּב, *ἄδωπος*; חֲבִיבִים, *Ἰβανος*; צִמּוֹן, *αἰμίμων*.

^d See *Hutchinson*, *Works*, vol. vii. p. 256, sqq. Many English grammarians followed him; e. g. *Sharp*, *Parkhurst*, and *Bates*; and, of the Germans, *Adelung*, *Mithridates*, vol. i. p. 363. See *Wahl*, l. c. p. 492.

much to be wished that some of the authors of this statement had attempted to furnish proof of it. But the statement of another inquirer, equally learned, "that the punctators borrowed their punctuation from the Arabic,"* shows how little force this proposition has. The Arabic and the Aramæan are similar, and must be; but they are not, on that account, dependent upon one another. The decisions of a Hutchinson and Masclef deserve not the slightest respect, who, among other assertions, declare the whole conjugation *piel* to be a whimsey of the punctators, as if its peculiar inflections were not as well expressed in the consonants, for example, in the participle.

§ 8.

THE SAME SUBJECT CONTINUED.

The positive arguments which speak in favor of the accuracy of the masoretic vowel system, at least as a whole, are found, on the one hand, in the analogous pronunciation of the Arabic and Aramæan languages, so nearly related to the Hebrew, which, it seems, never copied or gave a preference to either; and, on the other, in its consistency and independence in those passages where it differs from both of these.

To this must be added the frequent agreement between the *matres lectionis* in the Samaritan and Hebrew manuscripts. We conceive the sources of it, in general, to be—the tradition of the schools in Palestine and Babylon; the Hebrew grammar, even if it were unknown as a science to both of them; the connection of certain passages; the traditionary explanations long received in the Jewish academies and versions, and particularly the Targums. We will now proceed to an examination of these separate arguments.

1. Agreeable to a pregnant remark, that was long ago made, the Hebrew language, in respect to its entire structure, its grammar, and its vocabulary, stands midway between the Aramæan and the Arabic. The consonants show this relation between them; but it appears more distinctly in the vowels, and the masoretic system, which is confirmed by the thorough analogy of the two languages, and by its adhesion sometimes to one, and sometimes to the other. Now, the ground of this agreement does not lie in the punctator's knowledge of these

* Jo. Morinus, l. c. p. 535.

two languages, or the comparison he made of them, but in a constant tradition.

2. As, on the other hand, every dialect, in its relation to other cognate languages, maintains its own individuality and peculiarities, and since this is the case with the Hebrew, in respect to grammatical structure, usage, &c., so the same relation shows itself in the punctuation, while, as a whole, and in particulars, it differs, in essential points, from the punctuation of the cognate languages. But it differs from them with a consistency and independence which can only be the result of certain knowledge, not of vague conjecture and caprice. In respect to most of these phenomena, at least an analogy may be pointed out in the circle of the Shemitish languages.

We might safely trust an authority which, according to what has hitherto been said, has produced so great an influence on the knowledge of this language, even if it does not produce proofs, which, in many cases, it is not possible to do. But positive grounds of confirmation may be found for many of these statements; for example,

3. In the *analogy of the Hebrew language* itself, so far as it can be known from the consonants.

4. In the *matres lectionis*, as they are called, in particular Hebrew and Samaritan manuscripts. Some of these are at least ancient. It is natural there should be traces of difference and disparity in respect to a matter which depended merely on tradition and usage; yet this disagreement does not penetrate deep into the system, neither does it injure its consistency, for instances of this kind would naturally precede the formation of the system. Even prudent grammarians have allowed themselves many doubts and alterations in the case of grammatical anomalies of a similar kind, where the anomalous grammatical form seems to stand alone. But here, too much caution cannot be recommended; for many of these anomalies are supported by the analogy of the language itself, or, at least, by that of the cognate dialects, and therefore any alteration would be uncertain and hazardous.

§ 9.

THE SAME SUBJECT CONTINUED.

All the previous remarks on the vowel system relate only to its effect upon the language, and to the general value of the pronunciation of the old Hebrew, which this system has fixed. There is another question, which relates to the choice among the different

punctuations which the same word may receive in particular places, where it is rather a question of interpretation than of grammar. Here the case is obviously a different one. But the answer to the question depends on the value we give to the old exegetic tradition of the Palestine Jews, and especially that of the Targums. We have stated above, that we are constrained to set a higher value on this than many critics of the Bible have done. An examination of the vocalization, in respect to exegesis and the division into words, gives the same result; and, in general, it may be maintained that these punctators understood the text better than many modern interpreters of it, who, in their numerous changes of the punctuation, often show neither sound judgment, nor good taste, nor exegetical tact.* In a great many cases, a somewhat finer knowledge of grammar would have saved them the critical attempt.^b But, notwithstanding this, it is evident that this tradition could give no infallible rule, and that here, also, each question must be decided by its own merits.

§ 10.

THE ACCENTS.

The system of accentuation also depends on the age of the vowel system, with which, in its present form, it is intimately connected.

The design of the accents is twofold: 1. To point out the tone-syllable, and at the same time determine the interpunction, or the relation which each word bears to the sentence.^c 2. To designate the modulation in the tone by which the Old Testament was recited, or intonated, in the synagogues, in a half-singing manner, like the cantillating reading of the Koran in the mosques.^d The prosaic

* *Cappellus*, Crit. sac. vol. ii. p. 937—956. On the other hand, *Scharfenberg's* Remarks. *Michaelis*, Krit. Bemerk. zur alten Schriften in A. T.; and, in opposition thereto, among others, see *Stange*, (Anticrit. in Ps.,) *Reiske*, (Conject. in Jobum et Prov.,) *Ziegler*, (*Stange*, Theol. Symmikt. vol. i. p. 166, opposes him,) *Dathe*, *Fuber*, and *Hensler*, (on Isa. p. 270.) *Rosenmüller* and *De Wette* think otherwise.

^b See *Michaelis*, on Ps. iv. 7, (Supplem. ad Lex. Heb. pt. ii. p. 551.) Compare *Schultens*, Animadv. in loc.

^c So far they are called פְּעֻלֵּי יָד, *sensus, rationes*. See *J. D. Michaelis*, Accent. Heb.; Halle, 1755, 8vo. *Dachsell*, Bib. accentuata; Leips. 1729, 4to. *Hirt*, Syst. Accent.; 1752.

^d Here they are called נְגִיזוֹת. *Michaelis*, De Ritualibus, S. S. ex Alcorano illustrandis, § 15, in *Pott's Sylloge Com. Theol.* vol. ii. p. 110.

accentuation is different from the poetic, and the key to this difference is found in the *Sarga*, so called.^a

It may next be inquired, Which is the older, the vowel system or the accents? Many modern writers^b have decided in favor of the latter, and have wished to date some accents as musical notes, in the time of the old Hebrew temple music, and, in accordance with this hypothesis, they have attempted to decipher them, and find out their true ancient meaning.^c In a similar manner the Gemara makes the Levites recite according to the accents, even in the time of Nehemiah.^d But the only argument adduced to support this—namely, the indispensableness of musical notes, at a certain stage in the formation of Hebrew music—has not the requisite value, especially when we consider that there were, at that time, no characters for the vowels, which were vastly more necessary. Doubtless, following the accounts in Chronicles, we conceive the temple music to have been much more splendid and perfect than it was. But we can easily conceive that certain melodies, especially such as were inartificial and not very regular, might be preserved and transmitted without musical notes. If the accents were at first musical notes, I should be inclined to place them in the later period of the synagogue, where it was the custom to reduce all the treasures of tradition to writing, and thereby to fix them.

However, without wishing to set myself up as an arbitrator of this controversy, almost boundless as it is, it seems to me the first design of the accents was to regulate the intonation and interpunction. The first mention of the accents in the Talmud and Jerome^e have reference to this use, and this occurs at a time when the Greek accents and interpunction were also regulated. And the exaggeration made of this system of interpunction may not seem strange among grammarians who surpass all others in subtilty and minuteness. Hence arose the subdistinctives (like half and quarter commas) and conjunctives, as in the vowel system there are half vowels, and signs of the absence of vowels. The transition from

^a Jablonski, Præf. ad Bib. Heb. § 24. Kircher, Musurg, vol. i. lib. ii. ch. 5.

^b Walton, (l. c. iii. § 45, 56,) Paulus, (Memorab. vol. vi. p. 138,) Bertholdt, (p. 179,) and Eichhorn. On the other side, see Jahn, vol. i. p. 353.

^c Speidel, Traces of the Ancient Davidic Music, in Forkel's Gesch. der Musik, vol. i. p. 156. Anton, in Paulus, Neue Rep. vol. i. p. 160, vol. ii. p. 80, sqq.

^d Nedarim, c. 4, fol. 37, B. Megilla, c. 1, fol. 3, on Neh. viii. 8.

^e He mentions *accentus*, Epist. ad Cypr. on Ps. xc. 11: "Inter Hebraicum et LXX. diversa est distinctio." See Bertholdt, p. 196.

marks of the tone and connection to marks of declamation, like recitative notes, was very easy, on account of the singing method of reading which is common to all the Orientals.*

—◆—

G.

(See § 72.)

SPECIMENS OF THE KIND OF DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE
TWO PAPAL EDITIONS OF THE VULGATE†

I. SENTENCES AND WORDS CONTAINED IN THE EDITION OF
CLEMENT, BUT OMITTED IN THAT OF SIXTUS.

Num. xxx. 11. Uxor in domo viri, etc., to end of verse.

Prov. xxv. 24. Melius est sedere in angulo domatis quam cum muliere litigiosa et in domo communi.

Matt. xxvii. 35. Ut implentur quod dictum est per prophetam dicentem, Diviserunt sibi vestimenta mea, et super vestem meam miserunt sortem.

Lev. xx. 9. Patri matrique maledixit.

Judg. xvii. 2, 3. Reddidit ergo eos matri suæ, quæ dixerat ei, Consecravi et novi hoc argentum.

1 Sam. iv. 21. Quia capta est arca Dei.

1 Kings xii. 10. Sic loqueris ad eos.

2 Ch. ii. 10. Et vini viginti millia metretas.

II. SENTENCES AND WORDS INTERPOLATED BY SIXTUS, ANI
EXPUNGED BY CLEMENT.

1 Sam. xxiv. 8. Vivit Dominus quia nisi Dominus percusserit eum, aut dies ejusque venerit, ut moriatur, aut descendens in prælium peri-

* The Mohammedans define their cantillation as a method of observing the pauses, and giving each letter its just articulation. Sacy, *Traité des Pausas dans la Lecture de l'Alcoran*, in his *Notices et Extraits des MSS. de la Bib. Imperiale*, vol. ix. No. 3. See the works on the antiquity of the accents, in *Wolf*, l. c. vol. ii. p. 492, iv. p. 218. Comp. *Kocher*, *Bib.* vol. ii. p. 122, sqq. Some names of accents are more difficult to explain, though of Chaldaic form. *Elias Levita* confessed (סדר סעף, ch. 2) that the meaning of several was unknown to him. See *Explanations*, in *Locher*, l. c. p. 345. *Buxtorf*, *Thes. Gram.* i. 5.

† Extracted from *Hodius*, l. c. p. 505.

erit. Propitius mihi sit Dominus, ut non mittam manum meam in Christum Dominum.

1 Sam. xxv. 6. Ex multis annis salvos faciens tuos et omnia tua.

2 Sam. vi. 12. Dixitque David ibo et reducam arcam.

2 Sam. viii. 8. De quo fecit Salomo omnia vasa ærea in templo et mare æreo et columnas altari.

2 Sam. xix. 10. Et consilium totius Israel venit ad regem. [I omit many other examples.]

III. MANIFEST CONTRADICTIONS BETWEEN THE EDITIONS OF SIXTUS AND CLEMENT.

Ex. xxiii. 18. S. tuæ; C. meæ.

Num. xxxiv. 4. S. ad meridiem; C. à meridie.

Deut. xvii. 8. S. inter lepram et non lepram; C. inter lepram et lepram.

Josh. ii. 18. S. signum non fuerit; C. signum fuerit.

Josh. iv. 23. S. Deo nostro; C. Deo vestro.

Josh. xi. 19. S. quæ se non traderet, etc.; C. quæ se traderet.

Judg. xiv. 3. S. tuo; C. meo.

1 Sam. iv. 9. S. nobis; C. vobis.

—— xx. 9. S. à me; C. à te. [Many others omitted.]

IV. DISCREPANCY IN NUMBERS.

Ex. xxxii. 28. S. triginta tria m.; C. viginti tria m.

Ex. xxiv. 5. S. vitulos duodecim; C. vitulos.

2 Sam. xv. 7. S. quatuor; C. quadraginta.

2 Sam. xvi. 1. S. duobus utribus vini; C. utro vini.

1 Kings iv. 42. S. quinque millia; C. quinque et mille. [Many in following passages omitted.]

V. OTHER REMARKABLE DIFFERENCES.

Gen. xxiv. 24. S. filia sum Bathuelis, filii Nachor, quem peperit ei Melcha; C. filii Melchæ — ei Nachor.

Josh. iii. 17. S. contra Jordamon; C. contra Jericho.

1 Sam. iii. 2, 3. S. nec poterat videre lucernam Dei antequam extingueretur; C. oculi ejus caligaverunt, nec poterat videre; lucerna Dei antequam extingueretur.

1 Kings ii. 28. S. ad Salomonem; C. ad Joab.

H.

(See § 85.)

PARALLEL PASSAGES IN THE OLD TESTAMENT.*

I. HISTORICAL PASSAGES THAT ARE REPEATED.

1. *Genealogies.*

Gen. v. 3—32.	Compare 1 Chron. i. 1—4.
— x. 2—4.	— i. 5—7.
— x. 8, 13—18.	— i. 8—16.
— x. 22—29.	— i. 17—23.
— xi. 10—26.	— i. 24—27.
— xxv. 2—4.	— i. 32, 33.
— xxv. 13—16.	— i. 29—31.
— xxxvi. 10—14.	— i. 35—37.
— xxxvi. 20—28.	— i. 38—42.
— xxxvi. 31—39.	— i. 43—50.
— xxxvi. 40—43.	— i. 51—54.
2 Sam. xxiii. 8—39.	— xi. 10—47.
Ezra ii. 1—70.	— vii. 6—23.

2. *Narratives.*

(A greater part of Genesis. See § 150.)

1 Sam. xxxi. 1—13.	Compare 1 Chron. x. 1—12.
2 Sam. v. 1—3.	— xi. 1—3.
— v. 17—25.	— xiv. 8—16.
— vi. 1—11.	— xiii. 5—14.
— vi. 12—16.	— xv. 25—29.
— vi. 17—19.	— xvi. 1—3.
— vii. 1—29.	— xvii. 1—27.
— viii. 1—18.	— xviii. 1—17.
— x. 1—19.	— xix. 1—19.
— xi. 1—12, 30, 31.	— xx. 1—3.
— xxi. 18—22.	— xx. 4—8.
— xxiv. 1—25.	— xxi. 1—27.
1 Kings iii. 5—13.	2 Chron. i. 7—12.
— vi. 1—3.	— iii. 1—4.
— vi. 19—28.	— iii. 8—13.
— vii. 15—22.	— iii. 15—17.

* From Eichhorn, § 133, b.

1 Kings vii. 23—26.

—— vii. 38—51.

—— viii. 1—11.

—— viii. 12—50.

—— viii. 62—66.

—— ix. 1—9.

—— ix. 10—23.

—— ix. 26—28.

—— x. 1—29.

—— xii. 1—19.

—— xii. 21—24.

—— xiv. 21, 29—31.

—— xv. 1, 2, 7, 8.

—— xv. 9—15.

—— xv. 16—24.

—— xxii. 2—35.

—— xxii. 41—50.

2 Kings viii. 16—24.

—— viii. 25—29.

—— xi. 1—3.

—— xi. 4—40.

—— xi. 21, xii. 21.

—— xiv. 1—6.

—— xiv. 8—14, 17—20.

—— xiv. 21, 22, xv. 2—7.

—— xv. 32—38.

—— xvi. 1—20.

—— xviii. 1—3.

—— xviii. 13, 17—37.

—— xix. 1—37.

—— xx. 1—11.

—— xx. 12—21.

—— xxi. 1—9.

—— xxi. 17—26.

—— xxii. 1—20.

—— xxiii. 1—3.

—— xxiii. 21—23.

—— xxiii. 29, 30.

—— xxiii. 30—37, xxiv. 1—6.

Compare 2 Chron. iv. 2—5.

—— iv. 6, v. 1.

—— v. 2—14.

—— vi. 1—39.

—— vii. 4—10.

—— vii. 11—22.

—— viii. 1—10.

—— viii. 17, 18.

—— ix. 1—28.

—— x. 1—19.

—— xi. 1—4.

—— xii. 13—16.

—— xiii. 1, 2, 21, 23.

—— xiv. 1—3, 16—18.

—— xvi. 1—6, 11—14.

—— xviii. 1—34.

—— xx. 31—37, xxi. 1.

—— xxi. 5—10, 19, 20.

—— xxii. 1—6.

—— xxii. 10—12.

—— xxiii. 1—21.

—— xxiv. 1—27.

—— xxv. 1—4.

—— xxv. 17—28.

—— xxvi. 1—4, 21—23.

—— xxvii. 1—9.

—— xxviii. 1—27.

—— xxix. 1, 2.

Isa. xxxvi. 1—22.

—— xxxvii. 1—38. 2 Ch.

—— xxxii. 1—21.

—— xxxviii. 1—8.

—— xxxix. 1—8. 2 Ch.

—— xxxii. 24—33.

2 Chron. xxxiii. 1—9.

—— xxxiii. 18—25.

—— xxxiv. 1—28.

—— xxxiv. 29—32.

—— xxxv. 1, 17—19.

—— xxxv. 20—24,

—— xxxvi. 1.

—— xxxvi. 2—8.

2 Kings xxiv. 8—17.	Compare 2 Chron. xxxvi. 9, 10.
— xxxiv. 18—20, } — xxv. 1—30. }	{ Jer. lii. 9, 10. 2 Chron. — xxxvi. 11—21.
2 Chron. xxxvi. 22, 23.	Ezra i. 1—3

II. LAWS, HYMNS, AND ORACLES, WHICH ARE REPEATED.

Exod. xx. 2—17.	Compare Deut. v. 6—21.
Levit. xi. 2—19.	— xiv. 4—18.
Ps. xviii. 2—50.	2 Sam. xvii. 1—54.
— cv. 1—15.	1 Chron. xvi. 8—22.
— xcvi. 1—13.	— xvi. 23—33.
— cvi. 47, 48.	— xvi. 35, 36.
— xiv. 1—7.	Ps. liii. 1—6.
— xl. 13—17.	— lxx. 1—5.
— lvii. 7—11.	— cviii. 1—5.
— lx. 5—12.	— cviii. 6—13.
— lxxx. 3, 7, 19.	— cvii. 8, 15, 21, 31.
— cxv. 4—8.	— cxxxv. 15—18.
Isa. ii. 2—4.	Mich. iv. 1—3.
— xv. 5.	Jer. xlviii. 5.
— xvi. 6, 7, sqq.	— xlviii. 29—31.
— xxiv. 17, 18.	— xlviii. 43, 44.
— lii. 7.	Nah. i. 15.
Jer. x. 25.	Ps. lxxix. 6, 7.
— xxvi. 18.	Micah iii. 12.
— xlix. 14—16.	Ob. i. 4.
— xlix. 27.	Amos i. 4.
Hab. iii. 18, 19.	Ps. xviii. 33.
Zeph. ii. 14.	Isa. xlvii. 8.

III. THOUGHTS, SENTENCES, PROVERBS, ETC., THAT ARE REPEATED.

Num. xxiv. 3, 4.	Compare Num. xxiv. 15, 16.
— xxiv. 9.	Gen. xlix. 9, xxvii. 29.
Isa. v. 25.	Isa. ix. 12, 17, 21, x. 4.
— x. 6, 7.	— lxxv. 25.
— xviii. 2.	— xviii. 7.
— xxxv. 10.	— li. 11.
Jer. ii. 28.	Jer. xi. 13.
— vii. 30, 31.	— xxii. 34, 35.

Jer. vii. 33.	Compare Jer. xvi. 4, xix. 7, xxxiv. 20.
— vii. 34.	— xvi. 9, xxv. 10.
— xv. 2.	— xliii. 11.
— xv. 13, 14.	— xvii. 3, 4.
— xxi. 19, 20.	— xxxviii. 2, 3.
— xxiii. 5, 6.	— xxxiii. 15, 16.
— xxxiii. 7, 8.	— xvi. 14, 15.
— xxix. 5.	— xxix. 28.
— xxx. 10, 11.	— xlv. 27, 28.
— xlviii. 40, 41.	— xlix. 22.
— xlix. 19, 21.	— l. 44—46.
Ezek. i. 15—21.	Ezek. x. 8—17.
— iii. 17—19.	— xxxiii. 7—9.
— xi. 18—20.	— xxxvi. 25—28.
— xviii. 25.	— xviii. 29, xxxiii. 17, 20.
Hab. ii. 8.	Hab. ii. 27.
Zach. iv. 5.	Zach. iv. 13.
Prov. viii. 8.	Prov. xx. 22.
— xx. 16.	— xxvii. 13.
— xxi. 9.	— xxv. 24.
— xxii. 3.	— xxvii. 12.

I.

(See § 86.)

THE SAMARITAN PENTATEUCH.*

§ 1.

Among the ancient documents commonly cited in judging of, or amending, the present Hebrew text, there is scarce any which has exercised the minds of critics more than the Samaritan copy of the Pentateuch. The opinions of learned men have been widely different, not only in respect to its age, but also in respect to its character and critical authority. Some, and in particular philologists of the Catholic church, have far preferred it to the masoretic text; others have deemed it a point of their religion not to depart a finger's breadth from the received text of the church. While the controversy

* Translated from the Latin treatise of Gesenius, entitled *De Pentat. Sam. Origine Indole et Auctoritate, Commentatio Philologico-Critica.*

was recent, it was carried on with no small ardor, and, as it usually happens, faults were committed on both sides. When the more intelligent critics perceived this, as it was easy to do, the greater part of them adopted a middle course, namely, the opinion that the authority of the two was nearly equal — that each had its own excellences and defects.

§ 2.

ORIGIN AND ANTIQUITY OF THE SAMARITAN CODEX.

At what time did the Samaritans receive the Pentateuch, and from whence? This is a very important question, in the solution of which the critics of our times have embraced various opinions. It is our design to examine the most remarkable of these, and to give our own opinion in this matter.

Those critics who assign the highest antiquity to this codex maintain that among the citizens of the ten tribes, before the time of Jeroboam, there were copies of the Pentateuch, which they think then existed in its present form. Such is the opinion of Jo. Morinus, Kennicott, J. D. Michaelis, Eichhorn, and others, to whom Bertholdt has recently added himself. Their arguments may be comprised under these four heads:—

I. “After the institution of the worship of the calf, so violent a hatred arose, between the two people, on account of the disagreement in their sacred rites, that no one will suppose copies, after that time, could pass from one kingdom to the other.” Vater and De Wette^a have much weakened the force of this argument, showing, by many examples, that this disagreement in sacred affairs never destroyed all connection between the worshippers of God in the two kingdoms, and that there was no violent hatred between them before the building of the temple on Mount Gerizim; and who can doubt that the Jewish prophets, who very often taught in the kingdom of Samaria, might have communicated the Law, if it were then written, to the pious worshippers of God in that region? Bertholdt has recently made use of this argument, a little altered, but with success the reader must judge.^b He says, “Since the Pentateuch

^a Vater, Com. in Pent. vol. iii. p. 626. De Wette, Beiträge, vol. i. p. 188. See the remarks of Paulus, on the origin and increase of this hatred, Com. über d. N. T. vol. iv. p. 227.

^b Einleit. p. 236, 817, 864.

not only contains ritual, but civil laws, the citizens of the Samaritan kingdom, burning with hatred against the parent state, would never allow themselves to receive a civil code from that kingdom, which would seem to be voluntarily surrendering to the ancestral state." It suffices us to have stated this. It is indeed evident that conquerors, amongst other counsels they are wont to devise for extinguishing the spirit of a conquered people, make use of this, namely, to force their own and new laws upon the province, in place of the old institutions of the country. Nor is it to be denied that every people, solicitous for its liberty, does, with justice, adhere pertinaciously to its ancient institutions, but assiduously avoids all new ones, especially such as are brought by a people desirous of ruling them. This would be the case in the present instance, if the question was about imposing on the Israelites a civil code, proceeding from a Jewish code, different from the sacred Laws of Moses. But the Samaritans, no less than the Jews, acknowledged Moses as their lawgiver, and observed his laws and institutions, whether written or oral. They dissented in a few things, particularly in admitting the worship of the calf, and priests who were not of Levitical descent. Now, admitting, as many do,* that the Pentateuch was gradually collected from various fragments in the kingdom of Judah, a little after the time of Rehoboam, — in receiving that code, the Israelites did not receive new laws, but laws long known and kept, though then, for the first time, perfectly collected and arranged together. Then it is evident that this codex may have been issued and promulgated among certain learned and pious Israelites, though not publicly.

II. "They think it can only be explained by this hypothesis why the Samaritans acknowledge only the Pentateuch; for, doubtless, they would likewise acknowledge the other books if they had received this code from the Jews at any late period." If our statement be true, — and we will, by and by, demonstrate it, — that the Samaritans, some centuries after the exile, when certainly the greatest part of the sacred books was extant, received the Pentateuch, with the worship on Mount Gerizim, suitable reasons will not be wanting why they should abstain from receiving the other books; and in the history of religion, examples are not rare of sects, who acknowledge some portion of the sacred documents, and reject others equally well known to them. For this, indeed, was the heresy of the Samaritans, that they not only completely revolted from the worship at Jerusalem, but like-

* *Paulus*, l. c. 230, sqq.

wise rejected the prophets and other men more recent than Moses and Joshua, who were held in high esteem among the other Jews — for example, David and Solomon. These they rejected as not inspired with a divine spirit, and even ignominiously traduced them.* Since these things were so, scarcely will it be expected that our heresy should acknowledge the historical books or the Psalms, almost every page of which abounds with praises of Jerusalem, — as the seat of worship, — of David, and the Prophets. I shall pass over the Prophets and Solomon, whom they accuse of almost overturning the Law. To these is to be added the singular sanctity of the Pentateuch, the authority of which is much greater than that of the other books. This argument alone, perhaps, is sufficient to decide the question.

III. They say, "It is not possible that the Samaritans, after the exile, should desire to erect a temple in common with the men of Jerusalem, unless they had had the Pentateuch." But so far is this from the truth, that I think the opposite opinion might much better be drawn from this. I cite the words of De Wette,^b who thus speaks of the matter: "From this very desire of associating with the Jews in the same religious rites, it is shown that the Samaritans had no fixed and legitimate worship, or priests invested with any authority. But, as it is very apparent from 2 Kings xvii., they seem to have fluctuated, in their form of worship, between the rites of the Jews and pagans, which could not have been the case if they had made use of the Pentateuch, and had adapted the form of their worship to it. A people already in possession of a certain form of rites, is not so ready to take up any other form. But the Samaritans, desiring to share the worship at Jerusalem with the Jews, forsook their own peculiar form of religion which they had previously adhered to."

IV. "Finally, they think the difference of the sacred books of the two nations is best explained in this manner: they say the Samaritans preserved the Law in the same characters their ancestors had used."^c

This is a very feeble argument, and for the most part not expressed with sufficient accuracy; for the hypothesis that the writing charac-

* Photius, Cod. 230. Paulus, Rep. vol. i. p. 136, sq. Hottinger, Exercitatt. Antimorin, p. 23. Tertullian, Adv. Hep. c. 45. Eichhorn, Rep. vol. xvi. p. 168. De Sacy, Mem. sur l'Etat des Samaritains, c. v.

^b Beitrage, vol. i. p. 234.

^c Morinus, Houbigant, Bertholdt, l. c. 473, 816. Kelle, Würdigung d. Mosaischen Schriften, vol. i. p. 64. Eichhorn, § 398.

ter was not changed by Ezra, if it were the true one, does not affirm that the present Samaritan character was in use before the exile, but another like the Phœnician, and, indeed, the same that now appears on the Jewish coins. What forbids our believing that the Pentateuch was transcribed from the square letters into the Samaritan characters? This fact, in itself not improbable, is illustrated by the present practice of the Samaritans, who are so tenacious of their writing characters, that they use their own letters even when they write in the Arabic language, from which, however, no intelligent man will readily infer that the Samaritans, in this, have imitated the most ancient manner of writing Arabic.

After so much has been said, we think it may be taken for granted that, before the exile, the Pentateuch might pass over from the Jews to the Samaritans, if it had been extant among the Jews in its present form; but so far are we from thinking this actually took place, that, on the contrary, there are good arguments which persuade us that the present form of the Pentateuch was not known, either to the Samaritans or the Jews themselves, in the time of Jeroboam and the division of the kingdom. In the first place, the learned Paulus^a has fully proved the former [that it was not known among the Samaritans] from the history of the kingdom of Ephraim; for, admitting that, in the time of Jeroboam, copies of the present Pentateuch were current among the inhabitants of that kingdom, how could it happen that the new king, annulling the Levitical priesthood, should transfer the administration of religious rites, which were limited to one place by the Law in Deuteronomy, into many places, and should establish a religious worship entirely different from that of the Law? Would not the Levites be greatly afflicted by the loss of their privileges, appeal to the sacred code, and accuse the king of impiously overturning the laws?

Again: in my opinion, it finds a very powerful support in the present text of the Pentateuch; for the Pentateuch, as it is now extant, contains, though in no great number, certain marks of the age commonly called that of the Prophets, and likewise of the Captivity. Now, all of these passages are found in the Samaritan copy, as well as in the Jewish; but it is universally acknowledged that the Pentateuch was reduced to its present form by the Jews, and not by the Samaritans; and hence it easily follows that this book might pass over to the Samaritans after these latest fragments were united

^a L. c. See also *Hasse, Ausichten zu künftigen Aufklärungen zur A. T.*; Jena, 1785, p. 11, 12.

together, or, rather, after our codex was brought into its present form. But it cannot be supposed that the Samaritans, after the age of Manasseh perhaps, either finished or interpolated their own Pentateuch (which, it may be, existed among them in a more imperfect form) from the Jewish.

Since the vestiges of an age more recent than that of Moses have been collected from these books, and judged of by others,^a it is sufficient to mention those passages which seem to demand a writer later than the time of Solomon. From the four books older than Deuteronomy, a few passages may here be cited, no one of which is earlier than the time of the prophets.^b

1. The following are the most remarkable: Gen. xlix. We think it will be confessed, in our times, that this prediction has been adjusted by some poet later than Jacob or Moses, so as to describe the rank of the tribes, in condition and lot. The remarkable praises bestowed in this song upon *Judah* and *Joseph* (8—11, 21—26,) who are placed far before the other tribes, clearly betray an age, in which, besides *Judah*, the royal tribe, the *Ephraimites* began to be a tribe of great and royal authority in the nation; that is, the times of the division of the kingdom. To this is to be added another prediction of Jacob, respecting *Ephraim* and *Manasseh*, (who was formerly far the most powerful — xlviii. 8, sqq.,) which, indeed, we scarcely doubt to refer to the same age.^c

2. The remarks in Exod. xv. 13, 17, on the mount of possession, the sacred habitation, and the sanctuary, show that the temple at Jerusalem was then built.

3. In Levit. xxvi. the dispersion of the people is threatened in almost the same words which the prophets were wont to use, who saw the approach of the captivity under the kings of Assyria, or even lived when it took place.

4. In Num. xxiv. 22, under the name of *Assyria*, mention is made of the Babylonian empire, or rather of Nebuchadnezzar, leading the Kenites into captivity in his expedition to *Ægypt*.^d

The book of Deuteronomy is of still greater importance in this inquiry; for whole chapters of it — whether you regard the hortatory and rhetorical style of speaking, or the matter of the book, and the very *usus loquendi* — breathe the spirit of the prophets. It is sufficient to appeal to the song of Moses, (chap. xxxii.)^e Besides, there is a

^a *Paulus*, iv. 230. See *Hasse*, *Aussichten*, ub. A. T.

^b *Vater*, l. c. vol. iii. p. 631. *Bauer*, *Einleit.* § 249—251.

^c *De Wette*, l. c. vol. i. p. 265. ^d *Vater*, l. c. vol. iii. p. 639. ^e *De Wette*, l. c.

more frequent mention of the dispersion of the people, (iv. 27, sq., xxviii. 25, 36, sq. :) the law respecting prophets (xiii. 1, xviii. 20) could scarcely be given, unless the people had often been deceived by the false teachers of whom the prophets complain. Moreover, the fondness for Levitical institutions, to which almost every page refers, points clearly to the times in which the authority of the Levites began to increase, (while the piety and freedom of the people had hitherto remained inviolate;) that is, to the times of the exile.

That we may not repeat what has been said by others, we will only add one passage, taken from the blessings of Moses, — xxxiii., composed not without regard to the prediction of Jacob, — which contains an evident indication of the time, and betrays a later author, who had lived in the exile. The reader will perceive in what manner the tribes of *Judah* and *Levi* are treated in this prophecy. *Judah* is not praised, as before, for his virtue, power, wealth, and plenty. A few words are used in speaking of him, and prayers are poured out for him, as one broken and a captive.

Verse 7. "Lord, hear the voice of Judah,
And restore [or bring] him to his people.
Let his hands be sufficient for him,
And be a help against his enemies."

He dwells longer upon *Levi*, (8—11.) He passes in silence over the curse formerly denounced upon him, (Gen. xlix. 7,) and celebrates him with the highest praises. He exalts his piety and merits before God and the people of Israel. I can scarcely persuade myself that one would have written in this manner, in any other time than that when the captivity was near at hand, or had actually taken place; and I cannot fail to refer the other parts of Deuteronomy, also, to the same epoch. For at what period does history represent Judah miserable, and oppressed with enemies, while the Levites are flourishing in so great power among the people, except when both tribes were in exile?

It will be sufficiently clear, from what has already been said, why I cannot agree with those who think our Pentateuch passed over to the Samaritans before the time of the exile.

But now, if the Pentateuch contained no passages which must have had a later origin than the times of the exile, what prevents our supposing that the Mosaic books were reduced to their present form and passed over to the Samaritans a little after the end of the exile? I willingly grant that passages in Nehemiah and Ezra, which make

frequent mention of the written Law, demand the first statement; but the last is less probable for these reasons: *First*, the time in which the Samaritans, highly offended at the repulse they had received from the inhabitants of Jerusalem, began to calumniate and vex them, can scarcely be deemed a proper one for receiving a law from them. *Secondly*, from the history of Manasseh, a Jewish priest, who established the Babylonian worship at Gerizim, — nearly two centuries after the exile, — it appears that, after this time, the Samaritans were destitute of Levitical priests, and a regular form of worship, conformable to the laws of the Pentateuch.

We have now come upon a period of time which is very important to our cause, namely, to the origin of the Samaritan heresy, and the worship at Gerizim. But it would be foreign to our purpose to delay long upon it. As Josephus says, during the reign of Darius Codomannus,^a Manasseh, the brother of the high priest at Jerusalem, married the daughter of Sanballat, the satrap of the Samaritans. His brother, and the other priests, disapproved of this marriage, and threatened to degrade him from the priesthood, unless he repudiated his wife; he then went to his father-in-law, and said he loved his wife, but was unwilling to be deprived of the priesthood on her account. His father-in-law replied that he should not only retain his priesthood, but be made high priest, if he would retain his wife; for he would undertake to erect a temple on Mount Gerizim, like that at Jerusalem, and establish the worship of God at Samaria. Enticed by this hope, Manasseh adhered to his father-in-law, and was soon joined by a considerable number of priests and Jews, who were entangled in similar marriages, and all went over to the side of Sanballat, and received from him liberal grants of money and lands. A temple was erected by the permission of Alexander. And here is the origin of that heresy which has ever since been most thoroughly detestable to the Jews.

An appearance of truth seems to favor the opinion of such as make the origin of the Samaritan Pentateuch and the Samaritan heresy identical, and suppose that Manasseh and his companions, who established the Jewish worship among the Samaritans, brought this civil and ritual code with them, and communicated it to this nation.^b They who oppose this opinion draw their arguments from the silence

^a *Josephus*, Ant. xi. 7, § 2, 8; § 2, 4, 6.

^b *Prideaux*, l. c. vol. i. p. 414. *Paulus*, Mem. vol. vii. p. 21. Com. vol. iii. p. 232. *De Wette*, l. c. vol. i. p. 214. *Archæol.* § 46, sqq.

of Josephus, and from Exod. xxxiv. 16, and Deut. vii. 3. They say it is not credible that Manasseh would give to the Samaritans a code, two passages of which very clearly condemned his marriage with a foreign woman. But it ought to seem wonderful that any thing should be gathered from the silence of Josephus, for it is well known that sacerdotal men had the code of Moses, and made use of it in establishing the new rites; nor is this a matter of such great importance that a writer should speak of it in so concise a narrative.

The other argument seems to be of more value. But it is natural to expect the descendants of priests — who, shortly after, we find, made use of such violent means, not only of interpreting, but even of altering, the law, in favor of the new worship* — would be ready to avail themselves of any shadow of excuse, if any one should dare attack their pontiff in this name. Besides, the readers will remember that the priests, though the sole guardians and interpreters of the Law, were not much to be feared by the laity.

But, admitting it were true, as the adversaries of this hypothesis so earnestly maintain, that the Samaritans had the Pentateuch before the time of Manasseh, — they gain nothing by it; for if so great authority, in this matter, is to be allowed those two passages, they would rather oppose the reception of it by Manasseh and his companions, if the laws of the Pentateuch had been long known and used among the Samaritans. But, on the contrary, our opinion receives some support from the corruptions which we see were made, soon after, to favor the new worship; for this could much easier be done in a code just introduced, than in a sacred book, long and elsewhere known by the Samaritans. But we wish merely to say that scarcely any other period can be named, which is more suitable for the origin of the Samaritan codex, than that which we have designated; and since, in a matter destitute of historical evidence, we must fly to the probability of conjecture, we think this is preferable to all others; and certainly the circumstances of the case require that the origin of our codex should be referred to that time which elapsed between the end of the exile and the erection of the temple on Gerizim.

* Referring to the corruption of Deut. xxvii. 4.









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